

# Qashqai Turkic

A Comprehensive  
Corpus-based Grammar

Sohrab Dolatkhan



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# **QASHQAI TURKIC**

**A COMPREHENSIVE CORPUS-BASED GRAMMAR**

**Sohrab Dolatkhan**

**MD, PhD**

**Paris, 2019**



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## SYMBOLS & CONVENTIONS

- ‘ ’ indicates the translation of the Qashqai items, ex., *ǰeräg* ‘bread’.
- indicates morpheme boundaries in the interlinear gloss, ex. *ged-di-m*; verb stems, ex. *gäl-*; and any suffix, ex. *-ir*.
- = indicates clitic boundaries.
- / / indicates the phonemic representation of a phonological unit.
- [ ] indicates the phonetic realization of a phonological unit.
- ( ) in a suffix indicates that the enclosed segment occurs only under certain conditions.
- \* precedes an ungrammatical item.
- < between two items indicates that the left one is originated or developed from the right one.
- # between two or more items indicates that all of them are in use.
- . (full stop) between two English words in the glosses indicates that the corresponding item in Qashqai is either one or two (or more) words which do not have a word-for-word translation into English.
- ’ indicates stressed syllables within words, ex. *ǰeyrán* ‘gazelle’.

*Italics* is used to indicate the Qashqai items in the text and the examples.

A. or B. at the beginning of examples indicates different speakers.

Capital letters in the suffixes represent archiphonemes.

The Qashqai sentence-examples are numbered, but the word-examples are only shown by Ex.

The reference of the Qashqai examples is given after their translation in parentheses, the source (numbered or not) comes first, and the number of line or sentence after, ex. (folktale 1: 24). The name of informants appears as the source of some examples extracted from the specimens which are not included in the corpus.





## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviated category labels used in morpheme-by-morpheme glosses:

1SG	first person singular	INST	instrumental case
1PL	first person plural	ITJ	interjection
2SG	second person singular	LOC	locative case
2PL	second person plural	MP	mediopassive
3SG	third person singular	NECS	necessitative
3PL	third person plural	NEG	negative
ABL	ablative case	NEG.AOR	negative aorist
ABIL	abilitative case	NOM	nominative
ACC	accusative case	PART	participial
ANPH	anaphoric pronoun	PASS	passive
ANTIC	anticausative	PF	perfect
AOR	aorist	PL	plural
BENEF	benefactive	PN	pronominal 'n'
CAUS	causative	POS	possessive marker
CF	counterfactual	POSTV	post-verb
COMP	comparative	PPL	Persian plural
CONV	converb	PREF	prefix
COP	copula	PREV	pre-verb
DAT	dative / directive case	PRIV	privative adj. suffix
DEF	definite marker	PROH	prohibitive (neg-imperative)
DEONT	deontic (obligative)	PRS	present
DER	derivational suffix	PST	past tense
DOM	Persian direct object marker	REC	reciprocal
EPPF	evidential pluperfect	REFL	reflexive
EQU	equative case	REL	relativizer
EVNECS	evidential necessitative	SG	singular
EZ	ezafeh	SUBJ	subjunctive
FUT	future	TAM	tense / aspect / mood
GEN	genitive case	TER	terminative case
IMP	imperative	AN	action noun
IMPF	imperfect	VOC	vocative
EVIMPF	evidential imperfect	VPL	verbal plurality
INF	infinitive		
INDEF	indefinite marker		

Other abbreviations that are used occasionally:

A.	Arabic	P.	Persian
Adj.	adjective	p.c.	personal communication
Adv.	adverb	pers. pron.	personal pronoun
card. num.	cardinal number	phr.	phrase
conj.	conjunction	postp.	postposition
deter.	determinant	pref.	prefix
E.	English	prep.	preposition
ex.	example	pron.	pronoun
F.	French	prop. n.	proper noun
fig.	figuratively	prt.	particle
H.	hegira calendar	qw.	question word
intr.	intransitive	SOV	subject-object-verb
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet	R	root
lit.	literally	radI	radical I of Persian verbs
LV	light verb	radII	radical II of Persian verbs
M.P.	Middle Persian (Pahlavi)	SV	subject-verb
N.	noun	T.	Turkic
NP	noun phrase	Tr.	Turkish

ord. n.	ordinal number	V.	verb
OT	Old Turkic		

### Grammatical words

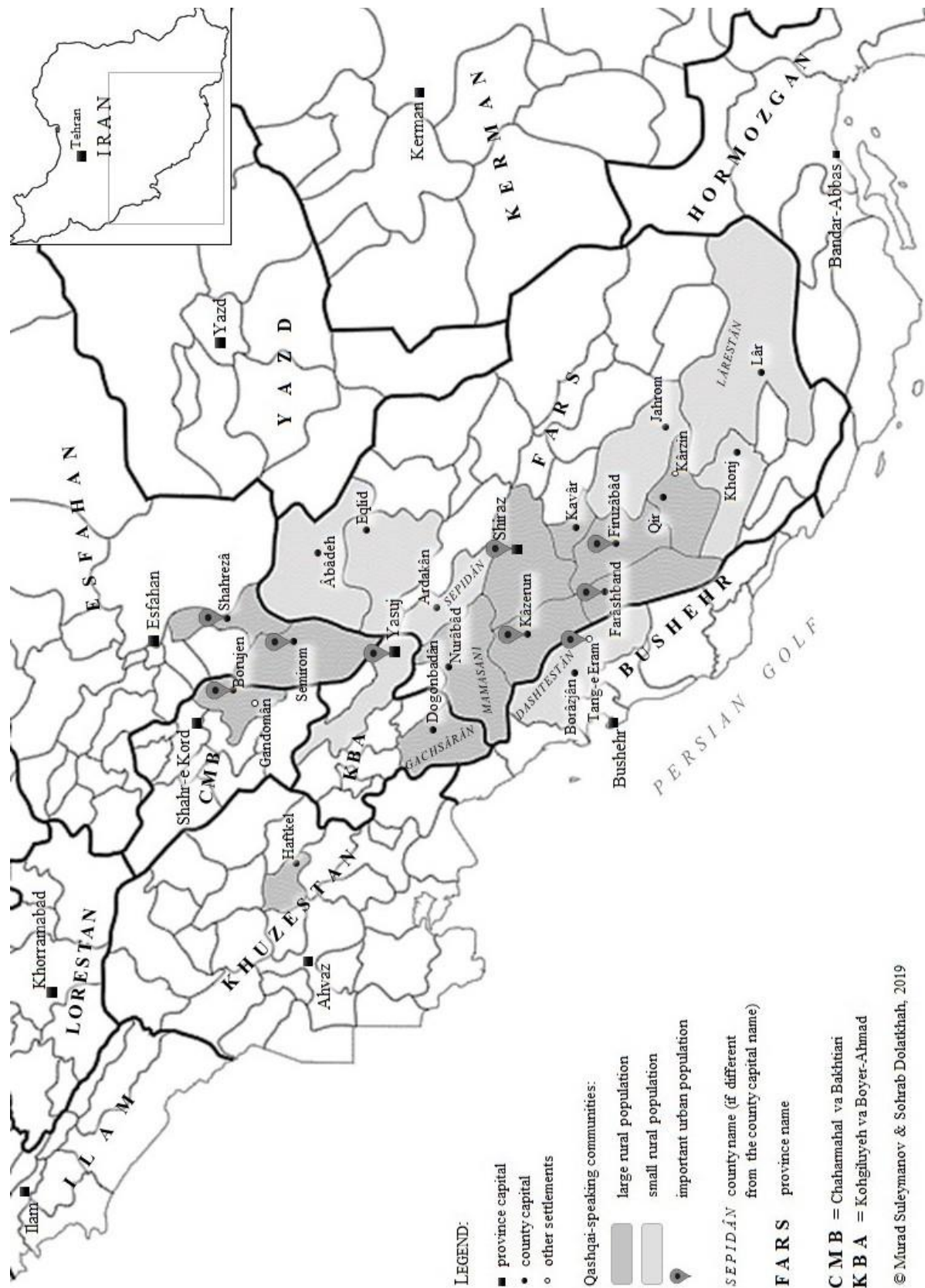
ALA	emphatic
DA	coordination and discourse conjunction
DAHA	coordination and discourse conjunction
DA HO	topicalising particle
HAM	coordination (correlative) conjunction
HO (O)	topicalising particle
KI	subordination conjunction (relativizer), topicalising particle
TA	preposition, subordination conjunction

### Archiphonemes (phonemes standing for harmonic or assimilatory variations).

<i>A</i>	stands for	<i>ä, a</i>
<i>D</i>	~	<i>d, l, n, r</i>
<i>E</i>	~	<i>e, ä</i>
<i>I</i>	~	<i>i, i, u</i>
<i>K</i>	~	<i>g, k, y</i>
<i>L</i>	~	<i>l, n</i>
<i>R</i>	~	<i>l, r</i>

# A MAP OF QASHQAI TERRITORY

An approximate distribution of the Qashqai-speaking populations on the map of Iran





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**To the Master,**

**I am absolutely grateful**

**for any achievement.**

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Still, this book may show mistakes and shortfalls for which I assume the total responsibility. I call all readers to kindly feedback me with comments which I will consider for reprints or new editions.

Last but not least, I am grateful to Ghazaleh, my wife, and Amethis and Alissa, my children, for their support and patience without which this book could not be a published one; especially, because the years I spent on the research, of which this project is an outcome, did not help me secure a livelihood they have been worthy, let alone realize their dreams.

Sohrab Dolatkah, January 2019, Paris



## FOREWORD

This book is a descriptive grammar of Qashqai, a Turkic language spoken in Iran by the Qashqai community. The description is based on the PhD dissertation of the author defended in December 2012 at the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris. The Qashqai texts have been collected during several field trips to the Qashqai territory since 2007.

The book consists of an introduction, the grammar, a corpus of texts, and appendices. The introduction provides general information about the Qashqai community. It also gives an account of the state of the art of the Qashqai language. The grammar, composed of thirteen chapters, follows a traditional layout. It starts with the topics of phonology, continues with word classes and main topics of morphology; then it deals with the main usual chapters of the syntax. In a final chapter the discourse structure in Qashqai is briefly discussed. The corpus, selected from a large body of data, comprises various types of the Qashqai oral literature. It contains also interviews, which represent the spoken Qashqai of everyday life. The transcribed texts are grammatically annotated and translated into English. The appendix includes a glossary of Qashqai words, which is followed by several tables including specific terms in certain domains of lexicon. A list of suffixes and clitics and a thematic Index are given in the end.

This grammar mainly treats the Qashqai variety spoken by the members of the Amaleh tribe, the largest of six major Qashqai tribes. The whole description can though be applied to almost all other Qashqai varieties because they share the main phonological and morphosyntactic characteristics; their differences are limited to minor grammatical features, and especially to the lexicon.

The description is function-oriented; it describes the forms explaining the functions which they have, evidenced by examples. Almost all examples are extracted from the corpus which is entirely annotated grammatically (except for a short interview). A few examples, mainly of simple structure, are given by the author—himself a native speaker of Qashqai. These examples, too, are inspired from the real speech situations.

The descriptive approach is traditional and theory-free.

The grammar intends to be comprehensive and exhaustive. The author has endeavoured to describe all grammatical elements and features using examples of a selected corpus. It deals only with the Qashqai language, referring only occasionally to other Turkic languages. On the other hand, many comparisons are made between Qashqai and Persian, which is the dominant language of contact with intense influence on all Qashqai varieties.

A shorter version of this grammar, including around 300 examples and several annotated texts, was published in early 2016 as an on-demand online publication, which is since available on Amazon. The grammar part of this publication was then added to another book of the author, that is *Parlons Qashqay*, released in late 2016, in the collection of *Parlons* of l'Harmattan Publishers in Paris. All folktales of the Corpus in addition to some others constituted a book entitled *Qashqay Folktales* that has been available as an on-demand publication on Amazon since 2015.





# 1. THE QASHQAI: AN IRANIAN COMMUNITY

## 1.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the reader will be familiarized with the Qashqai community, formerly a pastoralist confederation, through a brief presentation of their history, territory, profession, religion, education, social organization, cultural features and literature. This chapter may be useful not only for Turcologists, but also for the people interested in the ethnics of southern Iran and their socio-cultural and political interactions, the nomadic lifestyle and its gradual demise.

### 1.1. Denomination

Until quite recently, the Turkic-speaking individuals partaking in the Qashqai tribal confederation used to identify themselves as “Torks” or “Turks”. The ruling clan of this confederation used the term “Qashqai” as their family name in official documents; outsiders, including the members of non-Turkic tribes, city dwellers, central and local authorities or foreigners knew this group of people under this umbrella term.

The word Qashqai is written قشقای (“qašqâ’î”) or قشقای (“qašqâ’yî”) in Perso-Arabic script. Either one of these shapes is used in Persian texts including official documents. The IPA rendering of the native pronunciation is: [qɑʃqɑj]. The transcriptions widely used in Western literature are Qashqai, Kashkai, Qaşqâ’î, Qashqa’i, Kashkay and Qashqay (see Romaskevich 1925; Kowalski 1937; Menges 1951; Ullens de Schooten 1956; Caferoğlu & Doerfer 1959; Sümer 1973; Soper 1987; Doerfer *et al.* 1990; Csató 2001, 2005, 2006; Dolatkah 2007, 2012, 2015, 2016). These transcriptional variations show that there is not yet a consensus on a unique rendering of this word in English language. Despite the original pronunciation which rather corresponds to the shape Qashqay, which I used in my previous publications, from now on I opt for the shape Qashqai, since it is more accepted than other shapes by the Qashqai community itself. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has also used this orthographic shape in its documents.

The name Qashqai first attested in the late 17th century in a Safavid official document deeding a property to the Shahilu family, who ruled the Qashqai tribal confederation until the 1980’s (Beck 1986: 46). The Qashqai, as a confederation of tribes with a significant political role, was referred to as of the second half of the 19th century in historical accounts (see Emdâd 2009).

### 1.2. Etymology

Some legends are popularized by certain Qashqai, in an attempt to give a ‘noble’ attribute to this name.<sup>1</sup> This is apparently a reaction against a dominant Persian society that, to some extent, has portrayed the Qashqai in a humiliating light.<sup>2</sup> It may also be due to the fact that the Qashqai find themselves in a rivalry between different ethnic groups competing for their place in an evolving Iranian society.

The meaning of Qashqai in other Turkic languages is also investigated. For example, Qashqai may denote ‘the braves’, derived from kashka which means ‘shining or brave’ in Chaghatay (F. Sümer, *Encyclopédie de l’Islam*). Kaška (qašqa), as the stem of the word Qashqai, also means ‘those of the

<sup>1</sup> It is said that Qashqai means ‘those of pioneer tribe of qâ’î; since some Qashqai believe that the second part of the term *qaš-qay* refers to *qa’î*, one of the 24 legendary Oghuz tribes (personal interview, Assadollah Mardani, May 2008, Shiraz). It is also said that Qashqai means ‘those who possess invincible place’ (Beck 1986: 44).

<sup>2</sup> See especially *Fârs-nâme Nâserî* (“Gazetteer of Persia”) by Hassan-e Fasâ’î, a 19th century chronicler who speculated that the name *Qashqai* meant ‘those who fled’. His misinterpretation has entered into the whole Persian literature, even Dehkhodâ’s *Loghat-Nâme*. Whereas, in Qashqai, for ‘those who fled’ there is the word *qaiçqinti* that is still in use and cannot reasonably be substituted or mistaken with the word *Qashqai*.

animals (horses or sheep) with a white spot on the forehead’<sup>3</sup>. Barthold accepted this meaning as the “most plausible” etymology (cited in Oberling 2004). This is based on the evidence indicating the frequent use of names in connection with animals by Turkic-speaking groups through the history. However, in the Qashqai confederation, there are few names with such animal connections. Instead, most of the names appear to be toponyms, eponyms, or be derived from occupations, characteristics or customs specific to a tribal unit. It is noteworthy to mention that there is a village named قشقای *Qashqây* in the Iranian province Azerbâyjân-e Šarqi (East Azerbaijan) and a river and a region named *Qashqadaryo* in Uzbekistan. The historical connection of the name ‘Qashqai’ with a geographical name is thus highly probable.

### 1.3. History

A lot of evidence indicates that the Qashqai community is a conglomeration of people of diverse origins, primarily Turkic. Their history is thus that of a Turkic-speaking population in constant and long-lasting interaction with other inhabitants of southern Iran—to know them one may need to reach deep into the history of Persia, even pre-Islamic era. It is thus worth tracing back the presence of these Turks in this area and review the highlights of their history.

The first Turks arrived in southern Persia in the 8<sup>th</sup> century serving as mercenaries under an Abbasid emir who governed Shiraz.<sup>4</sup> The Turks kept arriving in Fars over the next centuries. In the 10<sup>th</sup> and early 11<sup>th</sup> century the army of the Buyyids (933–1062), a Persian dynasty, included numerous Turks. In the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century, the Seljuks finally captured Shiraz; this facilitated the immigration of many more Turks to southern Persia. The reign of the Salghurid Atabegs (1148–1270) saw further Turks coming to the region, namely a group called *Qashqab* from the Turkmen *Yomut* (Khurmuji 1859 via Beck 1986). At the time of the Injuids and the Muzaffarids, themselves non-Turkic rulers, the Turkic presence in Shiraz was noteworthy enough to be reflected in the poetry of Hafez-e Shirazi (1326–1389).<sup>5</sup>

In the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, Shah Ismail, the founder of the Safavid dynasty, conquered Shiraz. One of Shah Ismail’s tribal allies was a certain Amir Ghazi Shahilu from whom members of the Qashqai ruling family are allegedly descended<sup>6</sup> (Price 2005: 125). It is said that he had first been given the title of *ilkhani*<sup>7</sup> (“the head of tribal confederacies”) by the Safavid Shah (Beck 1986: 45). Amir Ghazi’s grave in the north of Fars is still a place of pilgrimage for many Qashqai. In this period, the Turkic presence expanded in the highlands of the southern Zagros in the form of pastoralist tribes, most of which being probably the remnants or descendants of the Qizilbash tribes. This can be proved by the fact that every single tribe of the Qashqai confederation included subtribes with names such as Shamlu, Afshar, Bayat, Rumlu, Qajar, Zulqadr—the names of the early Turcoman tribes which formed, among others, the Qizilbash.

<sup>3</sup> In Divân-e Loghat-e Turk of Kashghari, *qašqa* designates 1. a white-headed sheep with black body; 2. a horse with a bright white color around the blackness encircling its eyes; 3. Also, a camel with a white spot on its head. In classical Persian literature *qašqa* refers to the beauty spot put on the forehead (*Farhang-e Mo’in*). The verb *qašqa kesidan*, in Persian, means ‘to brand an animal in order to make it distinct from others’ (*Farhang-e Mo’in* and *Loghat-nâme-ye Dehkhodâ*).

<sup>4</sup> In 210 A.H. / 790 A.D, Ma’mun Abbâssi, the Caliph in Bagdad, assigned Qotloq Khan, a Turk, as the governor of Fars. He served until 218 A.H. (Daneshpajuh, 1998: 55).

<sup>5</sup> For example, in the first distich of the third *ghazal* of his Divân, he says: *agar ân Tork-e Shirâzi be dast ârad del-e mâ râ / be kbâl-e bendu-yaš bakhšam Samarqand o Bukhara râ* “Would that Shirazi Turk behold our heart; then / I’ll gift both Samarqand and Bukhara to Her Indian mole.”

<sup>6</sup> They called their clan *Shahilu* (“those of Shah or related to Shah”) with reference to Amir Ghazi Shahilu. However, the official name of members of this family, at least recently, has been *Qashqa’i* or *Soulat-e Qashqa’i*. This family is currently absent from the life of the Qashqai, since its main political figures have been eliminated from the political scene by the Pahlavi and later by the Islamic Republic State.

<sup>7</sup> This word can be transcribed *Elxani*, according to its pronunciation in Qashqai.

Nader Shah Afshar, himself a Turk of the Afshar tribe, seized Shiraz in 1744. He subsequently added Fars tribal warriors and commanders to his army, among them heads of the Qashqai tribes. The Afsharid Shah later disfavoured the Qashqai commanders and executed or blinded some and exiled some others from Fars to Khorasan. After Nader Shah's death, the Turks of Fars allied with the Bakhtiari and the Kurdish tribes to help Karim Khan Zand onto the throne of Persia. As a reward, their leaders could return from exile in Khorasan to their territories in Fars.

The Zand (1750-1794) was in some way the early stage of the development of the Qashqai tribal confederation. In this peaceful and prosperous time, a member of the Shahilu family was "assigned by Zand ruler the authority over the tribes of Fars" (Beck 1986: 28). Also, thanks to their political influence, the Qashqai khans were able to incorporate elements of immigrant tribes such as the Kurdish, the Lak, and some local tribes such as the Lors, the Shabankareh and others into their own.

Aqa Mohammad Khan, the founder of the Qajar dynasty, put an end to the Zand rule. He sent many the Turkic *ilat* ("the tribal allies") from Fars into exile in central Iran as a punishment for their loyalty to the Zand ruler<sup>8</sup>. He chose Tehran as capital that then became more influential than Shiraz. As a result, the political weight of the tribal allies of Fars diminished, although they maintained their geopolitical importance, mainly due to the growing activity of external powers such as the British Empire.

The reign of Fath- 'Ali Shah Qajar, in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, was a relatively quiet period in Fars. This gave Jâni Khan of the Shahliu lineage the opportunity to reunify and reorganize the tribes that by then were almost all Turkic speaking. The Qajar Shah pursued the tradition established by the Zand of giving the authority over the *velâyat-e Qashqâyi* ("Qashqai territory") to a member of the Shahilu family, then Jâni Khan. Thereafter, Qashqai leaders and warriors took part in the Qajar army, fighting against, for example, the British in the Anglo-Persian war of 1856-57. It is around this time that the reference to the *Qashqai* became common in official documents and historical sources (Fasâ'i 1895-6 quoted in Oberling 1974; Beck 1986: 46-47).

In the 1860s, Nasser ed-Din Shah Qajar decided to balance the growing power of the Qashqai. He created a rival tribal confederation, the *Il-e Khamsa*<sup>9</sup> ("The tribal confederation of the five"). This event entered the Qashqai in a long period of rivalry and conflict. This situation, in addition to other factors, mainly the 1906 Iranian Constitutional Revolution, shaped the picture of the Qashqai tribal confederation for the next hundred years. The confederation became a major player in the complex interrelationship of local, national and foreign powers in southern Iran throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly during the two World Wars.

In the first chaotic decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Esmâ'il Khan Soulat ed-Doula, the most prominent of Qashqai ilkhanis, reorganized the Qashqai confederation establishing an army, an economic system and a foreign policy (Oberling 1974: 195). As one of his notable works, he formed the '*Amaleh* ("staff or agents") tribe by unifying many small and independent tribes, subtribes and isolated groups, some of them originally non-Turkic. The '*Amaleh* tribe held a key place in the socio-political organization of the Qashqai tribal confederation throughout the next decades. Under Esmâ'il Khan, the Qashqai and their allies fought against the British during World War I (Emdad, 2009: 630-660).<sup>10</sup> He later was executed in the prison of Reza Shah, the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty. Between the two wars, the Qashqai suffered much trouble, mostly due to Reza Shah's policy of forced sedentarization and

<sup>8</sup> They were mostly from the *Bayat* tribe whose descendants now live in *Markazi* ("central") province of Iran.

<sup>9</sup> The word *Khamsa* ("five" in Arabic) refers to these five distinct tribes making up this confederation: *Arab*, *Bâseri*, *Bahârlu*, *Aynâlû* and *Nafar*.

<sup>10</sup> On the Qashqai and Anglo-German conflicts in the World War I, see also Wassmuss "The German Lawrence" (Sykes: 1936).

repeated famines.

From the end of World War II to the fall of Iranian nationalist Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddeq (in office 1951-53), the Qashqai lived their heydays. The loose control of central government over the Qashqai and later a relationship of mutual support between Mosaddeq and the Qashqai enabled them to flourish both socio-politically and territorially, but the days of the Qashqai tribal confederation as a prominent political unit were short. In 1953, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi toppled Mosaddeq's government in a coup backed by the CIA. He subsequently abolished the title of ilkhani and sent the main Qashqai leaders into exile. He pursued his father's policy of sedentarization, using new tactics such as replacing the traditional Qashqai khans by military officers to oversee the tribes. Later, he completed this process establishing the *Edâre-ye Koll-e Amuẓesh-e 'Ašâyer* ("The Central Office of Nomads Education")—a Persian-based schooling system.

By officially declaring tribes 'non-existent' in 1963, the Pahlavi Shah expanded his authority over the Qashqai tribal confederation and the other tribes of Fars. This official anti-tribal policy finally dismantled the confederacy, leaving behind numerous isolated subtribes scattered in the summer and the winter zones of the Qashqai and along their seasonal migration routes. By the end of the Pahlavi dynasty in 1979, most of these tribes and subtribes had given up the nomadic way of life and settled mostly in poor urban areas.

Soon after the Islamic Revolution (1979), the main Qashqai leaders returned from exile, but their efforts to revitalize the confederation and regain their traditional roles were regarded as a threat by the Islamic Republic. Their poorly equipped militia were finally defeated in 1982 in Firuzabad, at the end of a two-year partisan war in their mountainous winter territory.

Since then, the decline of the Qashqai tribal confederation, continued. Consequently, they could not claim anymore their full pasture rights and migration roads; thus, the great majority had to give up their traditional nomadic lifestyle and settle down in their winter or summer zones. Those who were landowners became peasants and kept raising livestock too. Many others were integrated in the Iranian society taking jobs in private or public administration, education, military. The poorest ones converted to simple laborers or small shopkeepers. A small fraction of the Qashqai, nevertheless, kept practicing nomadism and doing seasonal migrations from the winter zones in the South to summer zones in the North. And with the rampant modernization of the society, they had to adapt to new ways to move their household and livestock transporting them in pickups and trucks which took the place of animals like horses, mules, camels.

#### **1.4. Territory & habitat**

Before being sedentarized, the Qashqai used to make seasonal migrations twice a year between their summer and winter zones across the province of Fars, from the northwest to the southeast. They also moved beyond the limits of Fars, particularly to the north in Esfahan, and to the northwest in Chaharmahal-va-Bakhtiari. To the south and southwest, they reached the coastal lands of Bushehr and Khuzestan provinces on the Persian Gulf (see the map of Qashqai populations page 3).

The nomadic Qashqai lived in black rectangular tents woven from goat hairs. They pitched their tents during numerous stops along their migration roads. Most of them lived in these tents in the grassy highlands of their summer zone. In winter zones, most Qashqai lived in small clay houses built from crude bricks, which they made themselves by hand. They used also stones and recently factory-made concrete blocks. They sometimes pitched their black tents beside their houses.

Currently, the Qashqai are scattered in numerous urban and rural zones all over their former nomadic territory and along the routes of their seasonal migrations. They are predominantly settled in counties such as Firuzabad, Qir-o-Karzin, Larestan, Abadeh, Shiraz, Kazerun, Ardakan and Jahrom in

the province of Fars; Semirom and Shahreza in the province of Esfahan; Borujen and Gandoman in the province of Chaharmahal-va-Bakhtiari; Gachsaran and Yasuj in the province of Kohgiluyeh-va-Boir-Ahmad; and Haftgel in the province of Khuzestan. In some areas, there are villages entirely inhabited by the Qashqai. In numerous villages, several towns, and a few large cities, one may find neighbourhoods mostly populated by the Qashqai. Wealthy families have dwelt in the better neighbourhoods of large cities, in particular Shiraz and Esfahan. They may also possess a house in their nomadic or rural zone, usually beside a pen of livestock or in the middle of an orchard.

### 1.5. Population

According to a non-official report from *Edâre-ye Sabt-e Abvâl-e Fars* (“Office for Civil Registration of Fars”) in 1963, the Qashqai population was 280,000 (Rohani 1992: 101). At that time, the confederative system of Qashqai tribes was not still demolished, thus, acquiring the number of tribespeople was relatively easier. After the huge waves of sedentarization, taking census of the settled Qashqai became problematic, first, because of the scattered pattern of their population, secondly, due to the reluctance of the state authorities to inquiry on ethnic affiliation in national censuses. That is why all figures given in different sources can only be considered as estimations, which vary from 570,000 (Boeschoten 1998) to 1,500,000 (Ethnologue 2006). As for the population of nomadic Qashqai, more reliable data are available. According to the data posted on the websites of the Fars branches of *Sâzmân-e Omur-e Âšâyer-e Iran* (“the Organization of Nomadic Peoples Affairs”) and *Edâre-ye Koll-e Âmuzeš-e Âšâyer* (“the Central Office of Nomadic Peoples Education”), the whole population of nomadic peoples in southern Iran is about 200,000, from which 73,560 are Qashqai living in Fars. The total population of Qashqai “nomads” living in central and southern Iran (scattered mainly in three provinces Fars, Bushehr and Esfahan) is 96,000, according to the general census carried out by the Iranian Office of Statistics in 2008.<sup>11</sup>

### 1.6. Profession

The occupation of the Qashqai, as nomadic pastoralists, was traditionally livestock breeding. They raised sheep and goats, and to a lesser extent, transport animals such as horses, camels, and donkeys. The Qashqai women, almost all, were handloom weavers producing highly valued rugs, gilim, gabbeh, and all sorts of items needed for their bed, their tents and their animals. They also produced woven decorative items (on the Qashqai women see also Huang 2009). Most of the Qashqai possessed land, often in their winter zone. They cultivated crops and vegetables. Wealthy ones possessed orchards of limes, sweet lime, orange and apple trees. They primarily used well water in the warm and semi-arid winter zones. They used spring water in the lush highlands of their summer zones. In both zones, they also benefited from seasonal rainfall for their farms and livestock.

More than 13 thousand Qashqai households still make seasonal migrations (only in the province of Fars, according to the website of the Office of Nomadic Peoples Affairs of Fars). The traditional mode of transport has changed; instead of pack animals, they usually use pickups and trucks to carry their belongings and even their livestock. A considerable number of Qashqai are semi-nomad, i.e. they live in their permanent dwellings in villages or towns, meanwhile being occupied or overseeing their livestock in pastureland.

The great majority of the Qashqai are settled down in villages and towns. In rural zones, there are still settled Qashqai who keep breeding livestock. Having graduated from professional high schools or universities, most of the middle-aged and young Qashqai (mainly men but also women with less opportunity) are employed or are in search of employment in public and private sectors. Sometimes, they attain high positions at all levels of the society. The unemployment rate is high, especially in rural

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<sup>11</sup> This demographic information is retrieved from the websites: [www.ashayerfars.ir](http://www.ashayerfars.ir); [www.ashayer.farsedu.ir](http://www.ashayer.farsedu.ir)

zones. This causes much immigration towards cities, where they live in the poor slum neighbourhoods inhabited by a mixture of people of other ethno-linguistic origins. The Qashqai women, especially old-aged and middle-aged ones, keep producing woven items, no matter where they live. They sell their products to ambulant traders or in local markets, usually for a relatively low price.

## 1.7. Religion

The Qashqai are Shiite Muslim; most of them are observant, especially the male elderly. There has never existed a clergy class among the Qashqai. Some individuals have been interested in formal religious education provided in *Howze-ye Elmiye* (“the traditional Islamic school of higher learning”).<sup>12</sup> The religious instructions have traditionally been transferred to them by the local clerics, usually non-Qashqai. The Qashqai have a fervent belief in Abbâs ibn-i ‘Ali, the half-brother of Imam Hossein, the third Imam of Shi‘a, and his devoted companion in the battle of Karbala (61 A.H. / 680 A. D.). Their belief in religion and the propaganda of the Islamic state made many Qashqai participate actively in the war between Iran and Iraq (1980-1988), in which a considerable number of them died. eminent

## 1.8. Education

Until the 1950s, only the children of *khans* (“tribal heads”) had the possibility to be educated. It was then the *mullahs* (“traditional teachers”) who oversaw the education of the children of Qashqai elites. In 1956, the monarchic state established a schooling system for the Qashqai under the administrative authority of Mohammad Bahmanbeigi (on this Qashqai personality see Monteil 1966 & Beck 1986). The Central Office of Nomadic Peoples Education (*Edâre-ye Koll-e Âmuzeš-e ‘Ašâyeri*), stationed in Shiraz, directed the education of Qashqai children from the age of seven. *Madrâse-ye ‘Ašâyeri* (“School for Nomads”) was a white circular tent made of thick canvas, which was set up near the black rectangular tents woven of goat hairs which served as the house of the Qashqai. This “tent school” was pitched up in the beginning of autumn, when the tribes had returned from migrations back to winter zones.

The school had the national curriculum in program and Persian as the only language of communication, even if the teacher was a native Qashqai. The children could also speak their mother tongue—for most of them the Qashqai Turkic—between the classes and among themselves. The whole program of elementary school was usually carried out in a single tent and by a single teacher. The teacher was always a member of the same subtribe. Sometimes, the teacher came from another place, preferably a nearby subtribe. At the end of the elementary school, the best pupils were directed to the higher levels of education if they could pass the necessary qualifying examinations. Most of them competed for the well-equipped and prestigious *Dabirestân-e ‘Ašâyeri* (“High School for Nomads”) in Shiraz. Many graduates of this high school succeeded in the *konkur* (“the national qualifying examinations to enter the universities”); many of them returned to the Central Office of Nomadic Peoples Education and served in its different establishments.

The Qashqai experienced a large amount of deep and persistent changes in all aspects including the education, due to the Islamic Revolution of 1979 and its aftermaths. The first and the most important of these changes was that the Office of Nomadic Peoples Education was abolished and its chief executive, Mohammad Bahmanbeigi (d. 2009) was persecuted on the charge of being a CIA agent.<sup>13</sup> All of the equipment, facilities, and staff of this Office were transferred and merged into a

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<sup>12</sup> An eminent example of these individuals was Mirzâ Jahângirkhân Qashqai (1822-1906), a khan of the Dârešorlu tribe, who settled in Esfahan at the age of 40 and devoted himself to learning the religious sciences. He became so prominent among the Shiite clerics of the time that many of them sought after his teachings (for further information, see Shamsi Sayyâh in *Encyclopaedia Islamica* (the online version).

<sup>13</sup> After these events, Bahmanbeigi devoted himself to writing memories and experiences from the nomadic life and the education of the nomads in the form of short novels in Persian. This way, he contributed both to the Qashqai culture and Persian language, but not to Qashqai language. He believed his Qashqai speech was “mixed”

national educational system that, being deeply bureaucratic, was not optimized for its new nomadic clients. The *‘Ašāyeri High School*, which formerly was exclusive to nomads, was opened to the students of rural zones, too. This increased the competition faced by nomadic students to enrol in this institution. These changes had a considerable impact on the education of nomads.

The other changes associated with the Islamic Revolution, such as dismantling the tribal socio-political organization maintained and ruled by khans, pushed many more Qashqai to give up nomadism and settle down in rural and urban centres. The settled Qashqai benefited from a more regular and stable education. They were, however, deprived of the partial autonomy they had enjoyed in the tribal system. Furthermore, the Qashqai children were mixed with the Iranian-speaking children and the practice of their mother tongue was restricted to the family and close circle of Qashqai friends.

For the non-settled Qashqai, those who continued the nomadic way of life, educational standards and access deteriorated. Among the reasons were the disturbance in the rhythm of seasonal migrations, and the bureaucracy in the national education system into which the Central Office of Nomadic Peoples Education was merged. This situation sustained until the mid-1990s, when the *Majles* (“Parliament”) of Iran passed legislation in order to re-establish the Central Office of Nomadic Peoples Education, mainly thanks to five Qashqai members of the Parliament (Sohrabi 2008 & Beck, personal communication, 2011). This legislation has later been applied, and the re-established Office has thereafter directed the education of nomads. Whether this new administration has been beneficial to the nomadic Qashqai needs further investigation.

## 1.9. Social organization

Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Qashqai tribal confederation consisted of a changing number of small and large tribes which were loosely connected to each other in terms of socio-political organization. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, it evolved into a more centralized confederation. For a while, it was organized as 12 tribes. Later, smaller tribes were merged into each other or were absorbed into larger ones. This process resulted in a confederation that comprised six major tribes which are presented in Table 1 along with some related information.<sup>14</sup>

Table 1. The Qashqai tribes

Tribes	in Persian	Meaning	Num. of subtribes	Main centres
<i>‘Amāleh</i>	عمله	the staff or agents	46	Firuzabad
<i>Dārešorlu</i>	دره شورى	those of the salty valley	36	Semirom, Kazerun
<i>Farsimādan</i>	فارسيمدان	those who do not know Persian	24	Tang-e Eram
<i>Šešbāyli</i>	شش بلوکی	those of the six lords or districts	23	Kazerun
<i>Beyig Kāškollu</i>	کشکولی بزرگ	The large Kashkuli	26	Firuzabad
<i>Kūčik Kāškollu</i>	کشکولی کوچک	The small Kashkuli	15	Firuzabad

There have also been smaller tribes such as Safikhanlu (P. Safikhâni) and Qarachay (P. Qarâcha’i) which have showed looser association to the confederation.

Each tribe (*tayfâ*) consisted of numerous subtribes (*tirâ*), at least more than a dozen. A *tirâ* comprised of several *beylä* or *oba*. This latter was composed of a few *äv* or *oy* (households or tents) of a *soy* (“lineage”). (On the organization of Qashqai tribes, see also Bahmanbeigi 1966; Beck 1986; Rohani 1992, Sohrabi 2008; and Erenoğlu 2011).

During the last wave of sedentarization that took place after the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the

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and did not even deserve to be recorded (personal interview, April 2008, Shiraz). The government of Khatami paid tribute to him for his role in the education of nomads (On Bahmangeigi and his role in the life of the Qashqai see also Beck 1986 and Jurie 2005).

<sup>14</sup> In this table appears first the transcription of the Qashqai pronunciation of names, and then the transliteration of the Persian pronunciation that is also used in official documents.



great majority of the Qashqai gave up their nomadic way of life. This process of settling down in villages and towns has had a crucial impact on the confederative tribal organization, which was historically a prime characteristic of their life. Today, the social life for the Qashqai people, except for those still living as nomad, and those being inflexible to changes, is characterized by the features of a modern and westernised Iranian society.

### 1.10. The Amaleh tribe

The word '*Amaleh* [ʔamalə] is the plural form of '*amel* from the Arabic '*amil* that literally means 'agent' and 'worker'. In this special usage, it means the 'staff' or the 'people' of ilkhani. The Amaleh tribe consisted of 46 subtribes from diverse origins, mostly Turkic. It was made and organized out of diverse subtribes and groups in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Until the early 1980's, the Amaleh provided the warriors, staff and 'people' of the ilkhani of the Qashqai. In fact, the clan of ilkhani's family was stationed at the centre of the Amaleh tribe. This ruling clan migrated seasonally with the Amaleh tribe and had luxurious dwellings in Shiraz and Firuzabad, the epicentre of the winter zone of the Amaleh. From this heartland, the Qashqai ruling clan managed all Qashqai affairs and regulated its relationship with other tribal confederations, inhabitants of villages and towns and local and national authorities. The many subtribes of the Amaleh tribe were under the administrative control of the ruling family through a prominent member of each subtribe who was assigned as the *kādxoda* ("headman"). The *kādxoda* would organize seasonal migrations, settling conflicts between tribesmen, collecting taxes and providing the ilkhani with warriors.

One of 46 Amaleh subtribes is the Jamabozorgi subtribe ("those of large clothes"). I collected a great part of my corpus among the Jamabozorgi. It is composed of lineages coming from several different origins. Many Jamabozorgi trace back their lineage to a khan of Lor who sought refuge with the Qashqai khans subsequent to a conflict with his own tribe.<sup>15</sup> Some others say their ancestors have come from other Turkic tribes such as Baharlu and Nāfār of Khamsa tribal confederation.<sup>16</sup> I visited a family who was of Korosh origin. The Korosh, who spoke a Balochi variant, were traditionally camel breeders and renowned for their talent and competence in folk dance and folk music. They were integrated in the Qashqai confederation. The members of this family spoke Qashqai and Persian, but they knew only a few Koroshi words (on Koroshi see also Salami 2004, Jahani & Nourzaei 2011 and 2015). The Jamabozorgi were nomad until the end of the 1970s. They migrated together with other subtribes of the Amaleh tribe from their winter zone in the south, making a trek of around 500 kilometres towards their summer pastures in the north of Fars. The Jamabozorgi families are now all settled down in their winter zone in the semi-arid valley of *Kbordeh-Dareh* ("the little valley") located in the south-eastern periphery of the Qashqai territory in Larestan county, in the south-east of Fars (see the map of Qashqai populations page 3).

The Jamabozorgi currently live in a village officially named *Āl-e Mohammad*. The population living in these villages is around 600 individuals. An unknown number of Jamabozorgi have immigrated to neighbouring counties such as Qir-o-Karzin, Jahrom, and even farther to the counties of Firuzabad and the provincial capital Shiraz.

Most of the Jamabozorgi farm the land. They cultivate crops, orchards and vegetables. They are dependent on the little annual rainfall and the water pumps that bring up water from deep machine-made wells. A few families still breed livestock, mostly goats and sheep. Most of the young people

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<sup>15</sup> Belqeys, one of my informants, could still speak a variant of Lori and knew many Lori words. Moreover, there is a tribe called Jamabozorgi among the Lori tribes of Mamassani (Bahmanbeigi 1966).

<sup>16</sup> This is linguistically proven, since the speech of some of my old informants in many features resembled the texts already collected from Baharlu and Aynalu tribes of Khamsa confederation (see Kowalski 1937 and Menges 1990).

move to the cities of the region in search of work. The people with higher formal education may become employees of government and hold jobs in the education system, military and other administrations. The great majority of women are unschooled. They make weaving products in parallel with their daily house chores. Pupils receive the elementary education in Persian language in a mixed primary school. The teaching of the Qashqai Turkic is not allowed at the school, but pupils speak it among themselves and in the class intervals. There is also a mosque in the village, in which a few old persons worship. There are electricity and piped water, but supply of the water is often disrupted during hot summers.

### 1.11. Identity

In the past, the Qashqai tribespeople viewed their identity in terms of a necessary connection to a tribal group. This affiliation was crucial for the people living as nomad with seasonal migrations within a pasture-based territorial organization. It gave them a strong sense of community and structured their everyday life.

The fact that almost all members of the confederation communicated with each other in a unique language was as important as the tribal affiliation. The Qashqai tribespeople introduced themselves as ‘Turks’ to distinguish themselves from anyone else who did not speak Turkic, in particular Persians whom they referred to as *tat* or *taĵik*—‘non-Turks’ (for the term *tat*, see Minorsky 1929 & Golden 2006: 17)<sup>17</sup>. The Qashqai addressed each other as *x* from the subtribe *x* from the tribe *x*. They employed the term ‘Qashqai’ rather to precise their affiliation to the confederation, particularly when addressing themselves to public offices.

At present, despite the disappearance of the confederative tribal system, the Qashqai still define themselves by their affiliation to a subtribe and a tribe, irrespective of their birthplace, residence, occupation or the number of fellow Qashqai with whom they are in contact. Among the Qashqai there are high-ranking military officers, lawyers, renowned doctors and many university students. A considerable number of the Qashqai, however, belongs to a socio-economically lower class and live in slums populated by a mixture of people from different ethnolinguistic origins. In such “melting pot” of different groups, the language may still stay the principal criterion for identification of the Qashqai from others, if its transmission to young generations can continue.

### 1.12. Culture

The Qashqai are mainly of Turkic origin, but over time, they mixed up with other Iranian ethnic groups integrating them into their tribal organization. The newcomers have adopted the rather Qashqai cultural elements. A situation that has allowed the Qashqai to keep a set of features which differentiates them from the other ethnic groups of the area.

They differ from the *tatlar* ‘non-Turks’ mostly by some visual elements such as women dress, their traditional habitat, which is, for those still being nomads, *qara ĉador* ‘a rectangular black tent’. It is pitched in the *yurt* ‘campsite’ during *keĉ-o-qon* ‘seasonal migrations’ or in the case of poor families they live in the winter or summer campsites as well. Nomadic Qashqai also differ from others by certain tools and techniques used in their everyday life, for example those of baking bread. Some special kinds of food based on traditional dairy products also characterized them. (For more details on these issues, see Kiāni 1998, Huang 2009, Dolatkah 2016).

The Qashqai are meanwhile a part of the Iranian society; a colour in this carpet of a thousand and one colours. They observe the same religion, practice the same rituals and have the same national events

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<sup>17</sup> The word *tat* seems to be an abbreviated form of the word *taĵik*, which had been originally *tāzĵik*, later: *tāzĵi* ‘Arab’, and was used to oppose nomad Turks to settled non-Turks (see *Tārikh-e Beyhaqi* p. 47).

to celebrate. The average culture of this society, influenced by globalization, has thus its hegemonic effect on the Qashqai too.

### 1.13. Literature

The Qashqai is a non-standardized and partially written language; one reason why its literature remains largely oral. There are popular poems, songs, stories, proverbs, lyrical and heroic tales of the bards passed from generation to generation. Formerly, when most of the Qashqai were nomad and modern means of cultural dissemination were not yet entered their life, tale telling was a common practice in the circles of family and friends. The *asheqs* ‘wandering musicians’ and bards added lyric or epic stories to their musical performances. The role players in these stories could be real or legendary. They sometimes featured political figures clashing with the central government or rebels who gained high popularity. The tale tellers were often old women of whom I met only two during my trips to the Qashqai region. Popular songs were mainly transmitted by the members of the Korosh—a Baloch tribe serving as camel breeders for the Qashqai—, shepherds and *asheqs* who sang the tunes of Turkic traditions.

Qashqai folk poetry is syllabic. Most of these poems are in the form of quatrains each line of which has seven syllables. This form, which is called *asanak*<sup>18</sup>, is formally identical to the *bayati* of Azerbaijan and the *mani* of Anatolian folk traditions (see also Mardâni 2000, who has compiled hundreds of such poems using the Persian script). Other forms of Qashqai folk poetry are *šahxâtayi* ‘with reference to *kbatâ’i*, the pen name of Shah Ismail Safavi (see Minorsky 1942), the *qošma*, from the verb *qošmaq* meaning ‘to bind’, and *gārayli*, probably the contraction of Persian words *gerye-ye Leyli* ‘the Leyli’s cry’.

As for the Qashqai written literature, it can be classified into classical and modern ones. The first is limited to a few collections of poems in classical style dating back to the nineteenth or early twentieth century. The figurehead of this poetry is undeniably Mirza Ma’zun (1830-1895). He was a scribe of the Qashqai khans also ensuring the education of children of the elxanī family. Originated from a mixed Qashqai and Lor family, he knew Qashqai, Persian and literary Arabic. His *Divan* ‘poetry collection’ mainly consists of *ghazals* ‘a form of lyric poetry’ in Qashqai (see Shahbazi: 1989). Modern Qashqai literature is represented by two groups of writers; the first of which includes the Qashqai writers who write in Persian. The great figure of this group is Mohammad Bahmanbeigi (1921-2010) who wrote half a dozen books of prose in an elaborate Persian in which he talks about the nomadic life of the Qashqai and his own experiences as the head of a tribal school system which successfully contributed to the education of nomadic children in 1960s and 1970s. The second group is composed of the Qashqai writers who write in Qashqai language. These are young enthusiast writers who create poetry and prose in modern forms and styles. Further investigation is needed to assess the extent and efficiency of this new trend in maintenance of the Qashqai language.

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<sup>18</sup> It is plausible that this word be a variation of the word *afsānak* from Middle Persian which has given the Modern form *afsāneh* ‘tale, legend’. For other variations of this word, see Marzolph 2010: 219.

## 2. QASHQAI: A TURKIC LANGUAGE

### 2.0. Introduction

This chapter deals with Qashqai from a sociolinguistic point of view, informing on its denomination, affiliation, writing system, varieties, previous scholarly researches, and the genesis of this grammar and the features of the corpus.

### 2.1. Denomination

The Qashqai calls their language ‘*Torki*’ or ‘*Turki*’ (ترکی in Perso-Arabic script), when they are asked what language they speak. The term ترکی قشقایی (قشقایی) *Torki-ye Qaşqâyi* (‘Qashqai Turkic’) has been recently introduced into the literature (Mardâni 2001, 2002, 2007; Ostovâr 2014). From the early 20<sup>th</sup> century on, western researchers have taken the ethnonym *Qashqai* to refer to this language using different transcriptions (see 1.1). I opt for the name *Qashqai Turkic* to take in consideration the current usage of this term among the Qashqai which seems to be a way of highlighting both their ethnic identity and the *Turkicity* of their language.

### 2.2. Affiliation

Qashqai is genetically affiliated to the southwestern (SW) branch of Turkic languages, also called Oghuz Turkic, including Turkish, Azerbaijani (Azeri), Turkmen, and Gagauz. A sub-classification puts it along with the Turkic varieties of Iran and Afghanistan such as *Aynâlu* and *Afshâr* in the subgroup South Oghuz (SW<sup>s</sup>) (Doerfer 1990: 19; Johanson 1998c: 82-83). Qashqai is geographically the southernmost Turkic language, isolated among Iranian languages.

Previously, Qashqai was regarded as a dialect of Azerbaijani (Caferoğlu & Doerfer 1959: 281). It is worth, however, to consider it as a language of its own right, because not only it gives evidence of a particular sociolinguistic status, but also it exhibits a good number of deviating features from Azerbaijani (especially the variety spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan). Yet, there is a large degree of inter-intelligibility between Qashqai and Azerbaijani, in particular the variety spoken in Iran (which is generally called Azeri in scientific publications). An average Qashqai speaker would also understand other languages of the Oghuz branch, namely Turkish and Turkmen, though to a limited extent.

### 2.3. Writing system

Qashqai is not a written language in the sense of having a fixed writing system and a standardised grammar. The early existing texts in this language date back to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and are written in Perso-Arabic script. A modified version of this script has been in use from a decade ago, which is supposed to reflect the vowel system of Irano-Turkic languages including that of Qashqai. There are a few prose and poetry books written in this script in recent years. Excerpts of such texts are included in the Corpus. In addition to the Perso-Arabic alphabet, the Latin-based script of the Republic of Azerbaijan and that of the Republic of Turkey are also used, especially by the young. This trend is though limited to Internet and electronic correspondence.

### 2.4. Varieties

The parameters according to which one can distinguish varieties in a language are numerous: social class, education, age, gender, region, ethnic, or tribal affiliation, to mention a few. In the case of Qashqai, as the language of tribespeople, the tribal affiliation has played a crucial role in the development of varieties, so that there exist degrees of variation from one tribe to another one. Sometimes, such variations exist even in different subtribes of the same tribe. Despite these variations, the intelligibility is maintained between all varieties of Qashqai. With a great deal of precaution, I would consider the

following list as the Qashqai varieties; since they show degrees of divergence in a few morphosyntactic categories.

- The Amaleh variety (including the Kaškollu and Därešorlu sub-varieties)
- The Farsimādan variety
- The Šešbāyli variety
- The Äbiverdi variety

There could be isolated subtribes among the Qashqai whose variety may be different from the main varieties mentioned above; the subtribe Qilich is reportedly one of them (see Afshar Sistani, 1366 H. / 1987); but their existence and the degree of their divergence need more field research.

Besides the variations related to tribes, there are differences in the speech that correlate with the age of speakers. Noticeable minor variations arise across the grandparent-grandchild age span. For example, younger educated speakers of Qashqai tend to make more use of Persian forms when conversing in Qashqai. They also prefer analytic (Persian-type) constructions in comparison to older speakers who prefer synthetic ones. Certain young Qashqai introduce specific Turkish structures into their speech.

There are also gender-related differences in the speech of the Qashqai. For instance, the Qashqai women respect more vowel harmony than the Qashqai men do; they employ more archaic features than the men do; the women's speech is richer than that of the men in genuine Turkic expressions and native words.

Differences in speech can also be due to different ethnic backgrounds. Such differences may exist in the Qashqai even between the individuals of a single subtribe, since most Qashqai subtribes may include families coming from different ethnic origins. For instance, families with Lori background make more use of Lori vocabulary and their speech may be more Iranicized.

#### **2.4.1. The Amaleh variety**

The Amaleh tribe not only acted as the political core of the whole Qashqai confederation, but also became a linguistic crossroad at which many groups of both Turkic origin (who spoke different Turkic varieties) and non-Turkic (mainly Iranian speakers) converged. Over time, the Amaleh tribe became a locus for the development of a Qashqai variety that acquired the common features of all other Qashqai varieties, while being more Iranicized than the others. With more intertribal interactions and with sedentarization, the Amaleh variety has gained ground and spread to almost all settled Qashqai community.

#### **2.4.2. Towards a Standard Qashqai?**

A standard variety is a variety which a group of people use in their “public discourse”, that is, in the publications, mass media, education, and administration (Finegan 2007: 13). It is codified and *standardized* in terms of its grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation. Such a variety performs roles in community / society that other varieties do not perform. The standard variety gains further ground since it becomes much practical and prestigious than the non-standard varieties.

Among the Qashqai varieties, the Amaleh is more likely to be standardized. It has been spoken by the ruling clan of the Qashqai confederation and by the most populated tribes too. Moreover, most of newly produced Qashqai texts, namely a Qashqai-to-Persian dictionary (Mardâni 2007), are written in this variety. However, the standardization of the Amaleh variety is still far from being achieved, for reasons such as the lack of supporting institutions, incoherency in the action of Qashqai writers, and the lack of a comprehensive grammar suggesting normative practices of language use.

## 2.5. Bilingualism & language switching

Monolingualism in Qashqai is currently extremely rare. Even very old-aged illiterate Qashqai can speak Persian and / or another Iranian language. The middle-aged generations practice Qashqai only in the family and limited circle of friends. Even speaking in Qashqai, they make use of many copyings from Persian, often switching from one language to the other one. The educated youth make use of Persian as their first language, especially those who live in urban centres and the rural zones with mostly Persian-speaking people.

The age groups most susceptible to language switching are children and teenagers. Although they start to speak Qashqai in family from a very young age, they speak it less when they start the formal education in a Persian-based school. Then they practice Persian everywhere, except in family, considering it more prestigious than Qashqai (see also Hassan-Abadi & Karimnia 2003). Out of family and close circle of friends, the youth speak Qashqai as the first language only in villages and neighbourhoods inhabited mostly by Qashqai speakers.

A considerable number of highly educated young Qashqai, especially those having access to Internet and satellite TV's, learn and use Turkish—the *Torki-ye Estâmbuli* as it is called in Iran—in correspondence and conversation. They replace Persian words and structures integrated in Qashqai with their Turkish or Azeri equivalents. Some of them may consider Turkish or Azeri as being their language of origin. This is motivated by a language-based ethnic awareness in apparent opposition to a state policy reluctant to education in minority languages<sup>19</sup>.

## 2.6. Endangerment and maintenance

As it is true of any unwritten minority language, viability is the major concern about Qashqai. It is obvious that Qashqai is not on the verge of extinction; with so many speakers, it will still survive at least for decades. Having said this, the question is the extent of maintenance and the direction of evolution which Qashqai is subjected to. The aforesaid sociolinguistic situation leaves little chance that the Qashqai which we know today would be the same in a decade. Will it be able to maintain its genuine Turkic features? Will it, on the contrary, exhibit more borrowed features of Iranian languages. Will it be still efficiently transmitted to the future generations? Or, the lack of this crucial maintenance factor will put it in the long list of waning languages (on the criteria for language endangerment see T. E. Payne 1997: 16-17, and the UNESCO document on language vitality and endangerment 2003).

Maybe motivated by such a concern, there is recently a strong will among the young Qashqai, especially the university students, to strengthen their language in different ways such as publishing books and journals and writing in Qashqai on the online platforms. Middle-aged and young writers produce texts of diverse genres such as short stories, poetry, and essays. There is also an interest in collecting and documenting the Qashqai folk literature (see Mardâni 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2007).

Structurally, Qashqai has maintained its basic Turkic patterns, especially in morphology, some of which showing archaic traits and some others being the result of a natural evolution in isolation. Meanwhile, Qashqai has borrowed many features from Iranian languages, especially Persian. Different Qashqai varieties have also undergone a levelling process because of a long-term and constant interrelation between Qashqai tribes. A shared set of copied features has intensified the levelling. A mixture of (archaic) Turkic and Iranian features and characteristics related to the process of levelling have sped up the divergence of Qashqai from its modern affiliates, especially Turkish.

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<sup>19</sup> According to Article 15 of Chapter II of the Iranian Constitution, “the use of regional and tribal languages in the press and mass media, as well as for teaching of their literature in schools is allowed in addition to Persian.” However, in reality, this law has only partially applied, i.e. the speakers of “regional and tribal languages” are not allowed yet to teach and learn “their literature in school”.

Could Qashqai keep its basic structural features and survive regardless of so many internal and external changing factors? Close and continuous investigation is needed to bring an answer to this question. Attempts to reinforce Qashqai may be focused on codifying and promoting its most spoken variety as standard Qashqai.

## 2.7. Previous research on Qashqai

An anonymous, maybe a Carmelites missionary, who recorded words with some Turkic-speaking individuals in Esfahan in the late 17th century did not probably know that he was making a word list of a language which we could now consider as being the early stage of Qashqai (see Bodrogligeti 1968). That specimen shows that the current Qashqai is, at least lexically, the continuity of the language of those individuals, possibly of Qizilbash tribes arrived in central and southern Persia during the Safavid conquest.

The first academic documentation of Qashqai texts, however, was made well later when A. A. Romaskevich, a Russian folklorist, collected 35 folk poems during his trip to the province of Fars in 1914. Being a folklorist, he was not interested in linguistic analysis; he did only a transcription in Cyrillic script and a translation into Russian, adding also an introductory note on the Qashqai and some explanatory notes on the folk poems (Romaskevich 1925: 573-610). Yet, his work is linguistically of great worth in that it gives an insight into the spoken Qashqai of more than one hundred year ago.

Kowalski's presentation (1937) of Sir Aurel Stein's "Archaeological Tour in the Ancient Persis" consists of some 80 single phrases, five short narrative texts and three poems collected by Sir Aurel Stein in 1935 from the Aynalu tribe whose dialect was very close to Qashqai, especially the Šešbāli variety. Kowalski's grammatical description of Stein's texts indicates small differences between Aynalu and Qashqai. In fact, the same differences have more or less existed between different varieties spoken in the Qashqai tribes.

K. H. Menges made a trip to Semirom, one of the main Qashqai centres in the north of Fars, in 1950. He reported on his "trip to Persia" in 1951, and three of his Qashqai texts were published in Doerfer et al. (1990: 135-138).

The next documentation of Qashqai was several narrative texts collected by Gunnar Jarring in the 1940s from Mohammad Bahmanbeigi, then a university student in Tehran. Jarring transcribed these narratives in Turcological notation. However, he did not publish them in his life and handed them over to Éva Á. Csató and Lars Johanson. Éva Á. Csató presented "Jarring's materials" and used them for her description of some features of the Qashqai grammar (Csató 2006). She also studied the present tense in Qashqai by using these texts along with her own fieldwork specimen and other texts of Qashqai (Csató 2001). She dealt with the copied features of Qashqai, too, in another article making use of the same specimens (Csató 2005).

Wolfram Hesse, Hartwig Scheinhardt, and Semih Tezcan collected a considerable amount of Qashqai specimen, mostly poetry, in Firuzabad, during the Turcological expeditions to Iran initiated by Gerhard Doerfer in the 1960s. These texts were finally published in *Oghusica aus Iran* (Doerfer et al. 1990: 67-132). They provided a short introduction to Qashqai, the translation of collected texts into German and a vocabulary, without, however, discussing the grammatical features of the texts.

Underhill (1987) described some aspects of the Qashqai sound system based on the data which he had collected from some members of the former Qashqai ruling family. Soper (1987) studied the "loan syntax in Turkic and Iranian" comparing the verbal systems of Qashqai, Uzbek, and Tajik. Several other linguists working on Turkic and Irano-Turkic languages have also dealt with Qashqai from the areal and comparative point of view (see for example, Kırıl 2004 & 2006, Kurubayashi 2006 and Bulut 2014, 2016).

A couple of books on Qashqai, written by native speakers, have appeared in Persian language since 2000; one of them is a short manual of Qashqai language by Mardâni (2002) who explains the features of Qashqai in the view of traditional Persian grammars. Another one is a short grammar of Qashqai written by Nowzar Ostovâr (2014) who have taken a generativist approach.

## 2.8. The genesis of this grammar

This work is based on the data I collected and the research I made during my Master and then doctoral studies from 2006 to 2012 at the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* in Paris. My Master thesis (Dolatkah 2007) was a first presentation and documentation of four Qashqai folktales with an interlinear grammatical gloss and translation into French. The need for a primary description of the Qashqai grammar urged me to keep on this project which finally ended in a doctoral dissertation (Dolatkah 2012). Then I published the essentials of that dissertation in French (Dolatkah 2016). Parts of this latter and more information on the Qashqai society, culture and literature were published in the l'Harmattan collection of *Parlons*, too (Dolatkah 2016). This corpus-based grammar holds on the same line, with the hope of being more comprehensive and reaching a larger readership.

The grammar is concerned, in the first place, with a neutral and traditional description of Qashqai. Nevertheless, wherever I have attempted at providing explanations for the contact-induced features existing in Qashqai, I have employed the terminology of the descriptive framework of the Code-Copying Model, conceptualized and put forward by Lars Johanson. The terms global copying, selective copying, and mixed copying proposed by Johanson denote the key concepts of the Code-Copying Model, each of which having its specific application in the frame of contact phenomena (Johanson: 1998, 1993, 2001). Furthermore, the grammar includes comparisons with Persian, only when and where the Persian influence is apparent and important. When necessary, comparisons are also made between Qashqai and standard Turkish and to a lesser extent standard Azerbaijani. These comparisons are sometimes put in the foot notes in order to keep the continuity of the main text.

## 2.9. The corpus

The corpus consists of folktales, folk poems, life stories, asheq narratives, and interviews with informants of different ages and educational levels both male and female (for the list of informants, refer to Appendix). The texts are collected from about ten out of some 45 subtribes of the Amaleh tribe, in particular the Jamabozorgi subtribe. Though the corpus come from the Amaleh variety of the Qashqai language, the description concerns the *average Qashqai* language which is not significantly different from the so-called 'Amaleh variety'. After all, Amaleh has been the dominant variety among half a dozen varieties of Qashqai. That said, one should not assume that the language described here represents the speech of all Qashqai individuals; slight to significant variations can be seen from one tribe to another one. The corpus also includes the transcription of a life story broadcast in Qashqai language on the Radio Yâssuj in Iran included in a program entitled *Aghur El* 'the glorious tribal confederation (lit. the weighty tribal confederation).

The Qashqai examples used in the grammar are of two sources. (i) I, myself who was born and raised in a subtribe of the Amaleh tribe. In fact, I produced many *simple* examples, those especially indicating certain grammatical points that I did not find in the corpus. (ii) The corpus of texts, from which are extracted the great majority of examples, particularly those representing complex grammatical structures. The Leipzig Glossing Rules are used for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses of all examples and the corpus.



## **2.10. Transcription and transliteration**

Spoken languages display many variations in pronunciation among speakers of different genders, ages, and socio-cultural groups. As a result, rendering oral literature into written texts is a quite difficult task. On one hand, the transcription should be comprehensive and reflect the real pronunciation of the language; on the other hand, it should be user-friendly and accessible to a larger readership.

To transcribe the oral literature of Qashqai, I have taken in consideration the above constraints and concerns. Instead of using a phonetic transcription or making a standard one, I opted for a phonological notation that broadly reflects the features of pronunciation. It is a modified version of the ‘Turcological notation’ (see Johanson & Csató, 1998).

### 3. PHONOLOGY

#### 3.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the Qashqai sound system, which is heavily influenced by that of Persian. This influence can be seen in all Qashqai varieties, albeit to different extents. It has especially caused irregularities in vowel harmony and degrees of delabialization of high front vowels. The stress and intonation in Qashqai are also like that of Persian (for the phonology of Persian, see Lazard 2006).

#### 3.1. Vowels

The Qashqai vowels are illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. Qashqai vowels

		Front	Back
High	rounded	(ü)	u
	unrounded	i	ĩ
Mid	rounded	(ö)	o
	unrounded	e ä	
Low	rounded		(ã)
	unrounded		a

Note that the vowels /ü/ and /ö/, put in the parentheses in Table 2, are occasionally encountered in the corpus, as in: *küük* ‘small’, *gözü* ‘watchman’. They are generally delabialized into their unrounded counterparts /i/ and /e/, ex. *ik* < *ük* ‘load’, *iräg* < *üräg* ‘heart’, *gez* < *göz* ‘eye’, *ežgä* < *özgä* ‘stranger’.

/i/ occurs in all positions, ex. *ilan* ‘snake’, *ägil* ‘shepherd’s hook’, *min* ‘thousand’. In stem-final position, /i/ is always reduced and is realized as a higher-than-mid [ɪ], ex., *geri* ‘back’, *qärri* ‘old woman’; also, in suffix-final position, ex. *de-di* ‘he said’, *šäkär-li* ‘sweet’.

/e/ is semi-closed and occurs in initial position, ex. *erkän* ‘rope’, and medial position, ex. *sey* ‘curse!’, *gejšä* ‘night’. It never occurs in stem-final position.

/ä/ indicates two variations: [ɛ], an open-mid front vowel occurring only in word-final position, ex.: [kelgɛ] ‘shade’; and [æ], a low and open front vowel occurring in all positions except word-final, ex.: *äl* ‘hand’, *mäsäl* ‘folktale’.

/a/ usually occurs in word-initial position and adjacent to non-front consonants, as in: *ay* ‘white’, *yal* ‘hill’, *aysaq* ‘cripple’, *qar* ‘snow’. It is in free variation with a labialized (rounded) phoneme [ɒ], displayed with /ä/ in Table 2, which occurs in front syllables, as in: *bäbä* ‘father’, *vävä* ‘cholera’.

/o/ occurs only in the first syllable of native Turkic words, as in: *oyuru* ‘thief’, *qowun* ‘melon’, *soyun* ‘onion’. It may occur in any syllable in loans, as in: *gurow* < P. *gurâb* ‘pond’; and in some words of Turkic origin with Persianized pronunciation, e.g. *qašow* ‘currycomb’.

/ĩ/ represents a high centralized unrounded vowel, originally the high back unrounded [u], which has undergone variations due to the “fronting” and “lowering” rules (Underhill 1987: 14 & 18). In initial position, it occurs in only a few polysyllabic words, ex. *illirım* ‘lightning’, *ışşıq* ‘light’. In non-initial positions, it is realized as [ɪ], ex.: *qalı* [qɒɪ] ‘rug’, *yarım* [jɒɪm] ‘half’.

/u/ occurs in all positions (except when it is adjacent to some palatal consonants), as in: *ušay* ‘child’, *odun* ‘firewood’, *oyun* ‘dance’. Adjacent to the palatal consonants /j/ and /l/, the segment /u/ occurs as the centralized allophone [ʊ], which occurs mostly in loans and in few words of Turkic origin, such as: *jujšä* ‘chicken’, *juł* ‘animal’s blanket’, *lulä* ‘tube’, *ulluz* ‘star’.

Long vowels have also arisen in native words through the loss of the voiced velar fricative /g/ in intervocalic position, creating a disyllabic two-vowel sequence: *bäär* [hæɛr] < *bägär* ‘saddle’, *ürmi* [i:rmɪ] < *igirmi* ‘twenty’. This /g/ is preserved in the speech of young speakers, perhaps due to Persian influence.

### 3.2. Consonants

The Qashqai sound system includes 22 native and two loan consonants, as shown in Table 3. The loan consonants are /ʒ/ and /ʔ/ that are displayed in parentheses. For the sake of simplicity, the glottal stop /ʔ/ is represented in transcription by the sign /‘/.

Table 3. Qashqai consonants

		Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palato-velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosives	voiceless	p	t		k	q	(ʔ)
	voiced	b	d		g		
Affricates	voiceless			č			
	voiced			ǰ			
Fricatives	voiceless	f	s	š		x	h
	voiced	v	z	(ž)		[ɣ]	
Nasals		m	n		ŋ		
Trills			r				
Approximants		[w]	l		y		

The important features of Qashqai consonants are discussed as follows:

/p/ has two allophones, as follows: i) an unaspirated voiceless bilabial plosive [p] that occurs before a consonant, as in: *käplämä* ‘a kind of food’; ii) an aspirated voiceless bilabial plosive [p<sup>h</sup>] which occurs before vowels or in final position, as in: *sopan* ‘sling’, *sap* ‘stalk’.

/b/ frequently occurs in initial positions, ex. *bir* ‘one’, *burmay* ‘finger’, *barri* ‘hatched hen’. It is frequent in word-final positions of loans, ex. *rob* ‘sauce’. In some intervocalic positions, /b/ occurs as /v/, ex. *tävär* < P. *tabar* ‘axe’, *xävär* < P. < A. *xabar* ‘news’.

/f/ occurs in few native stems e.g. *ufaq* ‘pieces’, *teferǰäk* ‘spit’. In loan words, it is quite frequent in all positions, as in: *fänär* ‘spring’, *tefaq* ‘happening’, *tänäf* ‘rope’.

/v/ occurs in initial positions, as in: *var* ‘existing’, *vur* ‘beat’, *väräk* ‘ambush’. It is rounded into [w] in intervocalic positions where the two vowels are rounded, as in: *dowâr* < *dovâr* ‘herd’, *qowun* < *qovun* ‘melon’, *townuy* < *tovuy* ‘hen’.

[w] only occurs in intervocalic positions where /v/ is expected. It also appears as a constituent of the diphthong /ow/, as in *yow* ‘no’, and in many loan words such as *towsan* ‘Summer’, *pištow* ‘revolver’. It can not be considered as being a distinct phoneme in Qashqai.

/m/ occurs in all positions in both native and loan words, e.g.: *märäy* ‘soup’, *pammuy* ‘cotton’, *šam* ‘evening’, *qum* ‘sand’.

/t/ occurs in all positions. It has two allophones as follows: i) a voiceless unaspirated denti-alveolar plosive [t] which occurs before a consonant, e.g. *mätläb* ‘matter’, *qätlämä* ‘kind of food’; ii) an aspirated [t<sup>h</sup>] which occurs before a vowel or in word-final position, e.g. *townuy* ‘hen’, *butun* ‘complete’, *at* ‘horse’, and *saat* ‘watch’.

/d/ occurs frequently in word-initial position, e.g. *daray* ‘comb’, *dämer* ‘iron’. It is less frequent in medial position in native words, e.g. *badman* ‘weight measure’, but very frequent in loans, e.g. *adam* ‘person’, *modir* ‘director’.

/s/ is frequent in both native and loan words. It occurs in all positions, e.g.: *seke* ‘rip’, *yassı* ‘flat’, *las* ‘she-dog’, and *bas* ‘press’.

/z/ never occurs in initial position, except in loan words e.g. *zänǰäfil* ‘ginger’, *zälil* ‘oppressed’. In native stems, it is relatively frequent in medial and especially final position, as in: *uzun* ‘long’, *sez* ‘word’, *ballız* ‘sister-in-law’.

/n/ occurs in all positions, as in: *näyen* ‘how’, *äneg* ‘puppy’, *qazān* ‘cauldron’.

/ŋ/ is realized as velar nasal [ŋ] when it is adjacent to back vowels, ex. *yaŋal* ‘burnt brown’, *baŋ* ‘bank’, *aŋla-* ‘to understand’; and as a palatal nasal [ɲ] following front vowels, ex. *iŋil* ‘light’, *miŋ* ‘thousand’. Contrary to /n/, /ŋ/ never occurs word-initially; this is a common feature in Turkic (see Johanson 1998b: 31). Both can occur in intervocalic and final positions. There are some minimal pairs where /n/ and /ŋ/ are contrastive:

<i>täŋä</i> < P. <i>tange</i>	‘strait’	<i>tänä</i> < P.	‘trunk’
<i>bän</i>	‘a sort of tree’	<i>bäŋ</i>	‘hemp’
<i>inni</i>	‘now’	<i>iŋ-i</i>	‘wool-ACC’

/ŋ/ occurs in personal marker and genitive case suffix, as in the following examples.

<i>gäl-di-ŋ</i>	‘you came’
<i>diš-iŋ</i>	‘tooth-GEN’

Moreover, the distinction between /n/ and /ŋ/ is contrastive for the possessive marker of second singular person and third singular person when followed by case markers:

<i>ušay-lar-iŋ-a</i>	‘to your children’
child-PL-POS2SG-DAT	
<i>ušay-lar-in-a</i>	‘to her/his children’
child-pl-pos3sg-dat	

/l/ has two allophones: i) [l], a palatalized post-alveolar lateral which occurs adjacent to front vowels, e.g. *läŋ* ‘cripple’, *däli* ‘mad’; ii) [ɭ], a velarized dental lateral which occurs adjacent to back vowels, e.g. *labas* ‘clothes’, *ali* ‘potato’, *qol* ‘arm’. They can be seen in all positions, both in native and loan stems. Stem-initially, they are less frequent.

/r/ has two allophones: i) [r], a voiced alveolar tap that occurs in initial and medial positions, e.g. *rışä* ‘root’, *qärä* ‘black’, *vari* ‘all’; ii) [r̥], a devoiced allophone that occurs in word-final position, e.g. *käsär* ‘hatchet’, *qar* ‘snow’. In native stems, /r/ rarely occurs in initial position.

/č/ has two allophones: i) the unaspirated allophone [tʃ] that occurs before a consonant, e.g. *sačmä* ‘small shot’; ii) the aspirated allophone [tʃʰ] that occurs before vowels and in word-final position, too, as in: *čeräg* ‘bread’, *ičäri* ‘inside’, *sač* ‘tresses’.

/j/ which represents [dʒ] in IPA frequently occurs in initial and intervocalic positions (especially in loan stems), e.g. *jeld* ‘cover’, *mäjäk* ‘wild almond’. It rarely occurs in syllable-final position (only in loan words), e.g. *mäjbur* ‘forced’. It occurs in word-final position in many words (native and borrowed), e.g. *ayaĵ* ‘wood’, *saĵ* ‘iron sheet’, *durraĵ* ‘francolin’, *taĵ* ‘crown’.

/š/ is a voiceless alveolo-palatal fricative [ʃ]. In a few native stems, this consonant occurs in initial position, e.g. *šiš* ‘fat’, *šuxar* ‘ghost’. In loan words, it is frequent in this position, e.g. *šer* ‘lion’, *šikal* ‘game’, *šälhär* ‘trousers’. In medial and final positions, it is often seen in both native and loans, e.g. *bišir* ‘cook’, *qäšän* ‘beautiful’, *baš* ‘head’, *aš* ‘soup’.

/ž/ which represents [ʒ] in IPA is a loan segment which occurs only in few loan words, mostly proper nouns of Indo-European origin, ex. *žaleh* < P. ‘name for girl’, *garaž* < F. ‘garage’.

/y/ is a palatal glide that occurs in all positions: *yumurtä* ‘egg’, *qoyun* ‘sheep’, *say-* ‘count’.

/k/ is a voiceless velar plosive which has two allophones: i) the unaspirated [k] that occurs in initial and intervocalic positions mostly in the vicinity of front vowels, e.g. *kiši* ‘man’, *äken* ‘farm’; ii) the aspirated allophone [kʰ] that occurs in the vicinity of back vowel and in word-final position, e.g. *kor* ‘blind’, *kaši* ‘tile’, *bak* ‘worry’, *sak* ‘bag’.

/g/ has two allophones: i) the velar [g] that occurs in the vicinity of back vowels, e.g. *gal* ‘scabies’, *güllä* ‘bullet’; ii) the palatal [ʝ] that occurs in the vicinity of front vowels, e.g. *gil* ‘laugh!’, *šgil* ‘shepherd’s hook’, *gel* ‘puddle’.

/x/ is a voiceless fricative back velar which occurs rather with back vowels, *xan* ‘han’, *daruxli* ‘scapula’, *čox* ‘many’, *qirx* ‘forty’. It occurs rarely adjacent to front vowels in native words, ex. *yäxen* ‘near’, but frequently in loans, as in: *xärüg* ‘fresh date’, *räxt* ‘clothes’.

/q/ is a voiceless post-velar plosive that occurs almost always in word-initial position in both native and loan words, e.g. *qonšu* ‘neighbor’, *qand* ‘sugar’, *qater* ‘mule’. In two instances [q] occurs in medial position: in syllable-final position in a few loans such as *eqbal* ‘luck’, and in stems with a doubled [q], e.g. *säqqät* ‘perished’.

/ɣ/ is a voiced post-velar fricative, which never occurs in initial position except in some loans, e.g. *ɣeyr* ‘other’, *ɣäza* ‘food’. It frequently occurs in intervocalic and syllable-final positions of both native and loans, as in: *soyan* ‘onion’, *ɣayliɣ* ‘kerchief’, *seyer* ‘cow’, *sonyat* ‘souvenir’.

The voiceless post-velar stop [q] and its voiced post-velar fricative [ɣ] are only distinct in intervocalic and syllable-final positions. /q/ usually occurs in word-initial position in both native and loan words, ex. *qonšu* ‘neighbour’, *qand* ‘sugar’; the exception is in stems with a doubled [q], ex. *säqqät* ‘perished’. As for /ɣ/, it occurs in intervocalic and syllable-final positions of both native and loans, as in: *soyan* ‘onion’, *ɣayliɣ* ‘kerchief’, *seyer* ‘cow’, *sonyat* ‘souvenir’. It never occurs in initial position except in some loans, ex. *ɣeyr* ‘other’, *ɣäza* ‘food’. They can be considered as being two allophones not distinct phonemes (see also Underhill 1987: 19-20).

/h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative that is not frequent in native words. In initial position, it occurs in a few question words and a few verb roots, such as *hačan* ‘when’, *hani* ‘which’, *hara* ‘where’, *hirkēt* ‘frighten’. In loan words, it is frequent in all positions, as in: *beč* ‘nothing’, *mahal* ‘impossible’, *šab* ‘king’.

[ʔ] the glottal stop, represented in the corpus with the sign /‘/, occurs exclusively in Arabic stems, particularly religious terms. In word-initial position, it is perceived as a weak glottal stop, ex. *‘äqqel* ‘wise’, *‘aššiq* ‘lover’. In other positions, the glottal stop changes to /h/ or is reduced into a hiatus lengthening the previous vowel.

[mahnu] or [ma:nu]	<	[maʔni]	‘meaning’
[ehlɒn] or [e:lɒn]	<	[eʔlɒn]	‘announcement’
[mahn] or [ma:n]	<	[manʔ]	‘prohibition’

### 3.3. Phonetic processes

In this section, several phonological rules is discussed. Given the importance of vowel harmony, it is separately dealt with in chapter 3.4.

#### 3.3.1. Assimilation

A progressive assimilation takes place in syllable boundaries when a nasal or lateral meets a plosive. In this process the clusters *mb* and *nb* becomes *mm*, as in *pänbä* > *pämmä* ‘coton’, *tänbäl* > *tämmäl* ‘lazy’. The cluster *nd* and *md* becomes *nn*, as in *indi* > *inni* ‘now’, *sändäli* > *sännäli* ‘chair’. In the same way, the cluster *ld* becomes *ll*, as in *ildirim* > *illirim* ‘thunderbolt’, *ulduɣ* > *ulluɣ* ‘star’.

The assimilation is widely at work in morpheme boundaries, i.e. when an inflectional suffix whose first consonant is the plosive /d/ meets a stem ending in one of consonants /n/, /m/ or /l/, as in *män-dän sora* > *män-nän sora* [I-ABL after] ‘after me’, *yan-di* > *yan-ni* [burn-PST3SG], *kim-di?* > *kim-ni?* ‘who is it?’, *gäl-d-äm* > *gäl-l-äm* [come-AOR-1SG] ‘I will (probably) come’. Also, the sequence *rd* becomes *rr* in stems conjugated for aorist, as in: *ver-d-äŋ* > *ver-r-äŋ* [give-AOR-2SG] ‘you (SG) will probably give’.

The consonant /l/ assimilates into /s/ in one instance: *ol-sun* > *os-sun* ‘let (it) be’.

Qashqai also displays a progressive assimilation of suffix-initial /l/ to /n/ in the plural forms of demonstratives *bu* ‘this’ and *o* ‘that’: *mu-n-lar* > *Munnar* ‘these’, *o-n-lar* > *onnar* ‘those’. The consonant /t/ assimilates into /l/ when the postposition *-TäKin* attaches to a noun stem ending in one of consonants: /l/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /m/, as in: *gil-läyin* ‘like flower’, *gin-läyin* ‘like sun’, *iŋ-läyin* ‘like wool’, *adam-läyin* ‘like human being’. The consonant /ŋ/ in the marker of second person plural *-äŋiɣ* assimilates into a nasal

palatal approximant which I demonstrate as  $\tilde{y}$ , i.e., this personal marker becomes:  $-\tilde{a}\tilde{y}i\tilde{z}$ .

### 3.3.2. Word-final voicing / devoicing in plosives

Final plosive devoicing is a feature of Turkic languages of Oghuz branch namely standard Turkish and standard Azerbaijani. In Qashqai, on the other hand, final plosive devoicing is not maintained, apparently under Persian influence. That is why there are distinctive contrasts between segments /b/, /d/, /j/, /g/ and their devoiced counterparts /p/, /t/, /č/, /k/ in stem-final position, as showed below.

#### /b/ versus /p/ distinction:

<i>qab</i>	‘picture frame’	<i>qap</i>	‘snatch!’
<i>lob</i>	‘important point’	<i>lop</i>	‘cheek’

#### /d/ versus /t/ distinction:

<i>ad</i>	‘name’	<i>at</i>	‘horse’
<i>yad</i>	‘memory’	<i>yat</i>	‘sleep!’

#### /g/ versus /k/ distinction:

Stem-final /g/ appears as an aspirated partially devoiced  $[g^h]$ , as in:  $[g\text{ɛ}dig^h]$  ‘mountain pass’.

#### /j/ versus /č/ distinction:

There is a clear-cut distinction between these segments, as illustrated below:

<i>aĵ</i>	‘hungry’	<i>ač</i>	‘open!’
<i>uĵ</i>	‘tip, end’	<i>uč</i>	‘three’
<i>saĵ</i>	‘iron sheet’	<i>sač</i>	‘tresses’

### 3.3.3. Metathesis

Metathesis frequently occurs primarily when the vibrant /r/ follows a plosive.

<i>kerbit</i>	<	<i>kebrit</i>	‘matches’
<i>yarpay</i>	<	<i>yapray</i>	‘leaf’

The same thing goes true when the segment /r/ follows a fricative.

<i>arvad</i>	<	<i>avrad</i> < A. <i>awrat</i>	‘woman’
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It also occurs when /r/ precedes the glottal segment /b/.

<i>šähr</i>	<	<i>šärh</i>	‘explanation’
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### 3.3.4. Vowel epenthesis

An epenthetic vowel intervenes between two adjacent consonants typically in a stem-final cluster in order to break it up, ex. *qasir* < *qasr* ‘palace’.<sup>20</sup> However, stem-final clusters are widely allowed in Qashqai; a good example is *burn* ‘nose’ that contrasts with the word *burun* ‘cape’. Nevertheless, vowel epenthesis operates in loans of European origin in which the cluster of two syllable-initial consonants is broken by the insertion of a harmonic vowel, ex. *guluḡ* ‘lamp’ < E. globe ‘bubble’.

### 3.3.5. Vowel prosthesis

Prosthesis is another way of treating word-initial clusters. It takes place as a (usually harmonic) /e/ before the onset (typically /st-/, /sk-/, /sp-/), shifting the syllable boundary. Prosthesis is widely seen in European loan words passed into Qashqai via Persian, ex.: *esteres* ‘stress’, *eskelet* ‘skeleton’, *esport* ‘sport’.

### 3.3.6. Spirantisation of /b/

/b/ in Qashqai has undergone a spirantization in intervocalic position, ex. *qavuy* < *qabuy* ‘shell, peel’. This process is rather prevalent in loan words, such as *xävar* < *xabar* ‘news’, *tävär* < *tabar* ‘ax’, *tavuk* <

<sup>20</sup> This process is prevalent in Turkish (see Hulst & Weijer 1991 among others).

*tabuk* ‘concrete brick’.

### 3.3.7. The Initial loss of /y/

The initial (prosthetic) *y*- drops from the sequence *yü* in the expense of *i* that becomes *i*, as in: *ilan* < *yılan* ‘snake’, *il* < *yil* ‘year’, *ir* < *yir* ‘song’. This rule applies even in the stems whose initial sequence was originally *yü*, as in: *ik* < *yük* ‘load’, *iräg* < *yüräg* ‘heart’.

### 3.3.8. Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters do not occur stem-initially. In loan words the stem-initial cluster is subject to vowel epenthesis and vowel prothesis (refer to 3.3.4 and 3.3.5). The syllable-final cluster is prevalent in both native roots, ex. *qirx* ‘forty’, and loan roots, ex. *gerd* ‘round’. In syllable boundaries, consonant cluster is possible in case the last syllable is a derivational suffix, ex.: *xirt-laq* ‘throat’, *tox-maq* ‘mallet’. Consonant clustering is impossible syllable-initially.

### 3.3.9. Long consonants (gemimates)

Long consonants frequently occur at the syllable boundaries of both native words, ex. *yassı* ‘flat’, and loan words, ex. *mennüt* < *A.* ‘grace’. In some loans, the gemimates of /l/, /r/, and /s/ occur in final position: *vill* < *P. vel* ‘lax’, *mäss* < *P. mast* ‘drunk’, *järr* < *P.* ‘quarrel’. Long consonants also occur when consonant roots meet suffixes with the same initial consonants: *yad-dan* [memory-ABL] ‘from memory’, *dad-di-m* [to taste-PST-1SG] ‘I tasted’, *yal-lar* [hill-PL] ‘hills’.

### 3.3.10. Hiatus

The hiatus left by the elision of intervocalic semi-vowels tends to be avoided by a /y/, as in: *ŷırab* < *A.* *ŷawāb* ‘answer’, *suŷab* < *A. sawāb* ‘benefaction’, or by a /b/, as in: *tahır* < *A. tanwir* ‘manner’. This mostly occurs in the speech of the elderly. The hiatus between two vowels meeting at morpheme boundaries is often filled by a glide, ex.: *quzŷu-y-aki* [lamb-y-DEF]; *su-y-a* [water-y-DAT]; *de-y-ä-m* [say-y-SUBJ-1SG]; *yolla-y-ar* [send-y-AOR3SG].

## 3.4. Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is a process of assimilation of vowels. Vowels in the first syllables have an assimilatory effect on the vowels of subsequent syllables. This process concerns thus only stems with more than one syllable. Types of vowel harmony are discussed in 3.4.1. Vowel harmony operates also when a root attaches to a suffix. This matter is discussed in 3.4.5. Qashqai exhibits a kind of regressive vowel harmony which is discussed in 3.4.4.

### 3.4.1. Types of vowel harmony

Qashqai generally applies the basic principles of Turkic syllabic harmony, that is the fronting and the rounding harmony. However, Qashqai lacks the complete symmetry with regard to rounding harmony existing in standard Turkish.

#### 3.4.1.1. Fronting harmony

In fronting harmony, a front vowel in stem-initial syllable is followed by a front vowel and a back vowel is followed by a back vowel.

Front		Back	
<i>iŷil</i>	‘light’	<i>ayaŷ</i>	‘wood’
<i>kepäg</i>	‘dog’	<i>dowar</i>	‘herd’
<i>iŷ-iŷ-tir-dig</i>	‘we collected’	<i>boy-di</i>	‘it, s/he strangled’
<i>äv-lär</i>	‘houses’	<i>aŷiŷ-lan-nim</i>	‘I got angry’

#### 3.4.1.2. Rounding harmony

In rounding harmony, a rounded vowel in stem-initial syllable is followed by a rounded vowel in the subsequent syllables, as in: *uŷun* ‘long’, *sor-dum* ‘I licked’, *yol-u* [road-ACC]. There are restrictions to the

application of rounding harmony in suffixes (see section 3.4.5).

### 3.4.2. Vowel harmony in roots

Fronting harmony occurs in both native roots, ex. *kepäg* ‘dog’, *ulluž* ‘star’, *uſay* ‘child’, and loans, ex. *täner* < *P. tanur* ‘oven’, *žili* < *P. žilu* ‘cotton carpet’, *mašin* ‘car’ < *F. machine*. In some loans, this harmony is not maintained, for example: *haväñ* < *havang* ‘pounder’, *balän* < *P. bâlang* ‘cucumber’.

Rounding harmony occurs in many native words, ex. *qužžu* ‘lamb’, *odun* ‘firewood’, *burun* ‘cape’. In some roots, the roundedness is not maintained: *uſay* ‘child’, *oſay* ‘fireplace’. Loan words, on the other hand, do not exhibit rounding harmony, ex. *quri* < *P. quri* ‘tea-pot’, *fowri* < *P. fowri* ‘instantly’, *musir* < *P. musir* ‘wild onion’.

### 3.4.3. Vowel harmony in compound words

Each component of compound words goes through its own harmony rule. That is, the vowels of the first component do not affect those of the last one and *vice versa*. Examples: *gin-batan* ‘sunset’, *alli-qärü* ‘ill-fated’, *qoyun-ämžäyi* ‘an herb used as fodder’.

### 3.4.4. Regressive vowel harmony

Vowel harmony operates differently in compound question words whose first component is the monosyllabic question word *nA* ‘what’.

<i>neyä</i>	‘why’
<i>näyin</i>	‘how’
<i>nečä</i>	‘how many’
<i>nayarza</i>	‘how much’
<i>nakara</i>	‘what-profession’

In the words above, one can observe that the element *nA* ‘what’ undergoes a regressive vowel harmony imposed by the vowels of the second element of the compound. Regressive vowel harmony may also occur in roots. It happens in disyllabic roots in which a fronted vowel in the second syllable (for example, the vowel /i/ that is fronted to /e/) applies the same fronting rule to the back vowel of the first syllable (on this point see Underhill 1987: 17). The following is a comparison between some Qashqai roots indicating regressive harmony and the same roots in Turkish:

	Qashqai	Turkish
‘mule’	<i>qäter</i>	<i>katır</i>
‘yogurt’	<i>qäteγ</i>	<i>katık</i>
‘close’	<i>yäxen</i>	<i>yakın</i>

### 3.4.5. Vowel harmony and suffixation

The morphophonemic features of suffixes in Qashqai may vary between different varieties. In this regard, the varieties spoken by nomad speakers are more conservative than those spoken by urbanized people. Yet even these ‘urban varieties’, which are more Iranicized, display some harmonic suffixes. Bearing these observations in mind, the Qashqai suffixes can be classified as follows: i) “I-type” or threefold suffixes, which have three vocalic variants; ii) “A-type” or twofold suffixes, which exhibit two vocalic variants, and, iii) disyllabic suffixes.

#### 3.4.5.1. “I-type” or threefold suffixes

“I-type” suffixes generally harmonize with roots in terms of fronting and rounding harmonies according to the following patterns: /i/ appears in suffixes if the last vowel in root is /i/ or /a/, as in: *qil-i* ‘her/his hairs’, *yay-ım* ‘my oil’. /i/ appears in suffixes if the last vowel in root is /i/, /ä/, or /e/, as in: *dil-iñ* ‘your.SG tongue’, *äl-siž* ‘without hand’, *el-i* [tribe-ACC]. /u/ appears in suffixes if the last vowel in root is /u/ or /o/, as in: *su-lu* ‘lush’, *qor-um* ‘my embers’, *bož-u* [gray-ACC]. “I-type” suffixes in Qashqai are threefold,<sup>21</sup> because the vowel /ü/ does not occur in Qashqai suffixes.

<sup>21</sup> Contrary to Turkish in which they are fourfold (see Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 22-23)



Table 4. “I-type” suffixes

Suffixes	gloss	vocalic allomorphs
-(y)I	ACC	-(y)i, -(y)ï, -(y)u
-(y)Iη	GEN	-(y)iη, -(y)ïη, -(y)uη
-DIr	CAUS	-Dir, -Dïr, -Dur
-(y/I)nän	INST	-(y/i)nän, -(y/ï)nän, -(y/u)nän
-Im	1POS	singular: -im, -ïm, -um; plural: -imiş, -imiş, -umuş
-Iη	2POS	singular: -iη, -ïη, -uη; plural: -iηiş, -iηiş, -uηuş
-(s)I(n)	3POS	-(s)i(n), -(s)ï(n), -(s)u(n)
-DI(r)	PRS.COP	-Di(r), -Dï(r), -Du(r)
-(y/I)dI	PST.COP	-idi, -ïdi, -udu
-(y/I)mIş	PF.COP	-imiş, -imiş, -umuş
-II	BENEF	-li, -li, -lu
-sIş	PRIV	-siş, -siş, -suş
-DI	PST	-Di, -Dï, -Du
-mIş	PF	-miş, -miş, -muş

The vowel of the genitive case can alternate between /u/ and /i/ when it attaches to roots with a final /u/, ex. *quzu-nuη* or *quzu-nïη* [lamb-GEN], *su-y-uη* or *su-y-ïη* [water-y-GEN].

An exception to rounding harmony arise with the suffix of present tense -(y)ir which exhibits no vocalic variant, as in: *gäl-ir* ‘s/he comes’, *nal-ir* ‘s/he cries’, *qoy-ir-äm* ‘I put’, *vur-ir-äηiş* ‘you.PL hit’ (see §9.1).

### 3.4.5.2. “A-type” or twofold suffixes

“A-type” suffixes undergo only fronting harmony. The vowel that appears in these suffixes is one of the two low vowels: the back vowel /a/, following one of stem-final back vowels /i/, /u/, /o/, /a/; and the front vowel /ä/, occurring after one of stem-final front vowels /i/, /e/, /ä/. As a result, these suffixes are twofold, having only two vocalic allomorphs.

In Qashqai, a great degree of disturbance has occurred in the vowel harmony of “A-type” suffixes. Most often, these suffixes are non-harmonic, i.e. the vowel harmony is not maintained between them and the stems. Subsequently, the suffixal syllable may always be fronted (exhibiting the front vowel /ä/), no matter what the vowel of the stem is. The most susceptible to deharmonization are nominal suffixes, especially the suffix of plural -LAr, as shown in the examples below.

<i>at-lär</i>	‘horses’	<i>it-lär</i>	‘dogs’
<i>un-lär</i>	‘flours’	<i>el-lär</i>	‘tribes’
<i>ot-lär</i>	‘fires’	<i>äl-lär</i>	‘hands’

Nevertheless, there are “A-type” suffixes exhibiting both front /ä/ and back /a/. In such instances, the back vowel occurs adjacent to certain consonants, usually dorsal segments, as in: *şah-a* ‘to the king’, *bax-ar* ‘s/he would look’.

Table 5. “A-type” suffixes

Suffixes	gloss	vocalic allomorphs
- <i>LAr</i>	PL	- <i>lär</i>
-( <i>y</i> ) <i>A</i>	DAT	-( <i>y</i> ) <i>ä</i> , -( <i>y</i> ) <i>a</i>
- <i>DA</i>	LOC	- <i>DA</i>
- <i>DAn</i>	ABL	- <i>DAn</i>
- <i>sä</i>	COND	- <i>sä</i>
- <i>ME</i>	NEG	- <i>mä</i> , - <i>me</i>
-( <i>y</i> ) <i>An</i>	PART	-( <i>y</i> ) <i>än</i> , -( <i>y</i> ) <i>an</i>
-( <i>y</i> ) <i>A</i>	OPT	-( <i>y</i> ) <i>ä</i> , -( <i>y</i> ) <i>a</i>
- <i>Ar</i>	AOR	-( <i>y</i> ) <i>är</i> , -( <i>y</i> ) <i>ar</i>

### 3.4.5.3. Disyllabic suffixes

The few disyllabic suffixes existing in Qashqai (Table 6) exhibit more irregularities.

Table 6. Disyllabic suffixes

Suffixes	gloss	vocalic allomorphs
-( <i>y</i> / <i>I</i> ) <i>nAn</i>	INST	- <i>inän</i> , - <i>inän</i> , - <i>unän</i> , - <i>ynän</i>
-( <i>y</i> ) <i>AnčA</i> ( <i>z</i> / <i>s</i> / <i>m</i> )	TER	-( <i>y</i> ) <i>änčä</i> ( <i>z</i> / <i>s</i> / <i>m</i> ), -( <i>y</i> ) <i>ančä</i> ( <i>z</i> / <i>s</i> / <i>m</i> )
-( <i>y</i> ) <i>akī</i>	DEF/TOP	-----
-( <i>y</i> ) <i>AsI</i>	NECS	-( <i>y</i> ) <i>äsi</i> , -( <i>y</i> ) <i>asi</i>

The marker of definiteness –(*y*)*akī* always appears with a low back /a/ in the first syllable and a high back /i/ in the second syllable, as in: *diš-akī* ‘the (aforesaid) tooth’, *daš-akī* ‘the (aforesaid) stone’, *quš-akī* ‘the (aforesaid) bird’, *qiz-akī* ‘the (aforesaid) girl’. This suffix, however, imposes a fronting harmony to the following suffixes, requiring them to exhibit one of the back vowels /i/ or /a/.

<i>diš-akī-nī</i>	‘the (aforesaid) tooth.ACC’
<i>daš-akī-nīŋ</i>	‘the (aforesaid) stone.GEN’
<i>quš-akī-na</i>	‘the (aforesaid) bird.DAT’
<i>qiz-akī-nman</i>	‘the (aforesaid) girl.ABL’

In the suffixes –(*y*/*I*)*nAn*, and –(*y*)*AnčA*(*z*/*s*/*m*), the vowel of the first syllable harmonizes with the stem-final vowel, while the second vowel shows irregularities depending on speakers and is rather low back /ä/. Seemingly, vowel harmony resists to spread to the vowel of the second syllable of these suffixes:

<i>dil-inän</i>	‘with tongue’	<i>su-ynän</i>	‘with water’
<i>ayaŋ-inän</i>	‘with wood’	<i>yol-ančä</i>	‘until the road’
<i>un-unän</i>	‘with flour’	<i>sähär-änčä</i>	‘until the morning’

Note that the enclitic postpositions such as *TäKin* shows no harmony with the stem vowels, ex. *äv=täyin* ‘like a house’, *day=täyin* ‘like a mountain’, *quš=täyin* ‘like a bird’.

## 3.5. Stress

### 3.5.1. Lexical stress

The stress in Qashqai words is a final high pitch, both in nominals, ex. *áy* ‘white’, *ayaŋ* ‘wood’, *mašín* ‘car’, *emtebán* ‘exam’, and in verb stems, ex. *ergán-* ‘learn’, *qäreštér-* ‘mix’. In compound words, the stress falls on the final syllable of the second component, as in, *beyín* < *bu gin* ‘today’, *baš-ayrī* ‘headache’, *at-quyruyú* ‘horse-tail’, *sarī-darmán* ‘curry’.

### 3.5.2. Stress and suffixation

Suffixes may be classified into two groups: stressable ones and unstressable ones.

#### 3.5.2.1. Stressable suffixes

Most suffixes in Qashqai are stressable. The variations observed in the position of stress when a stem is suffixed to stressable suffixes are as follows:

- i) With monosyllabic suffixes such as the plural suffix *-lAr*, most of derivational suffixes, and most of case suffixes, the stress falls on the suffixal syllable, ex. *daš-lár* ‘stones’, *iran-lí* ‘Iranian’, *šäbr-dá* ‘in Shiraz’.
- ii) With some disyllabic suffixes, such as the suffix of instrumental case *-(y)län*, and the suffix of terminative case *-(y)AnčA(z/s/m)*, the stress falls on the first suffixal syllable, i.e. the pre-final syllable, ex. *ayaǰ-ínän* ‘by stick’, *šähr-änčä(s)* ‘until (the) town’. The possessive suffix of second person plural *-(y)lIz*, and the marker of familiarity *-(y)akí* are the disyllabic suffixes in which the stress falls on the second suffixal syllable (the last one), as in: *berk-iníž* ‘your.PL.hat’, *div-akí* ‘the (aforesaid) demon’.
- iii) Multiple suffixation: when the root is attached to more than one stressable suffix, the stress moves to the stressable syllable of the last suffix, ex. *širaz-däy-lär* ‘those (who) are in Shiraz’, *daš-lar-dám* ‘from (the) stones’, *yal-lär-änčä* ‘until (the) hills’, *adam-akí-yän* ‘with the (aforesaid) person’.

#### 3.5.2.2. Unstressable suffixes

It is a rule in Turkic languages that personal markers, copula markers and the suffix of negation (for an exception see the *remark* below) are unstressable (Johanson 1998b: 34). The same suffixes are unstressable in Qashqai too, as illustrated below.

- i) Copular markers: *-DI*, *-(y)IdI*, and *-(y)ImIš*, as in:

<i>xúb-du</i>	‘s/he/it is nice’
<i>märéz-idim</i>	‘I was sick’
<i>dáy-imiš</i>	‘It was hot’

- ii) Pronominal personal suffixes: *-äm*, *-än*, *-äG*, and *-äñiz*.

<i>apár-d-äm</i>	‘I may / will take’
<i>vúr-äg</i>	‘(that) we hit’
<i>yazír-äniz</i>	‘you write / are writing’

- iii) Others, such as the suffix of equative case *-čä* and the marker of negation *-mA*.

<i>dáy-čä</i>	‘as big as a mountain’
<i>bir ketáb=i</i>	‘a certain book’
<i>apár-mä-di</i>	‘s/he did not take’

In addition, Qashqai makes use of the Persian enclitic marker of indefiniteness *=i*, which as other Persian clitics is normally unstressed, ex. *bir ketáb=i* ‘a certain book’. The stress is in fact the only differentiating surface feature between this Persian marker of indefiniteness and the front variant of the Turkic accusative case marker *-(y)i*, which is stressed. Compare the following examples:

- (1)

o	<i>qéz=i</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>män</i>	<i>es-er-äm</i>
That	girl=INDEF	KI	I	want-PRS-1SG

‘The girl whom I want...’ (folktale 7: 85)

- (2)

<i>män</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>qez-í</i>	<i>isä-m-ir-äm</i>
I	this	girl-ACC	want-NEG-PRS-1SG

‘I don’t want this girl.’ (folktale 7: 85)

Note that the marker of negation of the aorist *-mäž* is an exception to this rule, for it is stressed, as in:

*ged-māz-dig* ‘we would not (habitually) go’.

### 3.5.3. Prosodic stress

In Qashqai, the prosodic stress, i.e. the stress put on the words within a phrase or clause, is the same as in Persian. In finite verbal forms and syntactical groups including a finite verb form (which usually appears at the end of the clause), the stress is located on a non-final syllable. The Qashqai sentence intonation is also the same as that of Persian: a falling intonation in the end of sentences in declarative sentences and interrogatives with question words and a rising intonation in yes/no interrogative sentences. This difference in intonation is distinctive, because in Qashqai there is no interrogative particle.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Contrary to standard Turkish and Azerbaijani that have the interrogation particle *mI*. However, in Azerbaijani, this particle is only quoted in grammars.



## 4. WORD CLASSES & WORD FORMATION

### 4.0. Introduction

Word is a meaningful phonological unit of expression, in a given language, which can take a distinct orthographical form when it is written. This chapter deals with word classes in Qashqai, mainly nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. Categories like pronouns, modifiers, numerals, adpositions, interjections, particles, and clitics are also dealt with in this chapter. Word formation strategies resulting in derived and complex words are addressed as well.

### 4.1. Overview on the Qashqai lexicon

The basic lexicon of Qashqai has Turkic as its main source: It includes most of the principal basic notions such as body parts and organs (Table 44), kinship terms (Table 45), diseases (Table 46), fauna (Table 47) and most of the specific terms related to weaving (see Dareshuri and Beck: 2014). The lexical items of Turkic origin mainly exhibit Oghuz but also non-Oghuz features. To make a comparison, it is adapted here for Qashqai the table that Lars Johanson has produced in his chapter on The History of Turkic (1998c: 120):

Table 7. Qashqai Oghuz and non-Oghuz lexemes

	Qashqai	Oghuz	Non-Oghuz
‘to bite’	<i>dišlä-</i>	<i>išir-</i>	<i>tišle-</i>
‘dog’	<i>kepäg (köpäke)</i>	<i>köpeke</i>	<i>it</i>
‘door’	<i>där, qapı</i>	<i>qapı</i>	<i>eşik</i>
‘felt’	<i>käččü</i>	<i>keče</i>	<i>kiyız</i>
‘to find’	<i>bul-</i>	<i>bul-</i>	<i>tap-</i>
‘forward’	<i>iläri</i>	<i>ileri</i>	<i>burun, murun</i>
‘good’	<i>xub, yey</i>	<i>eyi, iyi</i>	<i>yaqşı</i>
‘hand’	<i>äl</i>	<i>el</i>	<i>qol (hand + arm)</i>
‘hare’	<i>dowšan</i>	<i>tavšan</i>	<i>qoyan</i>
‘lip’	<i>duday</i>	<i>dudaq</i>	<i>erin</i>
‘much’	<i>çok</i>	<i>çok</i>	<i>köp</i>
‘navel’	<i>gebäg (göbäg)</i>	<i>göbek</i>	<i>kindik</i>
‘other’	<i>ayrı, daba</i>	<i>başqa</i>	<i>özge</i>
‘to rest’	<i>rahatla-, esterabät ed-</i>	<i>dinlen-</i>	<i>tin-</i>
‘to return’	<i>bikil-, dön-</i>	<i>dön-</i>	<i>qayt-</i>
‘to send’	<i>yolla-</i>	<i>yolla-</i>	<i>yiber-</i>
‘to speak’	<i>danış-</i>	<i>söyle-</i>	<i>sözle-</i>
‘sun’	<i>gün (gün)</i>	<i>güneş</i>	<i>quyas</i>
‘willow-tree’	<i>segid (sögüd)</i>	<i>söyüt</i>	<i>tal</i>
‘to win’	<i>bärännä ol-, apar-</i>	<i>yen-</i>	<i>ut-</i>
‘wolf’	<i>qurd</i>	<i>qurt</i>	<i>böri</i>

Qashqai lexicon also exhibits a great number of loanwords which are of Iranian origin, in particular of Persian, and Arabic origin transferred via Persian. With a brief look at the Glossary in the end of this book, one may find out the extent of this lexical borrowing.

### 4.2. Word formation

New words in Qashqai can be formed by means of derivation and compounding. As an agglutinative language, Qashqai use a wide variety of derivational suffixes. Compared to standard Turkish, the serial agglutination of suffixes producing long complex derived words has a limited extent in Qashqai (on the word structure in Turkish, see Haig 2003). Derivational suffixes are of two types: i) class-maintaining suffixes, and ii) class-changing suffixes. Most of the Qashqai derivational suffixes are of second type,

i.e. suffixes that convert the class of the original word or stem. This is the way new nouns are usually formed out of diverse stems (subsection 4.3). A small set of these suffixes can be used to form adjectives (subsection 4.5.1). As for verbs, there exist denominal and deverbal suffixes serving to form new verbs or to change the valency of existing verb stems.

### 4.3. Nouns

Nouns in Qashqai are gender-neutral. Most nouns are simplex monosyllabic, ex. *ad* ‘name’, *yaʒ* ‘spring’, *toʒ* ‘dust’, and disyllabic, ex. *doŋuʒ* ‘pig’, *seyer* ‘cow’, *tikan* ‘prickle’. Qashqai has also many complex nouns formed out of other stems through the process of derivation. Derived nouns are disyllabic or polysyllabic, ex. *giney* ‘south’, *daray* ‘comb’, *bayirsaq* ‘intestine’ (see subsection 4.3.1). There are also compound nouns formed by means of various compounding devices, ex. *bel bayi* ‘belt’, *sari darman* ‘spice’ (see subsection 4.3.2). Reduplication is another strategy of noun formation limitedly used (see subsection 4.3.3).

Nouns cannot function as adjective, that is, as an attributive noun-modifier, unless they take the adjectivizing suffix *-TäKin*. Compare ex. (3) with ex. (4).

(3)

\**daš adam*

Intended meaning: ‘stony man’

(4)

*daš-täyin adam*

‘stony or stone-like man’

There are two exceptions to this rule: one is the case of using the name of certain animals in derogatory sense, ex. *kepäg adam* ‘the dog man’, *eššäg adam* ‘the donkey man’; and the other is the case of denoting the material with which a thing is made, ex. *daš äv* ‘stony house’, *čamur divar* ‘clay wall’. Nouns may occur as copular complement but cannot head a predicate (see section 10.2.5).

#### 4.3.1. Derived nouns

Derivation is the main mechanism of noun formation in Qashqai. Suffixes are used to form new nouns out of existing nominal roots (denominal suffixes) or verbal roots (deverbal suffixes). The most productive of these suffixes are presented in the following subsections.

##### 4.3.1.1. Denominal suffixes

**-čI**

It serves to form nouns of profession out of noun stems, as in:

<i>gez-čI</i>	<	<i>gez</i> ‘eye’	‘watchman’
<i>däyirman-čI</i>	<	<i>däyirman</i> ‘mill’	‘miller’
<i>karkun-ču</i>	<	<i>karkun</i> > P. <i>karkon</i> ‘worker’	‘worker’

This suffix is still productive in the speech of old people. Young speakers prefer to use Persian equivalents of Qashqai nouns formed by means of this suffix. Examples: *abängär* for *dämirčI* ‘blacksmith’, *negäbban* for *gezčI* ‘watchman’.

**-jik**

is a diminutive suffix that is no longer productive in Qashqai. It can be found in few lexical items, ex. *äjjik* ‘doll’s house’.

**-čä**

is a diminutive suffix, as in: *gilikčä* ‘yarn ball’, *kolayčä* ‘nightcap’, *serčä* ‘sparrow’. It is a productive suffix.

**-dan**

is a suffix borrowed from Persian and attaches to nouns to form nouns, as in: *bälädan* ‘kind of hand-woven bag’, *qandan* ‘sugar container’. It is a productive suffix.

**-dar**

is a suffix borrowed from Persian and attaches to nouns to form nouns of profession, ex. *sänduqdar* ‘cachier’, *čubdar* ‘livestock dealer’, *damdardar* ‘ranchman’. It is fairly productive.

**-daš**

is not productive. It occurs in certain nouns denoting the possessors of a shared attribute, ex., *yollaš* ‘friend, companion’, *qardaš* ‘brother’.

- gil(i)** is an unstressable suffix that indicates human group, especially a group consisting of members of a family or a group of friends, as in: *Särdargili* ‘Sardar and his family or group’, *biyimgili* ‘my (paternal) aunt and her family’. It occurs as *-gil-* when it is followed by inflectional suffixes, as in: *Ahmäd-gil-län* ‘from Ahmad and his family / group’.
- kar** is a stressed suffix present in certain Persian loans. It forms nouns denoting the doer of a profession or occupation, as in: *gäikar* < P. *gäic* (plaster) ‘plastering worker’, *juškar* < P. *juš* (weld) ‘welder’.
- li** is a productive suffix that forms nominals, namely adjectives which are used also as substantif, as in: *atli* ‘horseman’, *Tehran-li* ‘of Tehran’, *ora-li* ‘of there’. It is the suffix which serves to form place names and tribal names and especially names of subtribes in the Qashqai confederation, ex. *šesbäy-li* ‘the tribe (or people affiliated to) *Šesbäy*’, *sobrabxan-li* ‘the subtribe (or people affiliated to) Sohrabxan’. It is productively used to form benefactive adjectives from nouns, as in: *duz-lu* ‘salty’, *dad-li* ‘delicious’, *šäkär-li* ‘sweet’, *pox-lu* ‘shitty’.
- lik** is a very productive suffix that serves to form nouns from various stems. It attaches to nouns, adjectives and adverbs to form nouns indicating:
- abstract names, ex. *xublig* ‘goodness’, *kišilig* ‘manhood’, *yollašlig* ‘friendship’.
  - embodiment or institutional entities, ex. *särbazlig* ‘military service’.
  - professions and occupations, ex. *kišaväzlig* ‘agriculture’, *damdarlig* ‘ranch’.
  - a place where there is an abundance of things denoted by the root, ex. *dašlig* ‘where there are many stones’, *tikanlig* ‘where there are lots of prickles’.
- With Persian words, it usually replaces the *-i* suffix. Examples:
- |                   |                                   |                    |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| Qashqai           | Persian                           | Meaning            |
| <i>zereṇ-lig</i>  | <i>zeraṇ-i</i> < <i>zeraṇ</i>     | ‘agility’          |
| <i>bädädx-lig</i> | <i>badbaxt-i</i> < <i>badbaxt</i> | ‘utter difficulty’ |

#### 4.3.1.2. Deverbal suffixes

- ä** attaches to verb stems to form nouns. It is unproductive and is seen only in the noun *yarä* < *yar-* (incise) ‘wound’.
- är** attaches to verb stems to form nouns such as *käsär* ‘adze’ < *käs-* ‘to cut’.
- anti** attaches to the verb stem *ayar-* ‘turn white’ and forms the name *ayaranti* ‘dairy product’.
- ay** occurs in nouns such as *oray* ‘sickle’ < *or-* ‘to tear’, *qonay* ‘guest’ < *qon-* ‘to land’; *daray* ‘comb’ < *dara-* ‘to comb’, *doyanay* ‘cyclone’ < *doyun-* ‘to twirl’, *yamay* ‘patch’ < *yam-* ‘to mend’.
- I** can form adjectives and nouns such as: *eli* < *el-* (die) ‘dead’, *dolu* < *dol-* (be filled) ‘full’, *duru* < *dur-* (stay) ‘clear’.
- Im** can form nouns such as *yarim* < *yar-* (split) ‘half’, *dižim* < *diž-* (arrange) ‘row’, *gilim* < *gil-* (laugh) ‘laughter’.
- IK** can form nouns, ex. *täpig* ‘kick’ < *täp-* ‘hit’, *dälig* ‘hole’ < *däl-* ‘perforate’. It serves to form adjectives, as well (see 4.5.1).
- Iq** is an unproductive suffix that attaches to verb stems to form nouns such as *yariq* < (split) ‘fissure’.
- (I)š** to form nouns such as: *seyiš* < *sey-* (insult) ‘curse’, *yayiš* < *yay-* (to rain) ‘rain’. This suffix serves also to form certain adjectives (see 4.5.1).
- jäK** to form nouns such as: *ämjäg* < *äm-* (suck) ‘breast’, *dävürjäg* < *dävür-* (to turn) ‘a tool used in bread baking’, *tifürjäg* < *tifür-* (to spit) ‘spittle’.
- (A)nAK** is an unproductive suffix occurring in nouns such as *käpänäk* < *käp-* (to hide) ‘shepherd’s woollen coat’ and the adjective *tekänäk* < *tökänäk* < *tök-* (to strew) ‘untidy’.
- ki(n)** is a stressable suffix which attaches to various words, especially adverbs, as follows: i) time adverbials *dinän* ‘yesterday’, *gin* ‘day’ and its derivations *ogin* ‘that day’, *beyin* < *bu gin* ‘today’. With these nouns, the suffix *-ki* forms possessive pronominals: *dinänki* ‘that of yesterday’, *beyinki* ‘that of today’, *oginki* ‘that of the other day’. ii) adverbs of place or noun phrases containing the locative case marker, as in: *ordaki* ‘the one over there’, *yazžidäki* ‘the one in outside’, *daydäki* ‘the one in the mountain’. In this form, the suffix *-ki* serves to form both pronominal and adjectival phrases. iii) pronominals and noun phrases containing the genitive case marker, as in: *mänimki* ‘mine’, *Qorbaniniki* ‘Qorban’s’, *mädräsäniniki* ‘the thing belonging to the school’, *mašininiki* ‘the one belonging to the car’. In this usage, the suffix *-ki* serves to form only pronominals. The consonant /n/ appears only when this enclitic is followed by a case marker, ex. *otaydäkini* ‘the one in the room.ACC’, *bižimkinnän* ‘from ours’. iv) Persian cardinal numerals to form ordinal numerals, ex. *ävvalki* ‘the first’. In this usage,



- the suffix *ki* is productive only for digital numbers (see also 4.7.2).
- laq** to form nouns such as: *yalay* < *ye-* (to eat) ‘food recipient for dog’. It is rather used to form a place name associated with the meaning of the root, as in: *qışlaq* < *qış* (winter) ‘winter zone’, *yeylaq* < *yay-* (to graze) ‘summer zone’, *batlaq* < *bat-* (to sink) ‘march’.
  - (y)ma** to form nouns such as: *äyay açma* [foot opening-DER] ‘social intercourse’, *bulama* < *bul-* (to stir) ‘a kind of dairy product’, *qazma* < *qaz-* (to dig) ‘pickaxe’, *issidmä* < *issid-* (to warm) ‘fever’, *sexmä* < *sex-* (to press) ‘lunge’.
  - mäli** to form nouns of category of things, ex. *yemäli* < *ye-* (to eat) ‘food’, *içmäli* < *iç-* (to drink) ‘beverage’. In much the same way, this suffix serves to form adjectives (see 4.5.1).

### 4.3.2. Compound nouns

A great number of Qashqai compound nouns are borrowed from Persian. All compounds, native or loan, consist of two elements linked to each other by a morpheme (phrasal compounds), or juxtaposed with or without a coordinating conjunction (juxtaposed compounds). In this section are examined the native compounds which result from compounding operations.

#### 4.3.2.1. Phrasal compounds

The compounds of this type are reduced genitival phrases (see also 8.3.1). They can be subgrouped into determinative compounds and possessive compounds.

Determinative compounds consist of two elements, the first one determining the second one. They are formed as follows:

- i) A substantive marked by the possessive marker of third person singular preceded by another substantive which determines it:

*day baş-ï* ‘mountain top’  
*bel bay-ï* ‘belt’ (lit. the rope of waist)

Most of kinship terms of second degree are compounds of the same structure.

*ämi qız-ï* ‘niece’ (lit. the daughter of uncle)  
*dazza oyl-u* ‘nephew’ (lit. the son of aunt)

In the compounds of this type denoting pain or disease, the determined element is also unmarked:

*baş ayri* < *baş ayri-si* ‘headache’  
*diş ayri* < *diş ayri-si* ‘toothache’

They are different from their equivalents in Turkish, in which the possessive marker of the second element is always preserved, ex. *baş ağrı-sı* ‘headache’ (see also Göksel & Kerslake: 103-106). In this regard, Qashqai is like Persian, in which the two substantives are unmarked, ex. *sar dard* ‘headache’, *dandân dard* ‘toothache’ (see Lazard 2006: 268).

- ii) A verbal noun preceded by a substantive which is not marked by the possessive marker:

*ayay açma* ‘social intercourse’ (lit. opening the foot)  
*yaylıy tegmä* ‘a type of Qashqai dance’ (lit. throwing the kerchief)

Possessive compounds implies the possession a thing or a quality. They are composed of a substantive marked by the possessive marker of third person singular and an adjective qualifying it.

*all-ï qärä* ‘miserable’ (lit. one who has a black forehead)  
 forehead-POS black  
*dil-i yassï* ‘flattering’ (lit. one who has a flat tongue)  
 tongue-POS flat

#### 4.3.2.2. Coordinated compounds

Coordinated compounds are composed of two elements usually linked to each other with the coordination conjunction *(y)ə* ‘and’. The meaning denoted by these compounds is the extension of

meanings denoted by each element:

i) Two substantives, usually of the same semantic area:

<i>bašo qulay</i>	‘head and ear (and the similar parts of body)’
<i>qašo gez</i>	‘eye and eyebrow (and the similar parts of body)’

ii) Two substantivized adjectives, usually of the same semantic area:

<i>aǰ o suyiz</i>	‘hungry and thirsty (and the states of same sort)’
-------------------	--

iii) Two verb roots related to each other by the conjunction *(y)o*:

<i>keč o qon</i>	‘seasonal migration’
------------------	----------------------

#### **4.3.2.3. Juxtaposed compounds**

Juxtaposed compounds are composed of two elements linked to each other without coordination conjunction. These compounds extend the meaning denoted by each element. Juxtaposed compounds are as follows:

i) *Two substantives, usually of the same semantic area:*

<i>arvad ušay</i>	‘wife and children’
<i>yemäli ičmäli</i>	‘nourishment’
<i>äl iz</i>	‘hand and face’

ii) *A substantive followed by a qualifying adjective (without conjunction):*

<i>sari darman</i>	‘spice’ (lit. the yellow medicine)
<i>qärä jigär</i>	‘liver’ (lit. the black liver)

#### **4.3.3. Reduplication**

Reduplication is a morphological process in which a nominal root or stem or part of it is repeated. Types of reduplication occurring in Qashqai are *m*-reduplication and partial reduplication.

##### **4.3.3.1. *m*-Reduplication**

In *m*-reduplication, the same noun is reduplicated but with the phoneme *m* in initial position which replaces the first phonemic segment of the stem. The *m*-reduplication serves to generalize the concept conveyed by a noun to cover other objects, events, or states of affairs of the same kind.

<i>ayaǰ mayaǰ</i>	‘wood and things like that’
<i>ketab metab</i>	‘book and things like that’
<i>qorxu morxu</i>	‘fear and feelings like that’
<i>čeräg meräg</i>	‘bread and things alike to eat’

##### **4.3.3.2. Partial reduplication**

Partial reduplication occurs when the first element of the pair is a partial assonance of the first syllable of the stem that comes after and is bound to the first element with the coordination conjunction *(y)o* ‘and’.

<i>päke o pul</i>	‘money and everything’
<i>dar o derrä</i>	‘firewood and things alike’
<i>lat o lüt</i>	‘naked and down-and-out’

#### 4.4. Pronouns

Pronouns refer to persons, things, or states of affairs which are already mentioned in the speech or are identifiable from the discourse context. The Qashqai pronouns are as follows: personal, anaphoric, intensive-reflexive, possessive, reciprocal, demonstrative, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns. Qashqai shares a particularity with some other Irano-Turkic languages in the use of certain enclitic pronouns, especially anaphoric ones. It has no impersonal pronoun in the proper sense (pronouns are thoroughly discussed in chapter 6).

#### 4.5. Adjectives

The adjective in Qashqai precedes the noun, ex. *beyig äv* ‘(the) big house’. It does not vary in number, ex. *qäšäñ quš-lar* ‘beautiful birds’. It may follow the noun only in some lexicalized noun phrases in which the head noun is marked by a possessive marker, as in: *gez-i gey* [eye-POS3SG blue] ‘green-eyed’, *säqqäli sari* [beard-POS3SG yellow] ‘yellow-bearded’. Qashqai has many adjectives borrowed from Persian, such as: *xub* ‘good, nice, fine’, *zereñ* ‘habile’, *xošhal* ‘happy’, *tammäl* ‘lazy’, to mention only a few. Table 8 includes a list of frequent Qashqai adjectives with their semantically opposite pairs.

Table 8. Some of Qashqai adjectives with their opposite pairs

Adjective	Meaning	Adjective	Meaning
<i>añiq</i>	open	<i>bayli</i>	closed
<i>arriq</i>	slim	<i>çaq</i>	fat
<i>beyig</i>	big, large	<i>küçük</i>	small, little
<i>dadli</i>	tasty	<i>bimäzzä</i>	tastless
<i>iraq</i>	far away	<i>yäxen</i>	near, close
<i>issi</i>	warm	<i>yäx</i>	cold
<i>uğa</i>	tall	<i>kottä</i>	short
<i>uzun</i>	long	<i>kottä</i>	short
<i>xub</i>	good, fine, nice	<i>pes</i>	bad, mean

Adjectives can be qualified by a preceding adverb (4.8.3.2), ex. *çok* ‘very’ in: *bir çok qäšäñ qış* ‘a very beautiful girl’.

Adjectives may exhibit noun properties if they are substantivized (for discussion and examples see 8.2.4). Some adjectives can behave as adverbs of manner (see also 4.9.4), ex. *xub* ‘good’ (‘well’ as adverb) and *yavaş* ‘slow’ (‘slowly’ as adverb). These “adjective-adverbs” occur in immediate pre-verbal position:

- (5)  
*xub irle-yir*  
 good sing-PRS3SG  
 ‘S/he sings / is singing well.’

##### 4.5.1. Derived adjectives

Qashqai has a very limited number of simple adjectives. Most adjectives are complex ones formed out of other words using suffixes and sometimes prefixes.

##### 4.5.2. Adjectival suffixes

- II** is productively used to form benefactive adjectives from nouns, as in: *duz-lu* ‘salty’, *dad-li* ‘delicious’, *säkär-li* ‘sweet’, *pox-lu* ‘shitty’.
- sIz** attaches to nouns to form privative adjectives, that is, adjectives denoting that the entity described does not possess whatever expressed by the root, as in: *äyäsiz* ‘without protector’, *suyış* ‘thirsty’ < \**sub-suz*. This suffix is no longer productive in spoken Qashqai. Most often, the Persian counterpart, the prefix *bi* ‘without’, replaces this suffix, as in: *bi xäbär* for *xäbärsiz* ‘unaware, without news’, *bi rähm* for *rähmsiz* ‘cruel’.
- mäli** attaches to verb stems to form adjectives, such as: *baxmäli* < *bax-* (look) ‘worth of looking at’, and *biçmäli* < *biç-* (harvest) ‘worth of being harvested’.

- ane** a Persian suffix which is found in borrowed adjectives or adverb-adjectives, as in: *dustane* < *dust* (friend) ‘friendly’, *aqelane* < *aqel* (wise) ‘reasonable, wisely’.
- gin** can attach to verb stems to form adjectives such as: *yorgin* < *yor-* (make tired) ‘tired’, *dušgin* < *duš-* (fall) ‘unable’.
- IK** attaches to verb stems to form adjectives, ex.: *sekik* ‘torn’ < *sek-* ‘tear’, *ačiq* ‘clear, explicit’ < *ač-* ‘open’.
- (I)š** In vulgar speech, this suffix can attach to noun stems to form adjectives such as *getiš* > *get* (posterior) ‘asshole’, *sikiš* < *sik* (penis) ‘phallic’.
- naq** can attach to verb stems to form adjectives such as *yornaq* < *yor-* (make tired) ‘tired’.

#### 4.5.3. Adjectival prefixes

Prefixation in Qashqai is a borrowed mechanism with a limited but progressive range of application as a result of language contact. There are a few prefixes borrowed from Persian or from Arabic transferred via Persian. The most common of them are *ba-* ‘with’ and *bi-* ‘without’. They replace the Turkic derivational suffixes *-Il* and *-sIz* respectively. They serve to convert nouns to adjectives:

<i>māzǰǰä</i>	‘taste’	<i>ba-māzǰǰä</i>	‘delicious’	<i>bi-māzǰǰä</i>	‘tasteless’
<i>xoda</i>	‘God’	<i>ba-xoda</i>	‘Godly’	<i>bi-xoda</i>	‘impious’

There are some other prefixes which occur only in lexical items and expressions, such as: *na-* in *na-märd* ‘coward’, *na-xoš* ‘sick, ill’; and *la-* in *la-mässäb* < A. *lā mazhab* ‘damn, impious’.

#### 4.5.4. Adjectival degrees

Adjectives may take suffixes indicating degrees of comparison, i.e. comparative and superlative. Sometimes, adjectives can appear in emphatic forms.

##### 4.5.4.1. Comparative degree

The comparative degree of adjectives in Qashqai is expressed by the addition of the stressed suffix of Persian origin *-tär* to the adjectival stem:

<i>qäšāñ</i>	‘beautiful’	<i>qäšāñ-tär</i>	‘more beautiful’
<i>beyig</i>	‘big / old’	<i>beyig-tär</i>	‘bigger / older’

The suffix *-tär* is also employed to intensify the colour terms, ex. *sari-tär* ‘more yellow’. In this, Qashqai is divergent from other Turkic languages in which the color terms are normally graded by reduplication (for Old Turkic, see Erdal 2004: 150-151).

The stressed suffix *-rAK*, used as comparative marker, may occur in the speech of some Qashqai subtribes and the texts of certain Qashqai writers willing to purify Qashqai from Persian devices of adjective gradation, ex. *yäxen-räk* ‘closer’. It had an elative function in Old Turkic (ibid). For the comparative adjectival phrases, see subsection 8.2.4.1.

##### 4.5.4.2. Superlative degree

The superlative degree of adjectives in Qashqai is formed out of the comparative form preceded by the modifier *vari* ‘all’ in the ablative case (and optionally suffixed by a third person singular possessive marker).

<i>vari(sin)dan yäxen-tär</i>	‘the closest one (of all)’
<i>vari(sin)dan uzun-tär</i>	‘the longest one (of all)’

This is a mixed analytic and synthetic mechanism of superlative gradation that Qashqai has developed under the influence of Persian. The following examples are the correspondants of the above constructions in Persian:

<i>až hame nazdik-tar</i>	‘the closest one’
<i>až hame derâž-tar</i>	‘the longest one’

Note that the Persian suffix *-tarin* is usually used to form the superlative degree of loan adjectives of Persian (and Arabic) origin, particularly by younger speakers, ex. *pak-tarin* ‘the cleanest’, *ajib-tarin* ‘the strangest’. Besides, some Persian superlatives are taken as block into the Qashqai lexicon, ex. *behtarin* ‘the best’, *bädtarin* ‘the worst’.

The particle *än* (see *en* in Turkish and Azerbaijani) is attested as a marker of superlative, ex. *än beyig daş* ‘the biggest stone’ (Mardâni 2007: 110, Morâdi Qaraqâni 2008). Table 9 sums up the different degrees of adjectives in Qashqai.

Table 9. The degrees of adjectives (ADJ)

ADJ	Meaning	Comparative	Meaning	Superlative	Meaning
<i>yey</i>	‘good’	<i>yey-tär</i>	‘better’	<i>vari(sin)dan yey-tär</i>	‘the best’
<i>yäxen</i>	‘close’	<i>yäxen-tär</i>	‘closer’	<i>vari(sin)dan yäxen-tär</i>	‘the closest’
<i>uzun</i>	‘long’	<i>uzun-tär</i>	‘longer’	<i>vari(sin)dan uzun-tär</i>	‘the longest’
<i>ariy</i>	‘thin’	<i>ariy-tär</i>	‘thinner’	<i>vari(sin)dan ariy-tär</i>	‘the thinnest’

#### 4.5.4.3. *Emphatic adjectives*

Adjectives with emphatic forms are specifically colour adjectives whose stem is preceded by reduplication of its first syllable and the consonant /p/:

<i>qärü</i>	‘black’	<i>qapqärü</i>	‘deep black’
<i>sari</i>	‘yellow’	<i>sapsari</i>	‘deep yellow’
<i>yasıl</i>	‘green’	<i>yapyaşıl</i>	‘deep green’

The emphatic reduplication intensifies the meaning of colour adjectives.

## 4.6. Modifiers

The class of modifiers, which commonly modify another word by providing further information about it, covers a wide range of words including adjectives, articles, quantifiers, demonstratives. Adjectives are discussed in (4.5). The syntax of modifiers is discussed in chapter 8.

### 4.6.1. Articles

Indefinite article in Qashqai is *bir* ‘a’ (denoting numeral 1 too) which precedes the noun and indicates unity and indefiniteness, ex. *bir näfär* ‘a person’, *bir balıy* ‘a fish’. The combination of the Turkic article *bir* and the Persian clitic of indefiniteness *-i* can indicate specificity in Qashqai, ex. *bir quş-i* [a bird-P.INDEF] ‘a certain bird’.

Qashqai has no definite article. To mark definiteness, Qashqai has adopted the bound morpheme *-(y)akî* of Iranian origin which occurs with two morphological variants: *-akî* with nominal roots ending in a consonant, ex. *qış-akî* ‘the girl’, and *-yakî* with roots ending in a vowel, ex. *su-yakî* ‘the water’. On the suffix *-(y)akî*, see also Mardâni 2002, Dolatkah 2007, 2012, 2016 and Dolatkah/Csató/Karakoç 2016. For more details and discussion on this suffix and its functions see subsections 5.1.1, 8.2.1.2 and 13.1.

### 4.6.2. Quantifiers

Quantifiers determine whether the referent of the nouns they precede is definite or indefinite in number/amount. Qashqai quantifiers fall into two groups as follows:

i) Indefinite quantifiers:

<i>bir aş (bir xordä)</i>	‘a little, a small amount’
<i>bir para</i>	‘a certain amount / quantity’
<i>bir meqdar</i>	‘some, a certain amount of’
<i>bääzi</i>	‘certain’
<i>çok</i>	‘(too) much, (too) many’
<i>neçä</i>	‘a (certain) number of’

ii) Definite quantifiers:

<i>buyarza</i>	‘this much, so much’
<i>oyarza</i>	‘that much, so much’
<i>bär</i>	‘every’
<i>vari</i>	‘all’
<i>butun</i>	‘the whole (of)’

Quantifiers usually occur with singular nouns. Exceptions are *bir para*, *bäzi*, *cox* which can determine plural nouns, ex., *bir para gäplär* ‘a certain amount of words’, *bäzi yerlär* ‘certain places’, *cox käslär* ‘many people’.

#### 4.6.3. Markers of similarity and dissimilarity

The marker of similarity is *beläyi(n)* ‘such a’, composed of the demonstrative *bu* ‘this’ and the postpositional clitic *TäKin*. It precedes the noun, as in: *(bir) beläyin zad* ‘such a thing’. Markers of dissimilarity are *(bir) daba* and *(bir) ayri* ‘(an)other’, which precedes the noun, as in: *(bir) daba adam* ‘(an)other person’.

#### 4.6.4. Demonstratives

There are two demonstratives in Qashqai: *bu* ‘this’ which indicates a close referent, ex. *bu yol* ‘this road’, *bu uşaq* ‘this child’; and *o* ‘that’ which indicates a distal referent, ex. *o dār* ‘that door’, *o fikir* ‘that idea’. The plural forms are *munär (munlar)* < *bu-n-lar* ‘these’ and *onnär (ollar)* < *o-n-lar* ‘those’. Demonstratives can function as pronouns replacing noun phrases (see 6.6). They may also serve as definite determiners in noun phrases (see 8.2.2).

### 4.7. Numerals

Numerals in Qashqai are basically noun modifiers. They precede noun heads, ex. *beş näfär* ‘five persons’, *sevvomki äv* ‘the third house’. Depending on the context, numerals may also function as nominal elements. They can, thus, serve as copular complement (refer to 10.0).

#### 4.7.1. Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numerals are subdivided into simplex (1 to 10) and complex (more than 10) sets. Table 10 contains some Qashqai cardinal numerals. In general, the young generations prefer to use the Persian equivalents of these numerals, especially for the numbers above 10.

Table 10. Qashqai cardinal numerals

0	<i>sefr</i>	11	<i>onbir</i>	30	<i>ottuz</i>
1	<i>bir</i>	12	<i>onikki</i>	32	<i>ottuz ikki</i>
2	<i>ikki</i>	13	<i>onuç</i>	40	<i>xerx (xirx)</i>
3	<i>uç</i>	14	<i>onderd</i>	43	<i>xerx uç</i>
4	<i>derd (dört)</i>	15	<i>onbeş</i>	50	<i>älli</i>
5	<i>beş</i>	16	<i>onaltı</i>	60	<i>admiş</i>
6	<i>altı</i>	17	<i>on(y)eddi</i>	70	<i>yedmiş</i>
7	<i>(y)eddi</i>	18	<i>onsäkkiç</i>	80	<i>säysan</i>
8	<i>säkkiç</i>	19	<i>ondoquç</i>	90	<i>doqsan</i>
9	<i>doquç</i>	20	<i>igirmi (yirmi)</i>	100	<i>iç (yüz)</i>
10	<i>on</i>	21	<i>igirmi bir</i>	200	<i>ikki iç</i>
				1000	<i>miñ</i>

In complex cardinal numbers, the elements follow each other without any conjunction. The largest numerals come first, ex. *uñç älli beş* ‘three hundred and fifty-five’.

#### 4.7.2. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals designate positions in a sequence. The Qashqai ordinal numerals are made from Persian ordinal numerals and a non-harmonic stressed *-ki* suffix, as follows:

<i>ävväl-ki</i>	‘the first’
<i>dovvom-ki</i>	‘the second’
<i>sevvom-ki</i>	‘the third’

The use of the suffix *ki* as ordinal suffix in Qashqai is only partially productive and is limited to numerals up to 10. The young Qashqai prefer to use the Persian ordinal numbers, ex. *avvalin* ‘the first’, *dovvomin* ‘the second’, and so forth.

#### 4.7.3. Distributive numerals

Distributive numerals denote a specified group of number. In Qashqai, they are formed by simply repeating the cardinal numbers, as follows:

<i>bir bir</i>	‘in single’
<i>ikki ikki</i>	‘in pair’
<i>uç uç</i>	‘by the three’

This device is still productive up to 10. Young generations make use of Persian distributive numerals, ex. *baf tâ baf tâ* ‘by the seven’, *dah tâ dah tâ* ‘by the ten’.

#### 4.7.4. Multiplicative numerals

Multiplicative numerals are numerals that express ‘how many fold’ or ‘how many times’, ex. *bir dâfä* ‘once (one time)’, *ikki dâfä* ‘twice (two times)’, *uŝ dâfä* ‘thrice (three times)’.

#### 4.7.5. Partitive numerals

Partitive numerals express fraction. Qashqai usually employs Persian partitive numerals, such as *neŝf* ‘half’, *yeke sevvom* ‘one third’, *yeke çarom* ‘a quarter’. The Turkic partitive *yari* ‘a half’ is also in use. The Turkic device using the ablative case to form partitive numerals, such as *uŝtän bir* ‘one third’, *içdän bir* ‘one percent’, is less productive.

### 4.8. Verbs

Qashqai verbs can be classified into simplex, derived (complex), and compound. They usually consist of a monosyllabic root, optionally expanded by one of a wide variety of derivative suffixes. Verbs occur as predicate head, ex. (6), but cannot occur as copular complement, except in nominalized forms, ex. (7) (for verbal predicates see section 10).

- (6)
- |               |              |                  |
|---------------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>baş-İM</i> | <i>tik-i</i> | <i>ayar-mış.</i> |
| head-POS1SG   | hair-POS3SG  | turn.white-PF3SG |
- ‘My hair has turned white.’

- (7)
- |            |              |                |             |                           |
|------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| <i>här</i> | <i>sähär</i> | <i>ävvälki</i> | <i>iŝim</i> | <i>yuyunmak-tir.</i>      |
| every      | morning      | the.first      | work-POS1SG | wash.PASS.INF-PRS.COP3SG. |
- ‘Every morning, the first thing I do is getting washed.’

#### 4.8.1. Simplex verbs

Simplex verbs are monosyllabic roots consisting of only a single undividable morpheme. All simplex verbs in Qashqai are of Turkic origin, except a few which are copied from Persian, ex. *nal-* < P. *nâlidan* ‘to whine’ (see also 4.8.3.2). Most of basic motions, actions, and states of affairs are expressed by simplex verbs, of which a list is given in Table 11.

Table 11. A list of Qashqai simplex verbs

Verb	Meaning	Verb	Meaning
<i>bax-</i>	‘to look’	<i>ger-(gör-)</i>	‘to see’
<i>bul-</i>	‘to find’	<i>qer-</i>	‘to broke’
<i>em-</i>	‘to suck’	<i>ed- (et-)</i>	‘to do’
<i>gäl-</i>	‘to come’	<i>ged-</i>	‘to go’
<i>ol-</i>	‘to become’	<i>el- (öl-)</i>	‘to die’
<i>qal-</i>	‘to stay’	<i>qoy-</i>	‘to put, to let’
<i>sir- (sür-)</i>	‘to drive’	<i>ix-</i>	‘to exit’
<i>ver-</i>	‘to give’	<i>al-</i>	‘to take, to buy’
<i>vur-</i>	‘to strike, to hit’	<i>tur-</i>	‘to stand up’
<i>yat-</i>	‘to sleep’	<i>yu-</i>	‘to wash’
<i>ye-</i>	‘to eat’	<i>iç-</i>	‘to drink’

#### 4.8.2. Derived verbs

Much diverse concepts may be expressed by derived or complex verbs which are disyllabic or polysyllabic stems made through derivation and include a nominal root and a suffix. Table 12 includes a list of Qashqai complex verbs.

Table 12. A list of Qashqai complex verbs

Verbs	Meaning	Nominal/Verbal element	Meaning
<i>ajjylan-</i>	‘to get angry’	< <i>açı</i>	‘bitter’
<i>bayla-</i>	‘to tie, to close’	< <i>bay</i>	‘link’
<i>daşla-</i>	‘to stone’	< <i>daş</i>	‘stone’
<i>dişäd-</i>	‘to fix, to build’	< <i>diş</i> < <i>düş</i>	‘right’
<i>tärlä-</i>	‘to sweat’	< <i>tär</i> P.	‘damp, wet’
<i>yolla-</i>	‘to send’	< <i>yol</i>	‘road’

There are also verb derivations from verb roots by means of class-maintaining suffixes resulting in modification of voice or valency of the original verbs. These morphosyntactic operations are discussed in chapters 5.2 and 10.

##### 4.8.2.1. Verbs derived from nominals (denominal verbs)

Denominal verbs are derived from nouns or adjectives (or other nominals) by means of class-changing suffixes. The following is a non-exhaustive descriptive list of these suffixes.

- A** A productive suffix that attaches to nominal roots ending in consonants, as in: *oynä-* < *oyun* (dance) ‘to dance’; *gävšä-* < *gäviş* (rumination) ‘to ruminate’; *qanä-* < *qan* (blood) ‘to bleed’. It is a transitive suffix that attaches only to native roots.
- äd** It attaches to adjectives to form verbs such as: *dişäd-* < *diş* (right) ‘to make, to construct’.
- AlA** A fairly productive suffix that can be found in multisyllabic verbs such as: *itälä-* ‘to push’; *towala-* ‘to roll’; *silkäälä-* ‘to shake off’.
- It attaches to adjectives to form verbs denoting mostly change of state, such as: *dişäl-* ‘to be built, to be fixed’ < *diş* / *düş* ‘right’; *qoşäl-* ‘to become old (for men)’ < *qoş* ‘old’; *qärri-* ‘to become old (for women)’ < *qärri* ‘old woman’; *diril-* ‘to become alive, to revive’ < *dirri* ‘alive’.
- An** A fairly productive suffix that serves most often to form passive verbs, such as: *allan-* ‘to be deceived’; *bäzän-* ‘to be adorned’. It also occurs in other verbs such as: *inan-* ‘to believe’; *bägän-* ‘to like’; *oyan-* ‘to wake up’.



- Ar** It serves to form three groups of verbs: i) verbs denoting change of colour, ex. *ayar-* < *ay* (white) ‘to turn white, to look whitish’, *geyär-* < *gey* (green) ‘to turn green, to grow’, *sarar-* < *sari* (yellow) ‘to turn yellow, to turn pale’; ii) verbs denoting change of state, ex. *bašar-* ‘to be able’; iii) other verbs, ex. *otar-* ‘to pasture’ < *ot* ‘grass’.
- IX** It is an unproductive suffix which forms verbs out of adjectives, ex. *darix-* ‘to be sad’ < *dar* ‘tight’; *añix-* ‘to get angry’ < *añ* ‘bitter’.
- IA** It is the most productive verb deriving suffix in Qashqai, as it is in Old Turkic (Erdal 2004: 227) and Turkish (Nakipoğlu & Üntak 2008: 228). It makes possible innumerable derived verbs out of nominal stems. The derived verbs formed by this suffix can be classified into three groups, as follows: i) denominal verbs, such as: *dašla-* ‘to lapidate’ < *daš* ‘stone’, *yolla-* ‘to send’ < *yol-* ‘road’, *islä-* ‘to smell’ < *is* ‘odour’, *qabla-* ‘to fill’ < *qab* ‘case’, *sula-* ‘to sprinkle’ < *su* ‘water’, *bayla-* ‘to bind, to close’ < *bay* ‘tie’, *gezlä-* ‘to watch, to look after’ < *gez* ‘eye’, *ällä-* ‘to touch’ < *äl* ‘hand’, *išlä-* ‘to use’ < *iš* ‘work’; ii) deadjectival verbs, such as: *tämižlä-* ‘to clean’ < P. *tämiž* ‘clean’, *tärlä-* ‘to sweat’ < P. *tar* ‘wet’; iii) verbs derived from onomatopoeic words, ex. *ayla-* ‘to weep’, *hürila-* ‘to laugh loud and coarsely’.
- QIr** It attaches to onomatopoeic words. It is not productive and occurs only in a few words, ex.: *hayqir-* ‘to bawl’, *boxur-* ‘to bark’, *bäyir-* ‘to shout’.
- sA** A non-productive suffix that occurs in verbs such as *aysa-* ‘to limp’, *gilim-sä-* ‘to smile’, *yärib-sä-* ‘to feel oneself strange’.

### 4.8.3. Compound verbs

Compound verbs in Qashqai can be classified in two groups: compound verbs based on an auxiliary verb, and light verbs based on a lexical verb instead of auxiliary verb.

#### 4.8.3.1. Compound verbs based on an auxiliary verb

These compound verbs are composed of a monosyllabic so-called auxiliary verb, always of Turkic origin, plus a nominal item of Persian or Arabic origin. The main auxiliary verb is *ed-* (*et-*) ‘to do’. In some Qashqai tribes namely the Šešbäyli the verb *eylä-* ‘to do’ is also in use. The nominal element of compound verbs determines the meaning of the whole compound. It can be a noun ex. *säy* ‘effort’ in *säy ed-* ‘to make efforts’, or an adjective ex. *gej* ‘late’ in *gej ed-* ‘to be late’, or an onomatopoeic element such as *zer zer* in *zer zer ed-* ‘to make a disgusting noise’.

Table 13. Examples of auxiliary-based compound verbs and their Persian equivalents

Qashqai verb	Persian equivalent	Meaning	Nominal element
<i>säy ed-</i>	<i>say kardan</i>	‘to try’	<i>säy</i> ‘effort’
<i>nesf ed-</i>	<i>nesf kardan</i>	‘to cut into two pieces’	<i>nesf</i> ‘half’
<i>tekrar ed-</i>	<i>tekrâr kardan</i>	‘to repeat’	<i>tekrâr</i> ‘repetition’
<i>läng ol-</i>	<i>ârâm šodan</i>	‘to slow down’	<i>läng</i> ‘lame’
<i>tez ol-</i>	<i>zud budan</i>	‘to hurry up’	<i>tez</i> ‘fast’

Almost all the mental verbs are compound verbs. They are formed out of a ‘mental’ noun plus an auxiliary verb that is usually *ed-* ‘to do’, as in *ešas ed-* ‘to feel’, *fiker ed-* ‘to think’, *gäman ed-* ‘to suppose’. ‘To believe’ may be rendered by either the simplex Turkic root *inan-* or the compound verb *bavär ed-* [belief do].

#### 4.8.3.2. Light verbs

Light verbs in Qashqai consist of a nominal item and a lexical verb. In these compounds, the meaning is determined by both nominal and verbal items. Most Qashqai light verbs are calqued on Persian equivalents, as showed in Table 14.

Table 14. Some Qashqai light verbs and their Persian equivalents

Qashqai verb	Persian equivalent	Meaning	Nominal element
<i>zāŋ vur-</i>	<i>zang zadan</i>	‘to make a phone’	<i>zāŋ</i> ‘ring’
<i>iš ger-</i>	<i>kar kardan</i>	‘to work’	<i>iš</i> ‘work’
<i>saž čal-</i>	<i>saž zadan</i>	‘to play an instrument’	<i>saž</i> ‘instrument’
<i>ber ber bax-</i>	<i>ber ber negāb kardan</i>	‘to stare’	<i>ber ber</i> ‘gesture of staring’
<i>yer sal-</i>	<i>ja andāxtan</i>	‘to make bed’	<i>yer</i> ‘place’
<i>xābār al-</i>	<i>xabar gereftan</i>	‘to get news’	<i>xābār</i> ‘news’
<i>ejaže ver-</i>	<i>ejaže dādan</i>	‘to permit’	<i>ejaže</i> ‘permission’

#### 4.8.3.3. Choice of compound verbs

To render some ideas, either one of simplex, derived or compound verbs are used, ex. *šoru ed-* [start do] *v.s* *bašlā-* ‘to start’; *piyadā ol-* [afoot become] *v.s* *en-* ‘to get off’. The choice of using simplex, derived, or compound verbs seems to be a matter of age, gender and the degree of literacy of speakers. Women, old-aged and illiterate speakers prefer simplex and derived verbs. Younger generations prefer to use compound forms. Some possible reasons for this tendency might be: i) the Qashqai lexicon is not rich enough to provide the speakers with simplex verbs adequate for new concepts; ii) the derivational devices are less productive to produce new verbs out of existing roots; iii) the influence of Persian in which the use of compound verbs is excessive. This is probably the main reason, since there are the same word-to-word equivalents in standard Persian for most of Qashqai compound verbs, as it is said above and showed in Table 13 and Table 14.

Some compound verbs have no simple or derived equivalents, ex. *dārs oxu-* [lesson read] ‘to study’; *zāŋ vur-* [ring hit] ‘to ring, to phone’; *javāb ver-* [answer give] ‘to answer’. Some others have simple or derived equivalents, but they are less employed, such as: *iš ger-* [work see] ‘to work’, instead of *išlā-* [work-DER], *jarri čäk-* [broom drag] ‘to sweep’, instead of *sipir-* < *sipür-* or *jarri-lä-*.

#### 4.8.4. Copied verb roots

In Qashqai there is a certain number of copied verb roots of Persian origin which are conjugated like verb roots of Turkic origin. Three of these roots, which are found in the corpus, are illustrated in Table 15:

Table 15. Qashqai verb roots copied from Persian

Qashqai form	Meaning	Persian verb form	Meaning
<i>saži-</i>	‘to agree on’	<i>saž &lt; sāxtan</i> ‘	to make, to construct’
<i>nal-</i> ( <i>nalix-</i> )	‘to whine’	<i>nal &lt; nālidan</i>	‘to whine’
<i>xatimā gir-</i>	‘to come to an end’	<i>ger &lt; gereftan</i>	‘to get, to obtain’

As the table indicates, these global copyings are essentially based on the radical I of Persian verbs with no any or only slight phonetical changes (for Persian verb radicals see Lazard 2006: 120) Examples:

(8)

*Jumhuri Eslami*      *belām-inān*      *saži-mā-di.*  
 Republic.Islamic      ANAPH1-INST      agree.on-NEG-PRS3SG

‘The Islamic Republic did not get along with me.’ (interview 3: 20)

(9)

*qeč-in-ä*      *bir*      *yarmačča*      *bat-miš*      *nal-ir.*  
 foot-POS3SG-DAT      a      splinter      penetrate-PF3SG      whine-PRS3SG

‘A thorn is penetrated in his foot and he whines [of that]’. (folktale 2: 71)

(10)

*dahva*      *da*      *xatimā gir-är.*  
 battle      DA      come.to.an.end-AOR3SG

‘And the battle came to an end.’ (life story 2: 21)

Notice that *gir* copied from the Persian verb *gereftan* ‘to get’ has a locational use as well (see 7.4.4).

## 4.9. Adverbs

Adverbs can modify any part of speech except the noun. They may modify verbs, adjectives, clauses, sentences, or other adverbs. Typically, adverbs modify verbs with regard to time, place, manner, and frequency. For adverbial clauses, see (12.1.3). Adverbs denoting prototypical adverbial concepts (such as predicate manner and spatio-temporal modification) are either derived from nouns or from adjectives. Qashqai adverbs do not constitute a clear-cut class of words. Adjectives and sometimes phrases and short clauses can also function as adverbs.

### 4.9.1. Adverb formation

#### 4.9.1.1. Adjectives with adverbial functions (“adjective-adverbs”)

A few adjectives in Qashqai can be used as adverb. These “adjective-adverbs” can be both of Turkic origin, such as *aʒ* ‘few, less’, *čox* ‘much, very’, and Persian origin, such as *xub* ‘in a good way’. See the following examples:

- (11)  
*iŋer čox owqat-iŋ tälx-di(r)!*  
 it.seems very mood-POS2 bitter-PRS.COP3SG  
 ‘You are apparently in a very bad mood (folktale 1: 53)’

- (12)  
*ger-di belä ruzegar-i xub ol-ir...*  
 see-PST3SG this.way life-POS3SG good become-PRS3SG  
 ‘He realized that his life changes for good (folktale 1: 61).’

#### 4.9.1.2. Adverbs formed out of reduplication of adjectives

The complete reduplication of some adjective-adverbs is a device to form adverbs of manner. These adjectives and their repetition are juxtaposed without any relating morpheme or coordination conjunction, as illustrated in table Table 16:

Table 16. Adverbs formed out of adjective reduplication

Adverbs	Meaning	Adjectives	Meaning
<i>aʒ aʒ (käm kām)</i>	‘little by little’	< <i>aʒ (käm, P.)</i>	‘small number or quantity’
<i>yomaʃ yomaʃ</i>	‘slowly’	< <i>yomaʃ</i>	‘slow’
<i>ayri ayri</i>	‘separately’	< <i>ayri</i>	‘apart’
<i>beyig beyig</i>	‘greatly’	< <i>beyig</i>	‘big, great’

See the example below:

- (13)  
*uč-u da ayri ayri näfär-ä bir tas tela getir-mišidi.*  
 three-POS3SG DA separately person-DAT one pan gold take-PPF3SG  
 ‘All three, each one separately, had taken a full pan of gold’ (life story 2: 31).

#### 4.9.1.3. Adverbs formed using Turkci suffixes

The Turkic suffixes *-(y)AnDA* and *-(y)A... -(y)A* partake in adverbial clauses involving verbal roots to denote immediacy and simultaneity of actions, respectively (see 12.1.3).

#### 4.9.1.4. Phrasal or clausal adverbs

Some adverbs are grammaticalized form of phrases or clauses or their deformed or contracted shapes. See the table below and the following examples:

Table 17. Phrases or clauses grammaticalized as adverbs

Adverbs	Meaning	Phrases or clauses	Meaning
<i>billir</i>	‘last year’	< <i>bir ildir</i>	‘(lit.) there is one year’
<i>yeñil</i>	‘next year’	< <i>yeñi il</i>	‘(lit.) new year’
<i>gärägdän</i>	‘really, truly’	< <i>gäräg-ABL</i>	‘truth’
<i>birdän</i>	‘suddenly’	< <i>bir-ABL</i>	‘one’

(14)

*xanım-e*      *bähmäni*      *billir*      *gäl-li*      *de-di*      *ki...*  
 MaDAM-EZ      bahmani      last.year      come-PST3SG      say-PST3SG      KI

‘Madam Bahmani came (to me) last year and said that...’ (interview 1: 25).

(15)

*birdän*      *yayış*      *tutär.*  
 suddenly      rain      take-AOR3SG

‘It suddenly started raining.’ (Molla Nasreddin 2: 4)

A shortened form of the adverb *birdän* ‘suddenly’ may occur as *bir* in fast speech and in narrative texts:

(16)

*bir*      *gerdi*      *gäččisi*      *hirkir.*  
 one      see-PST3SG      goat-POS3SG      shy-PRS3SG

‘He suddenly saw his goats shying back.’ (from a folktale)

#### 4.9.2. Adverbs of place

Any word denoting a location in space can function as adverb of place. It can be a place name ex. *şiraz*, a common name ex. *mädräsä* ‘school’, a pronominal such as *bura* < *bu ara* ‘here, this place’, or a word expressing a direction in space ex. *uxari* ‘up, above’. In the clause, the words denoting the location in place may be marked by diverse spatial cases (see chapter 1). Adverbs of place can be classified as follows (the lists are exhaustive):

##### i) Adverbs denoting direction

<i>uxari</i>	‘up, above’	<i>aşşayi</i>	‘down’
<i>iläri</i>	‘forward’	<i>geri</i>	‘backward’
<i>oyan, owan</i>	‘that side’	<i>buyan, bowan, bəri</i>	‘this side’

Note that *oyan* (*owan*) and *buyan* (*bowan*) are contracted forms comprising the demonstratives *bu* ‘this’ and *o* ‘that’ and the word *yan* ‘side, half’.

##### ii) Adverbs denoting distance

<i>yäxen</i>	‘close, near’
<i>yowuy</i>	‘close, near’
<i>iray</i>	‘far away’

##### iii) Adverbs denoting position

<i>ara</i>	‘interval, between’	<i>orta</i>	‘middle, center’
<i>alt</i>	‘beneath, under’	<i>iss &lt; üst</i>	‘top, above’
<i>ičäri</i>	‘inside’	<i>yažzi</i>	‘outside’
<i>qäray (qıraq)</i>	side	<i>käm</i>	edge, border

**Note:** The adverbs *alt* ‘under’, *iss* ‘above’ and *ara* ‘interval, between’ do not stand in bare forms and take possessive marker in the phrase, as in: *täxt-iñ alt-in-na* ‘under the bed’, *day-iñ iss-in-nä* ‘on the mountain’, *gezlärim ara-si* ‘between my eyes’.

All of the above-mentioned adverbs may be substantivized and take nominal inflectional suffixes for number, case and possession, as in *yäxen-lär* [close-PL], *oyan-nä* [in that side. LOC], *orta-si* [middle-POS].

Some adverbs of place denoting direction and position can function as adjectives (adjective-adverbs). As adjective, they can take the comparative suffix *-tär*, ex. *yäxentär* ‘nearer’, *uxartär* ‘higher’, *ilärtär* ‘more

forward, long before'. The exceptions are *ara* 'between', *orta* 'middle / center', *alt* 'under', and *iss* 'above'. All adjective-adverbs ending in a vowel lose this vowel when they are suffixed, ex. *ilärtär* 'nearer' < *iläri*, *uxardän* 'from above' < *uxari*.

#### 4.9.3. Adverbs of time

Adverbs of time denote a location in time. Compared with the adverbs of place, the adverbs of time in Qashqai are not homogenous in form. They vary from simple words to noun phrases and even clauses. The adverbs of time in Qashqai can be classified as follows:

##### 4.9.3.1. Adverbs of time with reference to the moment of speech

i) adverbs referring to present time:

<i>inni (äälän)</i>	'now'
<i>innilär</i>	'nowadays'
<i>bäyex</i>	'newly'
<i>beyin</i> < <i>bu gin</i>	'today'
<i>bu ginlär</i>	'these days'
<i>begejü</i> < <i>bu gejü</i>	'tonight'
<i>bu hafta</i>	'this week'
<i>bu ay</i>	'this month'
<i>biyil</i>	'this year'

ii) Adverbs referring to past time:

<i>onnä</i>	'then'
<i>onnälär</i>	'those days'
<i>qäblän</i>	'previously'
<i>iläri</i>	'before'
<i>dinän</i>	'yesterday'
<i>iläri gin</i>	'the day before yesterday'
<i>ilärisi gin</i>	'two days before yesterday'
<i>gedän hafta / ay</i>	'last week / month'
<i>billir</i>	'last year'
<i>iläri il</i>	'two years ago'
<i>ilärki il</i>	'three years ago'
<i>ilärtär</i>	'formerly'
<i>qädem</i>	'in the past'

iii) Adverbs referring to future:

<i>saba (säbär)</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>saba gejü</i>	'tomorrow night'
<i>(säbär yow) birigin</i>	'the day after tomorrow'
<i>birdahası gin</i>	'in three days'
<i>gälän hafta / ay / il</i>	'next week / month / year'
<i>gälgäç hafta / ay / il</i>	'in two weeks / months / years'
<i>yeñil</i>	'next (new) year'

##### 4.9.3.2. Adverbs of time without reference to the moment of speech

i) Parts of day:

<i>säbräquley</i>	'dawn'
<i>sähär</i>	'morning'
<i>zöbr</i>	'noon'
<i>päsen</i>	'afternoon'
<i>šam</i>	'evening'

<i>geĵä</i>	‘night’
<i>geĵä yari</i>	‘mid-night’

ii) General expressions:

<i>ävvälän</i>	‘first, at first’
<i>iläri</i>	‘before’
<i>sora</i>	‘after’
<i>gab(dän)</i>	‘early’
<i>geĵ(dän)</i>	‘late’
<i>onna</i>	‘then’

*iläri* ‘forward, before’ is also an adverb of place. It serves as a determiner, too, in the structure of other adverbs of time, ex. *iläri il* ‘two years ago’.

*iläri* ‘before’ and *sora* ‘after’ serve also as postposition (see chapter 4.10).

*gab* ‘early’ and *geĵ* ‘late’ may optionally take the ablative case: *gab-dan*, *geĵ-dän*.

#### 4.9.4. Adverbs of frequency

Adverbs of frequency express how often something happens. In Qashqai, they are almost all copied from Persian or Arabic. They can be classified in adverbs of definite frequency and adverbs of indefinite frequency.

##### 4.9.4.1. Adverbs of definite frequency

The adverbs of definite frequency are made from the determiner *bär* ‘every’ plus an adverb of time in the locative case. Sometimes the determiner *bär* ‘every’ is optional, and in some instances the locative case can be omitted.

<i>bär saat</i>	‘hourly’
<i>(bär) ğin-nä</i>	‘everyday’
<i>bär il-lä</i>	‘yearly’

The other device to form adverbs of definite frequency is the use of the word *däfü* ‘time’ preceded by a numeral, such as *bir däfü* ‘once’, *ikki däfü* ‘twice’. Using the numerals and the ablative case is also productive, ex. *bir ğin-nän bir* ‘every other day’, *ikki haftä-dän bir* ‘every two weeks’, *uĉ ay-dän bir* ‘every three months’.

##### 4.9.4.2. Adverbs of indefinite frequency

Almost all adverbs of indefinite frequency are of Persian or Arabic origin:

<i>hämmešä</i>	‘always’
<i>mokärrärän</i>	‘frequently’
<i>monäzžämän</i>	‘regularly’
<i>määmulän</i>	‘usually’
<i>äyläb</i>	‘often’
<i>bäāžĵi växt (lär)</i>	‘sometimes’
<i>gabdän bir</i>	‘occasionally’
<i>gab gab</i>	‘occasionally’
<i>nodrätän</i>	‘seldom, rarely’
<i>bešväxt</i>	‘never’

#### 4.9.5. Adverbs of manner

Adverbs of manner express the manner or way in which something happens. They essentially modify verbs, normally dynamic (action) verbs. The adverbs of manner in Qashqai are not homogenous; they may be of several types and come from diverse origins:

- i) The adjective-adverbs such as *sxäxt* ‘hard, hardly’, *alayin* ‘clear, clearly’.

- ii) Adverbs derived from adjectives, ex. *až-ja* ‘scarcely’ < *až* ‘few, little’, *qäšän-ja* ‘beautifully’ < *qäšän* ‘beautiful’. This device is no longer productive.
- iii) Adverbs derived from nouns or nominals by means of the enclitic postposition *TäKin* ‘like’, ex. *kiši=täyin* ‘manly’, *be=läyin* ‘this way’ < *bu* ‘this’, and *o=läyin* ‘that way’ < *o* ‘that’.
- iv) Adverbs made out of the numeral *bir* ‘one’ and the ablative case: *bir-dän* ‘suddenly’ (see the examples (15) and (16)).
- v) Adverbs made out of abstract nouns plus the instrumental / comitative suffix *-(y/I)nän*, ex. *xošballig-inän* ‘happily’ < *xošballig* ‘happiness’.
- vi) Persian adjective-adverbs formed by means of the suffix *-ane*, ex. ‘*aqel-ane*’ ‘wisely’.
- vii) Arabic adverbs formed by means of the suffix *-an*, such as: *žeddän* ‘seriously’, *täqribän* ‘approximately’; also, other Arabic adverbial expressions, ex. *belettefaq* ‘together’.

#### 4.9.5.1. *Belä*

Special attention is paid to the adverbial item *belä* and its derivations which have multiple usages with a wide range of meanings and always with a deictic reference.

- i) *belä* as an adverb of manner meaning ‘so’ which may emphasize an adjective:

(17)

<i>dedi</i>	<b><i>belä</i></b>	<i>yol</i>	<i>iray-dir</i>	<i>ažiz</i>	<i>ol-l-aŋ.</i>
say-PST3SG	so	road	far.away-PST.COP3SG	disabled	become-AOR2SG

‘She said: the road is so long [that] you will become tired [lit. disabled].’ (from a folktale)

(18)

<b><i>belä</i></b>	<i>bir</i>	<i>pes</i>	<i>adam-imiš</i>	<i>dä.</i>
such	a	bad	person-EVIMPF3SG	DA

‘And he was such a bad man.’ (folktale 5: 2)

- ii) *beläyi* < *beläki* = *belä* + *ki* as an indefinite determinant meaning ‘such a’ which precedes the noun, ex. *beläyi žad* ‘such a thing’:

(19)

<i>de-di</i>	<i>bir</i>	<b><i>belä-yi</i></b>	<i>zad</i>	<i>gerdiŋ</i>
say-PST3SG	a	such-KI	thing	see-PST2SG

‘He said: [if] you see such a thing,

<i>berkiŋi</i>	<i>geti</i>	<i>däräynän</i>	<i>var</i>	<i>ged.</i>
hat-POS2SG-ACC	take.IMP	valley-INST	go.IMP	go.IMP

take your hat and go through the valleys’. (folktale 1: 9)

- iii) *beläyi* < *beläki* as an adverb meaning ‘in this way, in this manner’:

(20)

<i>kaka-m</i>	<b><i>beläyi</i></b>	<i>karkunčulug</i>	<i>ed-äsi-ŋ,</i>	<i>nä</i>	<i>sän-iŋ-läyin.</i>
brother.POS1SG	this.way	workmanship	do-NECS-2SG	not	you-GEN-like

‘Brother, you should work in this way, not as what you do.’ (from a folktale)

(21)

<i>xob</i>	<i>ne</i>	<b><i>beläyi</i></b>	<i>ol-lu,</i>	<i>näyin</i>	<i>ol-lu?</i>
well	why	so	become-PST3SG	how	become-PST3SG

‘Well, why did that happen? How did that happen?’ (folktale 6: 77)

- iv) *belänä* as an adverb meaning ‘together’ which may be segmented as [*belä*-DAT].

(22)

<i>de-di</i>	<i>gäl</i>	<b><i>belänä</i></b>	<i>ged-ä-g</i>	<i>mofti</i>	<i>eslah</i>	<i>ed-ä-g.</i>
say-PST3SG	come.IMP2SG	together	go-SUBJ-1PL	free	correction	do-SUBJ-1PL

‘He said: let’s go together [and] have our hair cut for free.’ (Funny story 1: 9)

- v) *belä* together with a deictic gesture can be used to indicate a direction:

(23)

*birisi      gäl-li      ged-di      burdän      belä      ger-mä-di-η?*  
 some.one    come-PST3SG    go-PST3SG    here.ABL    this.way    see-NEG-PST-2SG

‘Some one passed by here and went this way; didn’t you see him?’ (folktale 2: 28)

- vi) *belä mäblum* ‘seemingly’ as a non-assertive adverb is a shortened form of *belä ki mäblumdur* ‘as it seems to be evident’ (see also 4.9.6.2).
- vii) *belä* can take the possessive suffix to form a kind of anaphoric personal pronoun which can in turn take case suffixes. For a full discussion of this issue, see the section 6.2.

#### 4.9.6. Modal adverbs

Modal adverbs are words, expressions, or clauses used to express the speaker’s view of the truth-value of a proposition, such as certainty, and uncertainty. They may also have a variety of other semantic contents, ex. pleasure, displeasure, and politeness. Modal adverbs can be classified in three groups: assertive modal adverbs, non-assertive modal adverbs, and other modal adverbs, i.e. those not meeting the definition of either one of the assertive or non-assertive adverbs.

##### 4.9.6.1. Assertive adverbs

These adverbs and adverbial expressions strengthen the affirmation:

<i>gärägdän (vayeän)</i>	‘really’
<i>mošäxxäsän</i>	‘definitely’
<i>batmän</i>	‘certainly’
<i>valla</i>	‘honestly’
<i>älbätä</i>	‘of course’
<i>labod</i>	‘necessarily’

The assertive adverbs assert the truth of the modal statement, and consequently may co-occur with deontic modal predicates (see chapter 9).

##### 4.9.6.2. Non-assertive adverbs

These adverbs and adverbial expressions attenuate the affirmation:

<i>belä mäblum</i>	‘seemingly’
<i>mänä gälir</i>	‘it seems to me’
<i>mäžännä</i>	‘supposedly’
<i>šayäd/bälkäm</i>	‘perhaps’

With non-assertive adverbs, the truth of the modal statement is put in doubt. Thus, they go in correlation with epistemic modal predicates (see chapter 9).

##### 4.9.6.3. Others

Adverbs and adverbial expressions without assertive or non-assertive values can be subgrouped as follows:

- i) Adverbs that show the speaker’s attitude towards the statement:

<i>allaha šükür # xošbäxtane</i>	‘fortunately’
<i>bädbäxtane # motäässefane</i>	‘unfortunately’
<i>inšalla</i>	‘hopefully’

- ii) Adverbs that denote restriction or repetition:

<i>fäyät</i>	‘only’
<i>genä, genädän</i>	‘again, anew’

Notice that *genädän* [again-ABL] is a variant of *genä* taking the ablative case. This is probably a copying



of the Persian adverbial structures *aẓ now* ‘anew’, and *aẓ dobâre* ‘once again’, *aẓ* meaning ‘from’.

iii) Adverbs and adverbial expressions that serve as politeness device:

*määzärät* ‘(I beg your) pardon’  
*bizähmät* ‘if it doesn’t bother you’

## 4.10. Adpositions

### 4.10.1. Postpositions

Postpositions are not a well-distinguished class of words in Qashqai. There are lots of overlap between postpositions and grammatical categories having relational functions, namely cases. However, cases expressed by morphological means differ from postpositions that are considered to be separate words.

The Qashqai postpositions are listed below.

- *iči(n)* ‘for’
- *sari* ‘towards’
- *gerä* ‘according to’
- *ayri* ‘apart’
- *iläri* ‘before’
- *sora* ‘after’
- *bäri* ‘since’
- *serä* ‘with’

The morphosyntax of postpositions is discussed along with cases in chapter 6.

### 4.10.2. Prepositions

Qashqai is not a prepositional language; though, in the speech of young generations, there are some prepositions borrowed from Persian, such as *där* ‘in’, *äẓ* ‘from’, *ba* ‘with’. They may occur in globally copied expressions, such as *äẓ läbäẓ-e* [ABL viewpoint-EZ] ‘from the point of view’; *där hadd=i ke* [LOC limit=INDEFKI] ‘to the extent that’; or along with their Turkic counterparts in selective or mixed copied structures, ex., *bu mowred-dä* [this case-LOC] < P. *dar in mowred* [LOC this case] ‘in this case’; *där bare-ye bu* < P. *dar bâre-ye in* [LOC about-EZ this] ‘in this respect’.

*ba* ‘with’ is the most employed Persian preposition that often occurs along with the instrumental / comitative case *-(y/I)nän*, as in:

(24)  
*eddi qatar dävä ba darya-si-ynän duš-du*  
 Seven row camel with camel.driver-POS3SG-INST fall-PST3SG  
 ‘Seven rows of camel fell along with their camel breeders.’ (from a folktale)

## 4.11. Interjections, particles & clitics

For the sake of expository ease, in this section are grouped together interjections, particles, and clitics, which are heterogeneous elements in grammatical and semantic properties.

### 4.11.1. Interjections

The following list includes the most common interjections in Qashqai:

<i>aha</i>	‘yes’	acquiescence
<i>ahay, häy, hoy</i>	‘hey!’	call
<i>ax, ay</i>	‘ouch!’	suffering
<i>axey</i>	‘alas’	regret
<i>axey(š)</i>	‘oh’	pleasure
<i>buy (often doubled)</i>	‘whew’	amazement
<i>vay (often doubled)</i>	‘bad luck!’	suffering
<i>hän</i>	‘what?’	interrogation

Many of them are like those of colloquial Persian (see Lazard 2006: 159-160). There are also nouns or adjectives of Persian origin which Qashqai use as interjection:

<i>heyf</i>	‘what a pity!’ (for a regrettable thing or situation)
<i>tef</i>	‘fie!’ (lit. ‘spittle’)
<i>xob</i>	‘OK, well’ (to punctuate the speech and to put an end to speech)
<i>afärin</i>	‘bravo!’

Just as in Persian, some religious expressions, too, serve as interjection:

<i>valla &lt;vallah</i>	‘by God’	to reinforce affirmation
<i>yalla &lt;ya allah</i>	‘let’s go (start), quick!’	also, to ask permission to enter a place
<i>barekälla</i>	‘bravo!’	encouragement, also to reproach ironically
<i>allahu äkbär</i>	‘God is great’	amazement and contrariety
<i>la ilaha illälla</i>	‘there is no god but God’	amazement and contrariety

#### 4.11.2. Particles

Particles are unbound elements, often invariable in form, that have their own grammatical or pragmatic meaning. The list below includes the Qashqai particles and their main functions.

<i>älä</i>	emphasis, exclamation
<i>be</i>	adverb of interrogation
<i>belä</i>	adverbial item, deictic particle accompanied by gesture, determiner
<i>ki(ke)</i>	subordinator, connector, relative clause marker
<i>nä</i>	adverbial element of affirmation, discursive element
<i>ne</i>	adverbial element used in short positive answers to negative questions
<i>tä(ta)</i>	subordinator, discourse connector
<i>vä</i>	coordination conjunction

The syntactic function of particles will be discussed through the following chapters.

#### 4.11.3. Clitics

Clitics share some properties of words and some characteristics of affixes (Dixon 2010: 424). The Qashqai clitics are presented in the following table along with their main functions and features. Some clitics may undergo phonetic variations.

Table 18. Qashqai clitics

Clitic	Meaning	Functions	Characteristics
= <i>(y)o</i> < P. <i>o</i> < M.P. <i>ud</i>	‘and’	coordination conjunction	unstressed
= <i>DA</i>	‘and, also, as for’	coordination conjunction, discourse connector (topicalizer) emphatic element	phonetically variable, unstressed
= <i>DA how</i>	‘as for’	discourse connector (topicalizer), emphatic element	phonetically variable, unstressed
= <i>iki</i> < P. = <i>i ke</i>	INDEF KI	Relativizer	unstressed

The syntactic properties of clitics will be reviewed in the following chapters.



## 5. INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

### 5.0. Introduction

In this chapter the inflectional morphology of nominals and verbals is discussed; that is, the operations through which these word classes are identified or enter in relationship with other elements in given phrases. Inflectional morphology in Qashqai uses suffixes which are added to nominal or verbal stems in a specific order determined by morphosyntactical requirements.

### 5.1. Nominal Inflection

Nominal inflection determines the place of nouns and nominal items in the phrase. Nouns, pronouns, substantivized adjectives, sometimes numerals and even postpositions with adverbial function can be inflected for plurality, possession and case in the following order: **stem-PLURALITY-POSSESSION-CASE**.

These categories are discussed in the following subsections; however, the notion of definiteness versus indefiniteness and specificity are first discussed.

#### 5.1.1. Definiteness

In Qashqai, like all other Turkic languages, “the absence of a definite article” is a structural feature (Johanson 2002: 31). Definiteness can be expressed on the phrase level by morphosyntactic means such as the accusative case (7.2), ex. *adam-i* [person-ACC], and the genitive case (7.3), ex. *kitab-ıñ* ‘book.GEN’.

Besides, Qashqai occasionally makes use of the suffix *-(y)akı* which serves to mark definiteness in deictic and recognitional situations. It attaches only to nouns and substantivized adjectives:

<i>adam-akı</i>	‘the (aforesaid) man’
<i>äv-jig-akı</i>	‘the doll’s house (in question)’
<i>daş-äv-akı</i>	‘the stone house (in question)’
<i>beyig-akı</i>	‘the (aforesaid) big one’
<i>sari-yakı</i>	‘the (aforesaid) yellow one’

*-(y)akı* does not occur with the plural and possessive markers; thus, the following examples are ungrammatical.

<i>*uşay-akı-lar</i> or <i>*uşay-lar-akı</i>	‘the (aforesaid) children’
<i>*berk-im-akı</i> or <i>*berk-akı-m</i>	‘my (aforesaid) hat’

The suffix *-(y)akı* is not of Turkic origin, but possibly a global copying from the suffix *-Aku* in the Lori of Kohgiluyeh, a language of Southwest Iranian. A similar morpheme with the same function, the suffix *-aka* exists in Southern Kurdish, too (Dabir-Moghaddam 2006). It has passed to Sonqor Turkic spoken in the west of Iran (Bulut 2005: 14). The suffix *-e* in spoken Persian, ex. *pesar-e* ‘the boy’, and the suffix *-u* in Shirazi dialect spoken in Fars, ex. *doxtar-u* ‘the girl’ have the same function.

For more on the morphosyntax of the suffix *-(y)akı* see 8.2.1.2, and for its discourse function see 13.1.

#### 5.1.2. Indefiniteness and specificity

The numeral *bir* ‘one’ in Qashqai serves as indefinite article too, ex. *bir-kepäg* ‘a dog’. To express specificity, Qashqai uses two devices: one of Turkic, as in: *adam-ıñ bir-i-si* [person-GEN INDEF-POS-POS3SG]; and another selectively copied from Persian, as in: *bir adam=i* [INDEF person=P.INDEF] ‘a certain person’. The morph *=i* is the enclitic marker of Persian indefiniteness. Note that the enclitic *=i* is not harmonic with the vowel of nominal root. Also, the stress does not fall on the enclitic suffix *=i*; and this is a distinctive feature which helps identify this suffix from the front variant of the accusative case, that is *-i* (see 7.2).

### 5.1.3. Number

The singularity (SG) of noun in Qashqai is unmarked, ex. *adam.ø* ‘(the) human being’. The plurality (PL) of countable nouns is marked by the suffix *-LAR*. It is stressable and harmonic, ex. *adam-lar* ‘human beings’, *quš-lar* ‘birds’, *iš-lär* ‘works’. In spoken Qashqai it tends to exhibit always the front variant *-lär*, ex. *daš-lär* ‘stones’. In compound nouns, the plural marker is only suffixed on the second component:

*arvad ušay-lar* ‘women and children’  
*qärri qojä-lär* ‘old people’

**Note:** The Persian plural suffix *-(y)an*, or colloquial *-(y)un*, appears in few Persian plural loans, for example, *aqayan* ‘misters’ (spoken form: *âqâyun*) < *âqâ* ‘sir, mister’. This word can also take the Turkic plural suffix when speakers aim to add more politeness to their speech: *ayayun-lar*. The same thing is true for some Arabic broken plurals, such as *äšxas-lar* < *A. ašxās* and *äfrad-lar* < *A. afrād* ‘persons’.

Nouns determined by a numeral do not take the plural marker, ex. *beš daš* ‘five stones’.

### 5.1.4. Possession

Possession in Qashqai is expressed by the possessive marker on the possessed element in a genitival phrase in which the possessor inflects for genitive case, as in: *Ali-niη kitab-i* [Ali-GEN book-POS3SG] ‘Ali’s book’ (see also 7.3). Table 19 illustrates the possessive markers in Qashqai.

Table 19. Qashqai possessive markers

1 <sup>st</sup> person	singular	-(l)m	‘my’
1 <sup>st</sup> person	plural	-(l)mIz	‘our’
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	singular	-(l)η	‘your’
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	plural and polite singular	-(l)ηIz	‘your’
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	singular	-(s)I(n)	‘her’, ‘his’, ‘its’, ‘their’
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	plural	-(s)I(n)	‘their’

The vowels between parentheses drop when the suffixes attach to vowel-final noun stems, as shown by the following examples.

<i>qiz-im</i>	‘my daughter’	<i>baži-m</i>	‘my sister’
<i>qiz-iη</i>	‘your daughter’	<i>baži-η</i>	‘your sister’
<i>qiz-i</i>	‘her / his / their daughter’	<i>baži-si</i>	‘her / his / their sister’
<i>qiz-imiz</i>	‘our daughter’	<i>baži-miz</i>	‘our sister’
<i>qiz-iηiz</i>	‘your daughter’	<i>baži-ηiz</i>	‘your sister’
<i>qiz(lar)-i</i>	‘their daughter(s)’	<i>baži(lar)-si/(i)</i>	‘her / his / their sisters’

Case markers follow the possessive suffixes, ex. *qiz-iη-a* [daughter-POS2SG-DAT], *äv-imiz-dän* [home-POS1PL-ABL]. The consonant /s/ occurs in the possessive marker of third person singular when it attaches to vowel-final noun stems, as in *baži-si* ‘her/his/their sister’. A single exception to this rule is the noun *su* < \**sub* OT ‘water’ which takes *-yu* as possessive marker: *su-yu* ‘its/her/his/their water’.

Also, the possessive marker of third person singular has two variants respecting whether it is or not followed by another suffix: i) *-(s)I*, when no other suffix follows it, as in *baži-si* ‘her/his/their sister’. ii) *-(s)In*, when the possessive suffix is followed by another suffix such as a case marker, the ‘so-called’ pronominal /n/ appears between them, ex. *äl-in-ä* [hand-POS3SG-DAT], *ara-sin-nan* [between-POS3SG-ABL]. The same /n/ occurs after the possessive marker of third person plural, as in: *kitab-lar-in-nan* [book-POS3PL-ABL] ‘from her/his/their books’.

Besides its functions in common with other possessive suffixes, the possessive marker of third person singular in the form *-(s)I* has the following functions: i) it serves to mark the head of adnominals, as in: *seyer sid-i* ‘cow milk’. ii) it can mark the head of partitive constructions, as in: *quzzular-iη beš-i* ‘five out of (a given number of) the lambs’ (see also 7.3). iii) it serves to form pronominals from diverse word classes, ex. *ora-si* ‘there’, *iss-i* ‘above, on top of’, *tazza-si* ‘the new one’, *obiri-si* ‘the other one’. In other words, it serves to indicate an implied substantive.

### 5.1.5. Case inflection

The Qashqai cases are as follows: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative / directive, locative, ablative, equative, terminative and instrumental. The nominative is unmarked, but all other cases are expressed by suffixes. The case suffixes with their variants and features are shown in Table 20. For the syntactic functions of the cases, see chapter 1.

Table 20. Qashqai cases and their variantes

Case	Suffix	Variants
NOM	-----	-----
ACC	-(y)I, -nI	-i, -i, -u; -nI after the possessive of 3rd personne
GEN	-im -iη -(n)Iη -Iη	for pronouns of 1 <sup>st</sup> person singular and plural for pronouns of 2 <sup>nd</sup> person singular and plural for 3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular: -iη, -iη, -uη for 3 <sup>rd</sup> person plural
DAT	-(y)A	-ä, -a
LOC	-DA	-dä, -nä, -lä, -da, -na, -la
ABL	-DAn	-dän, -nän, -län, -dan, -nan, -lan
EQU	-čA	-čä, -ča
TER	-(y)AnčA(s/ z/ m)	-änčä, -anča, -änčäs, -ančas, -änčäz, -anča <sub>z</sub> , -änčäm, ančam
INSTR	-(I)nAn, -(y)nAn	-inän, -inan, -ynän; -ynan

**Note:** The glide /y/ appears after vowel stems, ex. *su-yu* [water-ACC], *čaqqu-ynan* ‘by knife’. The consonant /n/ appears with the genitive of 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons after vowel-final stems, and with the accusative case attaching to a noun stem already inflected for the possessive of 3<sup>rd</sup> persons, ex. *ketab-ï-ni* [book-POS3SG-ACC], *baş-lari-ni* [head-POS3PL-ACC].

In Qashqai, the terminative  $-(y)AnčA(s/ z/ m)$  and the equative  $-čA$  are still productive. Etymologically, the terminative may be an extension of the equative, which is documented in Old Turkic (see Tekin 1968: 136 and Erdal 2004: 177).

In some Qashqai subtribes, the terminative suffix may end with the consonant /s/ or /z/ or /m/, ex. *säbär-änčäs(z)* ‘until the morning’, *on-ančam* ‘until that’.

Table 21 illustrates the case inflection for some nouns of diverse vocalic features, and Table 22 includes case inflection of personal pronouns.

Table 21. Case inflection of some nouns

Case	‘face’	‘lake’	‘horse’	‘fire’	‘flour’	‘girl’	‘sister’
NOM	<i>iʒ</i>	<i>gel</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>ot</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>qiz</i>	<i>baʃi</i>
ACC	<i>iʒ-i</i>	<i>gel-i</i>	<i>at-i</i>	<i>ot-i / -u</i>	<i>un-i / -u</i>	<i>qiz-i</i>	<i>baʃi-yi</i>
GEN	<i>iʒ-in</i>	<i>gel-in</i>	<i>at-in</i>	<i>ot-in / -un</i>	<i>un-in / -un</i>	<i>qiz-in</i>	<i>baʃi-nin</i>
DAT	<i>iʒ-ä</i>	<i>gel-ä</i>	<i>at-a</i>	<i>ot-a</i>	<i>un-a</i>	<i>qiz-a</i>	<i>baʃi-ya</i>
LOC	<i>iʒ-dä</i>	<i>gel-lä</i>	<i>at-da</i>	<i>ot-da</i>	<i>un-na</i>	<i>qiz-da</i>	<i>baʃi-da</i>
ABL	<i>iʒ-dän</i>	<i>gel-län</i>	<i>at-dan</i>	<i>ot-dan</i>	<i>un-nan</i>	<i>qiz-dan</i>	<i>baʃi-dan</i>
EQU	<i>iʒ-čä</i>	<i>gel-čä</i>	<i>at-ča</i>	<i>ot-ča</i>	<i>un-ča</i>	<i>qiz-ča</i>	<i>baʃi-ča</i>
TER	<i>iʒ-änčä(s)</i>	<i>gel-änčä(s)</i>	<i>at-anča(s)</i>	<i>ot-anča(s)</i>	<i>un-anča(s)</i>	<i>qiz-anča(s)</i>	<i>baʃi-yanča(s)</i>
INST	<i>iʒ-inän</i>	<i>gel-inän</i>	<i>at-inan</i>	<i>ot-unan</i>	<i>un-unan</i>	<i>qiz-inan</i>	<i>baʃi-ynan</i>

Table 22. Case inflection of personal pronouns

	1 <sup>st</sup> SG	2 <sup>nd</sup> SG	3 <sup>rd</sup> SG	1 <sup>st</sup> PL	2 <sup>nd</sup> PL	3 <sup>rd</sup> PL
NOM	<i>män</i>	<i>sän</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>biʒ</i>	<i>siʒ</i>	<i>onlar</i>
ACC	<i>män-i</i>	<i>sän-i</i>	<i>on-i, on-u</i>	<i>biʒ-i</i>	<i>siʒ-i</i>	<i>onlar-i</i>
GEN	<i>män-im</i>	<i>sän-in</i>	<i>on-in, on-un</i>	<i>biʒ-im</i>	<i>siʒ-in</i>	<i>onlar-in</i>
DAT	<i>män-ä</i>	<i>sän-ä</i>	<i>on-a</i>	<i>biʒ-ä</i>	<i>siʒ-ä</i>	<i>onlar-a</i>
LOC	<i>män-nä</i>	<i>sän-nä</i>	<i>on-na</i>	<i>biʒ-dä</i>	<i>siʒ-dä</i>	<i>onlar-da</i>
ABL	<i>män-nän</i>	<i>sän-nän</i>	<i>on-nan</i>	<i>biʒ-dän</i>	<i>siʒ-dän</i>	<i>onlar-dan</i>
TER	<i>män-änčä(s)</i>	<i>sän-änčä(s)</i>	<i>on-anča(s)</i>	<i>biʒ-änčä(s)</i>	<i>siʒ-änčä(s)</i>	<i>onlar-anča(s)</i>
EQU	<i>mänim-čä</i>	<i>sänin-čä</i>	<i>onin-čä</i>	<i>biʒim-čä</i>	<i>siʒin-čä</i>	<i>onlar-čä</i>
INST	<i>mänim-inän</i>	<i>sänin-inän</i>	<i>onin-inän</i>	<i>biʒim-inän</i>	<i>siʒin-inän</i>	<i>onlar-inän</i>

For the case inflection of other pronominals see chapter 6.

## 5.2. Verbal Inflection

Verbal inflection in Qashqai leads to non-finite or finite verbal forms, each of which characterized by a set of suffixes.

### 5.2.1. Non-finite verb forms

Non-finite verb forms consist of a verb stem attached to infinitive, participial or converbial suffixes (see below). They are not inflected for tense / aspect / mood and person agreement. They serve as the core of non-finite predicates (see 10.2.5).

#### 5.2.1.1. Action nouns

Action nouns are formed by adding one of the following suffixes to verb stems:

i) The infinitive marker *-mäg*, which is in spoken Qashqai a non-harmonized suffix, i.e. its vowel does not harmonize with preceding stem vowel, as in:

(25)  
*bir pul-i färahäm ed-di-m ged-mäg gäl-mäg-im iči...*  
 one money-IDF prepared do-PST-1SG go-INF come-INF-POS1SG for

‘I collected a certain amount of money for my trip...’ (from a folktale).

ii) The suffix *-DIG* (with three variants: *dig*, *dīg* and *dug*) that is frequently used both as an action noun maker (ex. (26) and as a participle (see below).

(26)  
*yaz-dig-inän nä moxalif-idi...*  
 write-AN-INST DA opposed-IMPF.COP3SG

‘He used to be opposed to writing’ (interview 3: 29).

iii) The suffix *-mA*, which is rather present in a few lexicalized items such as *qaz-ma* [dig-MA] ‘pick’; *bula-ma* [stir-MA] ‘a kind of dairy product’; *käs-sir-mä* [cut-CAUS-MA] ‘a kind of cheese’; *bas-sir-ma* [cover-CAUS-MA] ‘a kind of dish’. Here is an example found in the corpus:

(27)  
*deš-in-i oyna-d-mä qäšqayı için-nä çox pes iş-idi.*  
 breast-POS3SG-ACC play-CAUS-AN Qashqai inside-LOC very bad work-IMPF.COP3SG

‘Playing the breasts was a very bad thing for the Qashqai.’ (interview 1: 43)

#### 5.2.1.2. Participles

Participial forms are non-finite verb forms consisting of a verb stem and a participial suffix. They serve to form non-finite predicates in subordinate clauses (chapter 1). Qashqai participles are as follows:

Participial forms in *-(y)An*:

The suffix *-(y)An* is a subject-relativizer. It is the most productive participial suffix.

<i>at-an</i>	[throw-PART]	‘who throws’	<i>sir-än</i>	[drive-PART]	‘who drives’
<i>qoy-an</i>	[put-PART]	‘who puts’	<i>vur-an</i>	[beat-PART]	‘who beats’

Verbs taking the participial suffix *-(y)An* are nominalized and can take nominal inflectional suffixes (see also 5.1), ex. *bax-an-lar* [look-PART-PL] ‘those who look’, *vur-an-i* [beat-PART-ACC] ‘the one who beats’, *yaž-an-lar-ın qäläm-i* [write-PART-PL-GEN PEN-POS3] ‘the pen of those who write’.

The participial form *-(y)An* is well productive in the speech of the Qashqai, especially the old people:

(28)  
*o day-da tüfän-inän dahva-yı xatimä ver-än,*  
 that mountain-LOC gun-INST battle-ACC end give-PART  
*älä o bir tāk näfär olur.*



EMPH that one unique person be-AOR3SG  
 ‘In that mountain, the one who with a rifle put an end to the battle was that very sole person.’ (life story 2: 19)

(29)

*o day-ä ged-än däyin-än gäl-än-in baş-in-i*  
 that mountain-DAT go-PART visit-PART come-PART-GEN head-POS3SG-ACC  
*alabärzäni qaz-irmiš.*  
 Alabarzangi cut-EVIMPF3SG

‘Alabarzangi would cut the head of those who went to and visited that mountain and came back from (folktale 3: 58).

Participial forms in *-mIš*:

The participial suffix *-mIš*, still quite productive in Qashqai, is a subject relativizer.

*yat-miš* [sleep-PART] ‘who has slept’ *bil-miš* [know-PART] ‘who has known’  
*yu-muš* [wash-PART] ‘who has washed’ *ye-miš* [eat-PART] ‘who has eaten’

(30) a.

*lamp rowšän ol-m-ir, geräk yan-miš ol-a.*  
 lampe turned.on become-NEG-PRS3SG must burn-PART be-SUBJ3SG

‘The lampe does not work, it must be broken.’

The use of *-mIš* participle combined with the copular verb *ol-* ‘to be(come)’ seems to be calqued on a Persian construction involving the participial *-e* and the verb *baş-* ‘to be’ in subjunctive mood; so, the Qashqai example above can be re-written in Persian as follows:

(30) b.

*lamp rowšän ne-mi-š-e, bâyard suxt-e bâš-e.*  
 lampe turned.on NEG-PRS-be-3SG must burn-PART be.SUBJ-3SG

The aorist participle and its negated form:

The aorist participle in *-(y)Ar* and its negated form *-mAž* are not productive anymore. The negated form can be found in some lexicalized items, ex. *dil bil-mäž* [language know-AOR.NEG] ‘dumb person’.

Participial forms in *-DIG*:

The suffix *-DIG* relativizes direct object and certain oblique complements, ex. *yat-dig* [sleep-PART], *gäl-lig* [come-PART], *duš-dig* [fall-PART], *bišir-dig* [cook-PART]. Observe the following example:

(31)

*Qilij älä nayafel [yat-dig-i yer]-dä öl-lü.*  
 Qilich EMPH suddenly sleep-PART-POS3SG place-LOC die-PST3SG

‘Qilich died all of a sudden where he was sleeping.’ (life story 2: 48)

### 5.2.1.3. *Converbs*

A converb is a non-finite form that minimally consists of a verb stem, expandable sometimes to full-fledged clauses, and a suffix (Johanson 1995: 313). Qashqai has in great part lost the genuine Turkic converbial strategy. Of the several converbial suffixes existed or existing in Turkic languages, only two are still productive in Qashqai:

The converb in *R-(y)A R-(y)A*:

This double converbial form provides an adverb of manner out of being suffixed to a unique verb root, as in: *qäč-ä qäč-ä* ‘running’, *say-a say-a* ‘counting’.

The converb in *R-(y)AnnA*:

This converb, originally composed of the participle *-(y)An* and the locative case *-DA*, provides an adverb of time meaning ‘when, as soon as’, ex. *etiš-ännä* ‘when / as soon as arrived’, *vur-anna* ‘when / as soon as hit’.

**Note:** The converbial suffix *-Ip*, which historically served as verb serializer, has completely disappeared from today's spoken Qashqai. It may only occur in narratives retold by asheqs or the speech of the elderly of certain subtribes, most often as a suffix of perfect mood.

The main function of converbs is to mark adverbial subordination (Haspelmath 1995). This syntactic function of the Qashqai converbs is reviewed in section 12.1.3.

### 5.2.2. Finite verb forms

Finite verbs are characterized by the expression of a category of tense/aspect/mood (TAM) and agreement in person by means of the suffixes appearing in this order:<sup>23</sup>

*R-negation-Tense/Aspect/Mood-personal ending*

Table 23 sums up the simple suffixes of TAM.

Table 23. Simple TAM suffixes in Qashqai

Suffixes	Category
-(y)ir	present tense, progressive aspect, future tense
-(y)A	subjunctive (optative) mood
-(y)Ar, -D-, (y)Ir	aorist, future tense
-(y)AsI	necessitative mood
-DI	past tense, preterite
-mIs	present perfect, evidential

The suffixes indicated in Table 23, except the suffix *-DI*, can be combined with the copulas *-(I/y)DI* and *-(y/I)mIs*. These combined suffixes (Table 24) have different tempo-aspectual and modal properties (see also chapter 9).

Table 24. Combined TAM suffixes in Qashqai

Suffixes	Category
-(y)irdi	imperfect
-(y)irmiš	evidential imperfect
-(y)AydI	past subjunctive (optative)
-(y)ArdI	past habitual
-(y)AsydI	past necessitative
-(y)mIsImIs	pluperfect

Notice that in the order of inflectional suffixes, the negative marker *-mA* takes the second place after voice suffixes if there are any:

- (32)  
*ač-il-ma-di*  
 open-PASS-NEG-PST3SG  
 'It did not open.'

If there is no voice suffix, the negative marker is the nearest suffix to the stem:

- (33)  
*gäl-m-ir-äm*  
 come-NEG-PRS-1SG  
 'I do not come.'

With the aorist form of the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular and plural person, the negative marker appears differently, as in: *danış-mäz* [speak-NEG.AOR3SG] 's/he will not speak' (the affirmative clause is: *danış-ar* [speak-EVT3SG] 's/he will speak').

The syntax of Qashqai verbs is discussed in chapters 9 and 10.

<sup>23</sup> On the criteria set for finiteness in Turkic languages see Sezer (2002).

### 5.2.2.1. Person agreement endings

Person agreement on the Qashqai verb is marked by personal endings, except the third person singular which is unmarked. These personal endings follow other inflectional suffixes, that is, they take the outermost place in the succession of morphemes. According to their morphosyntactic properties, they can be put in three groups (Table 25, Table 26, and Table 27 and the explanations which follow).

Table 25. Group 1 personal endings

	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup> person	- <i>m</i>	- <i>G</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	- <i>ŋ</i>	- <i>ŋIz</i> (and polite singular)
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	-----	- <i>LAr</i>

The personal endings group 1 attach to the following inflectional suffixes:

- i) The past tense marker *-DI*, ex. *yat-di-m* 'I slept', *iš-di-ŋiz* 'you (formal and / or plural) drunk', *bax-asï-ydi-g* 'we should have looked'. ii) The subjunctive suffix *-(y)A*, ex. *geräg gäl-ä-lär* 'they must come', *ye-ya-m* 'if/may I eat'. iii) The conditional suffix *-sA*, ex. *qal-sa-ŋiz* 'if you stay'. iv) The past copula *-IdI*, ex. *aĵ-idi-m* 'I was hungry'; *qeš-idi* 'it was winter'.

Table 26. Group 2 personal endings

	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup> person	- <i>Am</i>	- <i>AG</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	- <i>Aŋ</i>	- <i>AŋIz</i> (and polite singular)
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	-----	- <i>LAr</i>

The personal endings group 2 attach to the following inflectional suffixes:

- i) The simple present tense suffix *-(y)ir-*, ex. *bax-ir-äm* 'I look'. ii) The modal suffixes of the aorist *-(y)Ar-*, *-(y)Ir-*, *-D-*, ex. *qal-ar-aŋ* 'you will stay', *al-ir-aŋiz* 'you (plural) will take', *yü-d-ag* 'we will wash'. iii) The aspectual suffix of perfect *-mİš-*, ex. *gäl-miš-äg* 'we have come'. iv) The existential elements *var-* 'existing' and *yox-* 'not existing', ex. *var-aŋ* 'you are present/exist', *yox-du-lar* 'they are not present/do not exist'. v) Noun phrases (both nouns and pronouns) in order to form nominal predicates.

Table 27. Group 3 personal endings

	Singular	Plural
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	-----	- <i>Iŋ</i> and polite singular
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	<i>sIn</i>	- <i>sInLAr</i>

The personal endings of group 3 are used in imperative forms. They directly attach to verb stem, ex. *bax-iŋ* 'look!', *bikil-sinlär* '(may) they return'. They are also used in the prohibitive (NEG-imperative) where the negation marker *-mA* occurs between the verb stem and the personal ending, as in: *otur-ma-yiŋ* 'do not sit!'

## 6. PRONOUNS – MORPHOSYNTAX

### 6.0. Introduction

Pronouns in Turkic languages belong to the class of nominals and, as nouns, can be inflected for cases and serve as the head of postpositional phrases. Some peculiarities of Qashqai pronouns, though, led us to devote a whole chapter to them, making efforts to be as comprehensive as possible.

### 6.1. Personal pronouns<sup>24</sup>

Personal pronouns express the distinction of person deixis and in non-inflected forms cannot assume but the subject position. Qashqai has six personal pronouns. They are without gender distinction, as indicated in Table 28.

Table 28. Personal pronouns

	Singular	Meaning	Plural	Meaning
1 <sup>st</sup> person	<i>män</i>	‘I’	<i>biž</i>	‘we’
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	<i>sän</i>	‘you’ (singular)	<i>siž</i>	‘you’ (plural and formal)
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	<i>o</i>	‘it, she, he’	<i>onlar (ollar)</i>	‘they’

**Note:** The personal pronouns of third person singular and plural are identical in form to singular and plural demonstrative pronouns (see 6.6).

In unmarked (nominative) form, the personal pronouns serve only as overt subject:

(34)

*män o gäp=i ke siz de-di-ñiz ešid-di-m.*  
I That word=INDEF KE you.PL say-PST-2PL hear-PST-1SG

‘I heard the word that you said.’ (folktale 5: 33)

(35)

*siz qaşyay dāyl-āñiz.*  
you.PL Qashqai not.PRS-COP2PL

‘You are not Qashqai.’

(36)

*onlar hänez gäl-mä-mişlär.*  
they still come-NEG-PF3PL

‘They have not come yet.’

In their inflected forms (see Table 22), the personal pronouns can perform diverse syntactic functions, except that of the subject. Note that the only instance in which the personal pronouns in inflected form, too, can assume the subject function is when they are involved in a genitive-possessive combination with the intensive-reflexive pronouns, ex. *män-im ež-im* [I-GEN self-1SG] ‘I, myself’ (see also 6.3).

The first person singular pronoun *män* ‘I’ can be replaced by its plural form *biž* ‘we’ to express modesty. It can also be replaced by words of politeness such as: *bännä* < *bande* P. ‘(your) servant’.

The pronouns of second person *sän* ‘you.SG’ and *siž* ‘you.PL’ indicate, as part of their meaning, the speaker’s social status relative to the addressee. Thus, either one can be used, depending on the social relationship, whether it is familiar or polite:

<sup>24</sup> I opted for this term after English grammars, not only for the sake of convenience but also to show the formal difference of these pronouns with other pronouns expressing person deixis which do not stand on the absolute (nominative) state, e.g. anaphoric (6.2) and intensive-reflexive pronouns (6.3). It is important to note that *män* ‘I’ and *sän* ‘you’ are also labelled ‘speech act participants’ in some grammars.

(37)  
*kaka-m sän ne gäl-m-ir-än biz-ä?*  
 brother-POS1SG you.SG why come-NEG-PRS-2SG we-DAT  
 ‘My brother, why don’t you come to [visit] us?’

(38)  
*Aya-ye modir, siz šam biz-im äv-ä däävāt-äniz.*  
 mister-EZ director you.PL dinner we-GEN home-DAT invitation-COP2PL  
 ‘Mister Director, you are invited to our home for dinner.’

First and second person plural pronouns, *biz* ‘we’ and *siz* ‘you.PL’, can take plural suffix as follows: *bizlär* ‘we (in group)’, *sizlär* ‘you (in group)’. The usage of these doubled plural forms in place of *biz* and *siz* are limited to the following situations, with somewhat different effects on meaning:

i) To refer to members of a group meanwhile emphasizing the individuality of each one:

(39)  
*biz-lär bu iš-i ger-mä-miš-äg.*  
 we.PL this work-ACC see-NEG-PF-1PL  
 ‘None of us (nobody among us) has done this job.’

ii) To refer to multiple groups of persons, especially to members of a habitat or a tribal group, or the members of a gender or an age group:

(40)  
*siz-lär, qäräyanli-lar hačan keč-äsi-yäniz?*  
 you.PL Qäräyanli-PL when migrate-NECS-2PL  
 ‘You, the Qaraqani’s, when should you migrate?’

The plural pronouns *biz* ‘we’ and *siz* ‘you’ sometimes appear in Ezafeh constructions to refer to a group sharing the same age or profession or social status, as in: *biz-e ša’erlär* ‘we, the poets’, *siz-e jävanlär* ‘you, the youth’. Less frequently, the singular personal pronouns, too, can partake in Ezafeh constructions: *sän-e bäddüx* ‘the miserable [that] you [are]’ (for more discussion and examples see 8.3.2.1).

Third personal pronouns can be used as resumptive pronoun in complex clauses:

(41)  
*adam bir iš-i ger-me-yä, onin ad-ï-ni az gätir-ir.*  
 human A work-ACC see-NEG-SUBJ3SG it.GEN name-POS3SG-ACC few bring-PRS3SG  
 ‘You hardly talk about a thing you are not busy with.’ (from an interview)

(42) a.  
*adam=i ki onnan mašin al-lï-m taġik-dir.*  
 person=INDEF KI he.ABL car buy-PST-1SG Persian-PRS.COP  
 ‘The person from whom I bought (a) car is a Persian.’

The high occurrence of the same usage in Persian suggests that it is the source of the copying of this structure. Consider the Persian equivalent of the example (42) b.

(42) b.  
*âdam=i ke az-eš mašin xarid-am tork-e.*  
 person=INDEF KI from-3SG car buy.PST-1SG Tork-PRS.COP

As resumptive pronoun with person reference, the third person personal pronoun can be easily replaced by its anaphoric counterpart (see also 6.2).

## 6.2. Anaphoric personal pronouns<sup>25</sup>

The anaphoric personal pronouns in Qashqai are the pronouns referring to persons already talked about in the speech or contextually evident. They are made on the base of the pro-form *belä*<sup>26</sup> inflected for the possessive marker of relevant person, as shown in Table 29.

Table 29. The Qashqai anaphoric personal pronouns

	Singular	Meaning	Plural	Meaning
1 <sup>st</sup> Per.	<i>beläm-</i>	‘myself’	<i>belämiŋ-</i>	‘ourselves’
2 <sup>nd</sup> Per.	<i>beläŋ-</i> ( <i>singular</i> )	‘yourself’	<i>beläŋiŋ-</i> ( <i>plural/formal</i> )	‘yourselves’
3 <sup>rd</sup> Per.	<i>beläsi-</i>	‘herself, himself’	<i>beläläri-</i>	‘themselves’

**Note:** given that the combination *belä*+POS cannot stand non-inflected, it can be taken as a fully-fledged stem; thus, in the gloss it is not segmented into two morphemes. For this reason, the segmentation is illustrated from the inflectional suffixes on, ex. *beläm-ä* [ANPH1SG-DAT] ‘to me’.

The anaphoric personal pronouns exist in some other Turkic varieties of Iran and certain Turkic dialects of Iraq as well (see Bulut 2003). They are not attested in Old Turkic, neither do they exist in Standard Turkish. Their occurrence in some of Irano-Turkic languages, including Qashqai, may be a contact phenomenon. This is evidenced by the fact that there exists a functionally and somehow morphologically similar pronominal structure in colloquial Persian; a combination of the enclitic possessive marker of a given person and a preposition, as it is illustrated in the following pattern:

PREPOSITION (*equivalent of case marker*) + (buffer consonant /h/) + POSSESSIVE marker of a given person.

Examples: *be-h-em* [DAT-h-POS1SG] ‘to me’, *dar-eš* [LOC-POS3SG] ‘in it’, *aŋ-ešun* [ABL-POS3PL] ‘from them’, *bâ-(h)-ât* [with-(h)-POS2SG], and so forth. Notice the segment-by-segment correspondence between the following examples of Persian and Qashqai:

(43) Persian example

*beh-eš goft-am na-mi-y-âm.*  
DAT-POS3SG say.PST-1SG NEG-PRS-come-1SG

‘I told her / him [that] I would not come.’

(43) Qashqai example

*beläsin-ä de-di-m gäl-m-ir-äm.*  
ANPH.3SG-DAT say.PST-1SG come-NEG-PRS-1SG

It is reasonable to assume that the anaphoric pronominal stem in Qashqai has emerged as a selective copying of the same structure in colloquial Persian.

In the clause, the anaphoric pronouns are essentially inflected for case markers or followed by postpositions. They fulfil, thus, most of the inflectional properties of noun phrases.

The anaphoric personal pronouns refer to an antecedent which is necessarily present somewhere earlier in the speech or evident from the context. They may have co-reference with personal referents in the position of direct object and any other oblique object or complement. They may replace their relevant personal pronouns (see 6.0), as outlined below.

i) As direct object (necessarily inflected for accusative case suffix):

<sup>25</sup> This denomination is quite troublesome, since the word *anaphor*, in a general sense, refers to *pronouns*. For lack of a better term, thus, I have used the term ‘anaphoric’ in its most strict sense, i.e., conveying backward reference to the persons present in the speech.

<sup>26</sup> The origins of the pro-form *belä* are not clearly known. In form, it is identical to the adverbial *belä* < *böylä* ‘such’; this latter itself seemingly consisting of the demonstrative *bu* ‘this’ and the enclitic postposition +*LÄU* in Old Turkic (see Erdal 2004: 380 & 396). Bulut (2003) investigated this pro-form (with the shape *bilä*) in Turkic languages without reaching the etymology.

(44)

<i>Ahmäd</i>	<i>beläm-i</i>	<i>vur-du.</i>
Ahmad	ANPH1SG-ACC	beat-PST3SG

‘Ahmad beat me.’

(45)

<i>Kurdulu</i>	<i>belämiz-i</i>	<i>mäâyub</i>	<i>ed-di</i>
Kurdulu	ANPH.1PL-ACC	Damaged	do-PST3SG

‘Kurdulu has ruined us.’ (from a folktale)

ii) As dative / directive complement:

(46)

<i>Belämiz-ä</i>	<i>zulm</i>	<i>ol-muš.</i>
ANPH.1PL-DAT	oppression	be-PF3SG

‘We have been oppressed!’ (interview 1: 68)

iii) As locative complement:

(47)

<i>Abdolla</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>fäyir</i>	<i>adam-ni,</i>	<i>beläsin-nä</i>	<i>hešnä</i>	<i>yox.</i>
Abdolla	a	poor	person-PRS.COP	ANPH3SG-LOC	nothing	inexisting

‘Abdollah is a poor man; he has nothing.’

iv) As ablative complement:

(48)

<i>Häsän-i</i>	<i>ger-di-η,</i>	<i>beläsin-nän</i>	<i>pul</i>	<i>isä.</i>
H.-ACC	see-PST-2SG	ANPH.3SG-ABL	money	want.IMP2SG

‘If you see Hassan, ask him for some money.’

v) As resumptive pronoun referring to the head of relative clauses (see 12.1.3), ex.:

(49)

<i>şaxs=i</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>beläsin-ä</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>ver-di-m,</i>	<i>yarib-idi.</i>
person=INDEF	KI	ANPH.3SG-DAT	water	give-PST-1SG	stranger-PST.COP

‘The person to whom I gave some water was a stranger.’

Notice that unlike the intensive-reflexive pronouns (6.3), the anaphoric personal pronouns cannot occur in co-reference with the subject of the clause, because they cannot stand in nominative. Accordingly, (b) in the following examples is ungrammatical:

(50) a.

<i>Sara</i>	<i>ezi</i>	<i>oyan-ni.</i>
Sara	herself	wake.up-PST3SG

‘Sara woke up by herself.’

(50) b.

<i>*Sara</i>	<i>beläsi</i>	<i>oyan-ni.</i>
Sara	ANPH3SG	wake.up-PST3SG

Intended meaning: ‘Sara, she woke up.’

The anaphoric personal pronouns can also take enclitic postpositions and be the head of postpositional phrases (section 4.10), such as *beläni*=*ü* ‘for you.PL’ in:

(51)

<i>bowa-m</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>čärx</i>	<i>beläm=içi</i>	<i>al-miş.</i>
father-POS1SG	a	bike	ANPH.1SG=for	buy-PF3SG

‘My father has bought me a bike.’

### 6.3. Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronouns in Qashqai are formed on the base of the nominal stem *ez* < *öz* ‘self, essence’ which takes the possessive marker of the relevant person, ex. *ez-im* [self-POS1SG] ‘myself’, etc. Qashqai has six reflexive pronouns as indicated in Table 30.

Table 30. Reflexive pronouns

	Singular	Meaning	Plural	Meaning
1 <sup>st</sup> Per.	<i>ezim</i>	‘myself’	<i>ezimiz</i>	‘ourselves’
2 <sup>nd</sup> Per.	<i>eziñ</i>	‘yourself’ (singular)	<i>eziñiz</i>	‘yourselves’ (plural/formal)
3 <sup>rd</sup> Per.	<i>ezi</i>	‘herself, himself, itself’	<i>ezläri</i>	‘themselves’

Like other pronouns, the reflexive pronouns can be inflected for cases and copular markers, ex. *eziñ-ä* ‘to myself’, *eziñ-ä-n-nän* ‘of / from themselves’, *eziñ-ä-inän* ‘with yourselves’, *eziñ-äñ* ‘it is you, yourself’. The reflexive pronouns have intensive and reflexive functions:

#### 6.3.1. Intensive functions

Reflexive pronouns assuming intensive functions may have these uses:

i) Co-reference with the subject (both nominal and pronominal) for introducing it as topic or emphasizing its role in the clause, as shown in:

- (52)
- |             |                 |             |              |             |              |               |            |               |
|-------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>nänä</i> | <i>bax-irdi</i> | <i>yani</i> | <i>ger-ä</i> | <i>oñul</i> | <i>haçan</i> | <i>el-ir,</i> | <i>ezi</i> | <i>el-li.</i> |
| mother      | look-IMPF3SG    | meaning     | see-SUBJ3SG  | son         | when         | die-PRS3SG    | herself    | die-PST3SG    |
- ‘The mother was waiting to see when the son would die, she *herself* died.’ (from a folktale)

- (53)
- |              |                |                   |                |
|--------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| <i>Häsän</i> | <i>ezi</i>     | <i>mašin-in-i</i> | <i>yuy-ir.</i> |
| Hassan       | himself.POS3SG | car-POS3SG-ACC    | wash-PRS3SG    |
- ‘Hassan *himself* washes his car.’

- (54)
- |            |               |                   |                   |
|------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>biz</i> | <i>ezimiz</i> | <i>yer-imiz-i</i> | <i>sal-ir-äg.</i> |
| we         | ourselves     | bed-POS1PL-ACC    | set-PRS-1PL       |
- ‘We *ourselves* make our bed.’

Sometimes, this emphasis put on the subject is morphologically explicit, i.e. the reflexive pronoun follows a subject (nominal or pronominal) inflected for genitive case, ex. *Ahmäd-in ezi* ‘Ahmad, himself’, *sän-in eziñ* ‘you, yourself’, as indicated in the examples below:

- (55)
- |                 |            |           |                |              |                |
|-----------------|------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>Ahmäd-in</i> | <i>ezi</i> | <i>bu</i> | <i>kitab-i</i> | <i>män-ä</i> | <i>ver-di.</i> |
| Ahmad-GEN       | himself    | this      | book-ACC       | I-DAT        | give-PST3SG    |
- ‘Ahmad, *himself*, gave me this book.’

- (56)
- |               |             |                    |                   |
|---------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| <i>sän-in</i> | <i>eziñ</i> | <i>xodkar-in-i</i> | <i>itir-di-ñ.</i> |
| you-GEN       | yourself    | pen-POS2SG-ACC     | lose-PST-2SG      |
- ‘You, *yourself*, (have) lost your pen.’

Occurring as predicate core, intensive pronouns can assume the comment position:

- (57)
- |                |               |                 |
|----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <i>yalanči</i> | <i>sän-in</i> | <i>eziñ-äñ.</i> |
| liar           | you-GEN       | yourself-COP2SG |
- ‘The liar is you, *yourself*.’

ii) Co-reference with an oblique complement and emphasizing its role in the clause:



(58)

<i>Maral</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>gäp-i</i>	<i>(män-im)</i>	<i>ezim-ä</i>	<i>de-di.</i>
Maral	this	word-ACC	I-GEN	myself-DAT	say-PST3SG

‘Maral told this word to me, *myself*.’

As inferred from these examples, the reflexive pronouns with intensive function follow their antecedent, especially in co-reference with the subject. They can thus be removed from the sentence without rendering it ungrammatical (on this, consider their reflexive functions below).

### 6.3.2. Reflexive functions

Reflexive pronouns assuming reflexive functions have co-reference only with the subject (expressed overtly in the beginning of the clause or marked on the predicate):

(59)

<i>Pärvin</i>	<i>ezin-nän</i>	<i>razi</i>	<i>däyil.</i>
Parvin	herself.POS3SG-ABL	satisfied	NEG.COP.3SG

‘Parvin is not satisfied of herself.’

(60)

<i>aynä-dä</i>	<i>ezin-ä</i>	<i>bax-ir.</i>
mirror-LOC	him/herself.POS3SG-DAT	look-PRS3SG

‘S/he is looking at her/himself in the mirror.’

(61)

<i>(siz)</i>	<i>eziniz-i</i>	<i>färamuš</i>	<i>ed-miš-äniz.</i>
you.PL	yourselves-ACC	forgotten	do-PF-2PL

‘You have forgotten yourselves.’

Contrary to the intensive pronouns, the reflexive pronouns cannot be removed from the sentence; otherwise, the sentence conveys another meaning, when it has an existential verb, as in examples (62) to (64).

(62)

<i>Pärvin</i>	<i>razi</i>	<i>däyil.</i>
Parvin	satisfied	NEG.COP.3SG

‘Parvin is not satisfied [generally].’

(63)

<i>aynä-dä</i>	<i>bax-ir.</i>
mirror-LOC	look-PRS3SG

‘S/he is looking in the mirror.’

(64)

<i>(siz)</i>	<i>färamuš</i>	<i>ed-miš-äniz.</i>
you.PL	forgotten	do-PF-2PL

‘You have forgotten [something].’

**Note:** Qashqai does not use the intensive-reflexive pronouns as resumptive pronouns.

### 6.3.3. The reduplicated pronoun *ezez-*

This form is a reduplication of the stem *ež* ‘self, essence’ which inflects for the possessive marker of the relevant person and stands always in dative case, ex. *ežež-im-ä* [self.self-POS1SG-DAT], *ežež-iñ-ä* [self.self-POS2SG-DAT]. The form *ežež-* expresses actions performed without the intervention of an external factor acting as a cause or reason. It is used both for the animate and inanimate:

(65)

<i>Qilič</i>	<i>dä</i>	<i>ezez-in-ä</i>	<i>duš-muš</i>	<i>öl-müş.</i>
qilich	DA	self.self.-POS3SG-DAT	fall-PF3SG	die-PF3SG

‘And Qilich had apparently died for no reason.’ (life story 2: 47)

(66)

<i>mašin</i>	<i>ezez-i-nä</i>	<i>häräkät</i>	<i>ed-di.</i>
--------------	------------------	----------------	---------------

car self.self-POS3SG-DAT movement do-PST3SG  
 ‘The car moved on its own.’

(67)  
*qoĵä ezez-in-ä daniš-ir.*  
 old.man self.self-POS3SG-DAT talk-PRS3SG  
 ‘The oldman is talking for no reason.’

(68)  
*ezez-i-nä män-ä seyiš ver-di.*  
 self.self-POS3SG-DAT I-DAT curse give-PST3SG  
 ‘S/he cursed me for no reason.’

#### 6.4. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns in Qashqai are formed on the basis of personal pronouns inflected for the genitive case and suffixed by an enclitic *-ki*, as in: *män-im-ki* [I-GEN-KI] ‘mine’, *siz-iñ-ki* [you-GEN-KI] ‘yours.pl’ (see more in Table 31).

Table 31. Possessive pronouns

	Singular	Meaning	Plural	Meaning
1 <sup>st</sup> person	<i>mänimki</i>	‘mine’	<i>bizimki</i>	‘ours’
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	<i>säninĵi</i>	‘yours.SG’	<i>sizinĵi</i>	‘yours.PL’
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	<i>oninĵi (onunĵi)</i>	‘hers/his/its’	<i>onlarinĵi</i>	‘theirs’

**Note:** The possessive pronouns of third person (singular and plural) can also have nonpersonal referents, i.e. they may express the deixis of the non-human and the inanimate.

The possessive pronouns can assume any syntactic position, i.e. the subject, direct object, oblique objects, and predicate core, provided their antecedent be retrievable from the context or the shared-knowledge of speech participants:

(69)  
*o de-yir mänimki az-dī, bu de-yir mänimki čox-du.*  
 that say-PRS3SG mine less-PRS.COP3SG this say-PRS3SG mine more-PRS.COP3SG  
 ‘That (one) says mine is less; this (one) says mine is more.’ (from a folktale)

(70)  
*motor yox-iñ, mänimkin-i apar!*  
 motorcycle inexistent-2POS I.GEN.KI-ACC take.IMP2SG  
 ‘[If] you don’t have a motorcycle, take mine!’

(71)  
*bir at ger-di-m sizinĵi=täyin.*  
 a horse see-PST-1SG you.SG.GEN.KI=like  
 ‘I saw a horse like yours.’

##### 6.4.1. Pronominal forms derived from the possessive

There are some corresponding possessive pronominal forms serving as other types of pronouns such as: interrogative, ex. *kim-iñ-ki* [who-GEN-KI] ‘whose’, *hara-ninĵi* [where-GEN-KI] ‘belonging to where’; reflexive, ex. *ež-im-iñ-ki* ‘what that belongs to myself’; demonstrative, ex. *bura-ninĵi* ‘what that belongs to here’; and indefinite ones, ex. *härkäs-iñ-ki* ‘what that belongs to every body’ (for more details refer to relevant sections in this chapter especially section 6.9).

#### 6.5. Reciprocal Pronouns

The word *birbir* ‘each other’, a reduplication of the numeral *bir* ‘one’, is the only reciprocal pronoun in Qashqai. In the clause, *birbir* cannot stand on its bare form and should be inflected for case markers or enclitic postpositions, ex. *birbir-ä* ‘to each other’, *birbir=täyin* ‘like each other’.

The pronoun *birbir* expresses the reciprocity between the referents of a plural subject. This pronoun

has almost completely replaced the plural reciprocity suffix *-Iʃ* (see 10.2.3). See the following examples:

(72)

*o*      *sä-m-irdi*                      *qoy-ä*  
 he      want-NEG-IMPF3SG              let-SUBJ3SG  
*bu*      *ikki*      *adam*              *birbir-ä*              *etiš-ä.*  
 this      two      human              each.other-DAT              arrive-SUBJ3SG

‘He would not want let these two persons get unified.’ (Asheqs’ narrative: 5)

(73)

*Ahmäd-inän*      *Märjan*      *birbir-i*              *çok*      *ise-yr-lär*  
 Ahmäd-and              Märjan              each.other-ACC              Very              want-PRS-3PL

‘Ahmad and Marjan love (very much) each other.’

## 6.6. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns refer to the spatial, temporal or discourse location of referents. Qashqai has two demonstrative pronouns: *bu* ‘this’ for close referents, and *o* ‘that’ for far referents. The plural forms are *munlar* ‘these’, and *onlar* (*ollar*) ‘those’. (See also demonstrative determiners in subsection 4.6.4.). Examples:

(74)

*bu*      *män-im*      *kitab-üm-ni.*  
 this      I-GEN              book-POS1SG-PRS.COP

‘This is my book.’

(75)

*o*      *de-yr*              *mänimki*              *az-di,*              *bu*      *de-yr*              *mänimki*              *çok-du.*  
 that      say-PRS3SG              POSPRN1SG              less-PRS.COP              this      say-PRS3SG              POSPRN1SG              more-PRS.COP

‘That (one) says mine is less, this (one) says mine is more.’ (from a folktale)

(76)

*munlar*      *türk-lar*              *äv-i-di.*  
 these              Turk-PL              house-POS3SG-PRS.COP

‘These are the houses of Turks.’

(77)

*onlar*      *tat-lar*              *äv-i-di.*  
 those              non.Turk-PL              house-POS3SG-PRS.COP

‘Those are the houses of Non-Turks.’

The demonstrative pronouns in Qashqai undergo some phonetic changes when inflected for cases, as shown in Table 32.

Table 32. Case inflection of demonstrative pronouns

NOM	<i>bu</i> ‘this’	<i>munlar</i> ‘these’	<i>o</i> ‘that’	<i>onlar</i> ‘those’
ACC	<i>mu-n-i (-u)</i>	<i>munlar-i</i>	<i>o-n-i (-u)</i>	<i>onlar-i # ollar-i</i>
GEN	<i>mu-n-iŋ</i>	<i>munlar-iŋ</i>	<i>o-n-iŋ</i>	<i>onlar-iŋ</i>
DAT	<i>mu-n-a</i>	<i>munlar-a</i>	<i>o-n-a</i>	<i>onlar-a</i>
LOC	<i>mu-n-na</i>	<i>munlar-da</i>	<i>o-n-na</i>	<i>onlar-da</i>
ABL	<i>mu-n-nan</i>	<i>munlar-dan</i>	<i>o-n-nan</i>	<i>onlar-dan</i>
EQU	<i>mu-n-iŋ-ča</i>	<i>munlar-ča</i>	<i>o-n-iŋ-ča</i>	<i>onlar-ča</i>
TER	<i>mu-n-anča</i>	<i>munlar-anča</i>	<i>o-n-anča</i>	<i>onlar-anča</i>
INST	<i>mu-n-iŋ-nan</i>	<i>munla-inan</i>	<i>o-n-iŋ-nan</i>	<i>onlar-inan</i>

As indicated in Table 32, the plural marker *-lar* in plural demonstrative pronouns is preceded by a buffer consonant, the so-called “pronominal” *n*. This consonant appears also when the singular forms inflect for the case. Moreover, in *bu* ‘this’, when inflected, the consonant */b/* is nasalized into */m/* because of the buffer consonant */n/* which follows.

*beläyin* < *beläkin* [this.like] and *olayin* < *olakin* [that.like], respectively formed out of *bu* and *o* plus *layin* <

*TäKin*, are adjectives but can be substantivized, thus act as demonstrative pronouns. *beläyin* is more frequently used than *olayin*:

(78)

*kaka-m de-miš beläyin-ä karkon ol-mä.*  
 brother-POS1SG say-PF3SG such-DAT worker be-PROH2SG

‘My brother has said [me] not to work for such [a person].’ (from a folktale)

### 6.6.1. Corresponding demonstrative nomino-adverbials

These forms, sometimes called “locative pronouns”, refer to a location in space or to the part of an entity already mentioned in the speech or identifiable from the context. They consist of the demonstrative pronouns *bu* ‘this’, and *o* ‘that’, plus the adverbial item *ara* meaning ‘interval, space’, as indicated in Table 33.

Table 33. Corresponding demonstrative nomino-adverbials

Locative pronoun	Meaning	Plural forms
<i>bura</i> < <i>bu ara</i>	‘here’	<i>buralar</i>
<i>ora</i> < <i>o ara</i>	‘(over) there’	<i>oralar</i>
<i>burasî</i> < <i>bu ara-sî</i>	‘this part’	Ø
<i>orasî</i> < <i>o ara-sî</i>	‘that part’	Ø

Both *bura* ‘here’ and *ora* ‘(over) there’ can stand on their bare form. They have adverbial functions if they are case-marked. When inflected for the locative and ablative cases, they lose their final vowel *a*, ex. *bur-da* [here-LOC], *or-dan* [(over) there-ABL].

*Burasî* ‘this part’ and *orasî* ‘that part’ comprise the third person possessive marker *-(s)I*. They can accept additional case suffixes, as in: *burasî-n-na* [this part-PN-LOC], *orasî-n-i* [that part-PN-ACC]. *burasî* and *orasî*, like their interrogative counterpart *harasî* ‘which part’, can function as subject and direct or oblique object:

(79)

*inni älä oräsî dä yad-îm-nän čix-ir.*  
 now EMPH that.part also memory-POS1SG-ABL exit-PRS1SG

‘That part (of the story) escapes me right now.’ (folktale 7: 48)

(80)

*orasîn-i daha bil-m-er-äm.*  
 that.place.POS3SG-ACC any.more know-NEG-PRS-1SG

‘I do not know anything about that (part).’

**Note:** The adverbial item *ara* ‘interval, space’, which is served here as the deictic reference, is not attested alone; it is only seen in a few derived nouns such as *ara-lî* ‘distanced, separate’, and some light verbs such as *ara ač-* ‘to take distance’.

### 6.7. Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns, also called ‘question words’, replace noun phrases in interrogative clauses (see also 11.3). As shown in Table 34, *kim* ‘who’, *nä* ‘what’, *hanî* ‘which’, are the main interrogative pronouns in Qashqai. As nominal elements, all of them may accept case extensions.

Table 34. Interrogative pronouns

Pronoun	Meaning	Meaning
<i>nä, nämänä</i>	‘what’	[what.NOM], [what.1SG.DAT]
<i>kim</i>	‘who’	[who.NOM]
<i>kimin, kimlärin</i>	‘whose’	[who.GEN]
<i>hanî(sî), hanî biri</i>	‘which’, ‘which one’	[which.POS3], [which.POS3 one-POS3SG]

In the clause, interrogative pronouns occur before the verb and before the copula (in nominal predicates), whether the interrogative clause is direct or reported:

(81)  
*Ahmād-i kim ger-miš?*  
 Ahmad-ACC who see-PF3SG  
 ‘Who has seen Ahmad?’

(82)  
*Čayirär: burdä kim var?*  
 call-AOR3SG here.LOC who existing.3SG  
 ‘She shouted: who is here?’ (folktale 5: 139).

(83)  
*de-di nämänä ergäd-är-än män-ä?*  
 say-PST3SG what learn-SUBJ3-2SG I-DAT  
 ‘He said: what would you learn to me?’ (folktale 4: 4)

## 6.8. Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns replace nouns and noun phrases whose referents are indefinite. The most used indefinite pronoun in Qashqai is *biri* or *birisi* ‘someone’. It is formed on the numeral / indefinite article *bir* ‘one / a’ and the possessive marker of third person singular.

(84)  
*biri män-ä bir livan su ver-sin!*  
 someone I-DAT a glass water give-IMP.3SG  
 ‘Someone give me a glass of water!’

(85)  
*birisi-nin bir yayuy ayran-i qal-miš.*  
 someone-GEN a churnskin ayran-POS3SG remain-PF3SG  
 ‘The churnskin (of *ayran*) of someone was abandoned.’ (folktale 1: 30)

Qashqai indefinite pronouns are listed in Table 35.

Table 35. Indefinite pronouns

Pronouns	Meaning	Remarks
<i>biri(s)</i>	‘someone’	<i>biri</i> and <i>birisi</i> are of equal frequency
<i>birdahas</i>	‘another one’	also <i>birayris</i>
<i>vari(s)</i>	‘the whole’	derived forms: <i>varikäs</i> ‘everybody’, <i>varizad</i> ‘everything’, <i>variyer</i> ‘everywhere’, etc.
<i>hərbiri-</i>	‘each one’	ex. <i>hərbiri-n-nän</i> [each.one-PN-ABL]
<i>härkä(s)</i>	‘whoever’	<i>här</i> ‘every’ + <i>kas</i> < P. ‘person’
<i>härnä</i>	‘whatever’	<i>här</i> ‘every’ + <i>nä</i> < T. ‘what’

Some indefinite pronouns have negative forms that are formed on the word *beč* (*beš*) ‘nothing’ which replaces the modifier *här*, ex. *härnä* ‘whatever’ > *hešnä* ‘nothing’:

(86) a.  
*härnä var gätir.*  
 whatever existing bring.IMP2SG  
 ‘Bring whatever there is!’

(86) b.  
*daha hešnä yox.*  
 anymore nothing inexistent  
 ‘There is nothing anymore [left].’

The indefinite pronouns comprising of the quantifier *här* can be used as the head of subordinate finite adverbial or relative clauses (see also sections 12.1.3 and 12.1.3).

*Härnä* ‘whatever’ may have three uses:

i) As a concessive conjunction in concessive subordinate clauses:

(87)  
*nänä* *härnä* *de-di* *ged-mä,* *kučik-aki* *mujab* *ol-mä-di.*  
 mother whatever say-PST3SG go-PROH.2SG little-DEF convinced become-NEG-PST3SG  
 ‘However often the mother asked, “don’t go!”, the little one did not comply.’ (from a folktale)

ii) As the indefinite head of relative clauses:

(88)  
*baži-si-nä* *härnä* *bašar-ä* *bul-ä,* *yemäli* *gätiy-irmiš.*  
 sister-POS3SG-DAT whatever can-SUBJ3SG find-SUBJ3SG food bring-PPF3SG  
 ‘He would bring whatever he could find for his sister.’ (folktale 5: 89)

iii) As an indefinite modifier in noun phrases:

(89)  
*härnä* *jeḇ* *var-i-yimiš* *dollur-ur.*  
 whatever pocket existing-POS3SG-COP.PF fill-AOR3SG  
 ‘She filled however many pockets she had.’ (folktale 7: 69)

Rarely, the question word *harda* < *baḡi ara-da* [which-space-ABL] occurs as an indefinite pronoun. The following example extracted from a folktale told by an aged woman is the only instance of this usage which the author has come across:

(90)  
*de-yär* *gez* *ged,* *ged* *ke* *harda* *ixil-ä-ḡ,*  
 say-AOR3SG girl go.IMP2SG go.IMP2SG ki where.LOC fell.PAS-SUBJ-2SG  
*čäḡä-ḡ-nän* *ay* *geyär-ä,* *all-iḡ-nän* *nä* *gin* *geyär-ä.*  
 chin-POS-ABL moon grow-SUBJ3SG forehead-POS-ABL DA sun grow-SUBJ3SG  
 ‘He said: go girl; may sun grow from your forehead and moon from your chin wherever you fall.’  
 (folktale 7: 45)

## 6.9. Other pronominal constructions

There are in Qashqai phrasal constructions with pronominal functions including a nominal item inflected for genitive case (pronoun-like genitival phrases) or locative case (pronoun-like locative phrases) and suffixed with *-ki*, as follows: *Nominal* + *genitive or locative case marker* + *ki* suffix

Examples of pronoun-like genitival phrases:

*Ahmäd-iḡ-ki* [Ahmad-GEN-KI] ‘that of Ahmad’, *moällem-iḡ-ki* [(the) teacher-GEN-KI] ‘that of (the) teacher’, *äv-iḡ-ki* [house-GEN-KI] ‘that of (the) house’, *qoyun-iḡ-ki* [(the) sheep-GEN-KI] ‘that of (the) sheep’. The referent of these pronominals has to be somewhere earlier in the speech:

(91)  
*Ahmäd* *äv-i* *yaxen-ni,* *Mahmud-iḡ-ki* *iray-dir.*  
 Ahmad house-POS3SG close-COP.3SG Mahmud-GEN-KI far-COP.3SG  
 ‘The house of Ahmad is close [and] that of Mahmud is far.’

Examples of pronoun-like locative phrases:

*Ahmäd-dä-ki* [Ahmad-LOC-KI] ‘that which is next to (with) Ahmad’, *äv-dä-ki* [house-LOC-KI] ‘that which is in (the) house’, *yäxen-dä-ki* [near-LOC-KI] ‘that which is nearby’. The referent of these pronominals must appear somewhere earlier in the speech:

(92)  
*Širaz-da* *bir,* *Tehran-na* *da* *bir* *äv* *var-üm;* *tehran-na-ki-ni* *sat-ir-am.*  
 Shiraz-LOC one Tehran-LOC and one house existing-1SG Tehran-LOC-KI-ACC sell-PRS-1SG  
 ‘I have a house in Shiraz, and a house in Tehran; I sell the one in Tehran.’



## 7. CASES & POSTPOSITIONS

### 7.0. Introduction

Case is traditionally defined as an inflectional system involving noun phrases in certain interdependency relations which cannot be expressed otherwise. The Qashqai cases are: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative / directive, locative, ablative, terminative, equative, and instrumental (see also Table 20 and Table 21). Postpositions in Qashqai are interdependent with cases; thus, they are also discussed in this chapter.

### 7.1. Nominative case

The nominative case (NOM) identifies clause subjects. Morphologically unmarked in Qashqai, this case occurs on nominals in subject position. The nominals in direct object position may also be in the nominative.

#### 7.1.1. Subject function

In subject position, the noun phrases of different referential categories are in nominative, as follows:

i) Indefinite noun phrases:

- (93)  
*bir kiši-ymiš, bil-me-r-äm, kădxoda ya šah-imiš*  
one man.NOM-PF.COP3SG know-NEG-PRS-1SG alderman or king-PF.COP3SG  
'Il y avait un homme, je ne sais pas s'il était chef du village ou roi.' (folktale 6: 1)

ii) Definite noun phrases:

- (94)  
*arvad xăbăr ver-di kiši gor-dăn găy-illi..*  
woman.NOM news give-PST3SG man.NOM grave-ABL come-IMPF3SG  
'The wife said [lit. gave the news] that the man was coming from the grave...' (folktale 2: 22)

- (95)  
*Qăşqay dă ki daha o ilăr-ki qăşqay dăyil.*  
Qashqai.NOM DA KI anymore that before-KI Qashqai.NOM is.not  
'The Qashqai [people] is not anymore what that it was before.' (interview 1: 55)

iii) Generic noun phrases:

- (96)  
*adamızad bul-un-muş äv-im-i al-miş äl-im-năn.*  
human.NOM find-PASS-PF3SG house-POS1SG-ACC take-PF3SG hand-POS1SG-ABL  
'Human being has appeared and occupied my house.' (folktale 1: 54)

#### 7.1.2. Direct object function

The noun phrases taking direct object function are in nominative when they are indefinite ex. *bir äñ pul* 'a handful of money' (97), or generic ex. *bir kitab* 'a book' (98).

- (97)  
*Bir čăñ pul ver-di de-di munu apar o kănn-ä*  
a handful money.NOM give-PST3SG say-PST3SG this.ACC take.IMP2SG that village-DAT  
*bir yemăli găti ye-yă-g.*  
a food bring.IMP2SG eat-SUBJ-1PL

'She gave a handful of money [to the man] and said: take this to that town and buy and bring some food for us to eat.' (folktale 3: 38)

- (98)  
*Hăsän kitab oxu-maz.*  
Hassan book.NOM read-NEG.AOR  
'Hassan [habitually] does not read books.'



## 7.2. Accusative case

The accusative case (ACC) is expressed by the suffix *-(y)I*, ex. *där-i* [door-ACC]. This suffix has the variant *-nI* occurring only after a nominal marked with possessive suffix of 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular, ex. *baba-si-ni* [father-POS3SG-ACC]. The semi-vowel /y/ appears between a vowel-final nominal stem and the suffix *-I*, ex. *donya-yi* [world-ACC]. The accusative case primarily marks the nominals in direct object position when they are definite:

(99)

*de-di: arvad, där-i aç tä gäl-ä-m.*  
say-PST3SG wife.NOM door-ACC open.IMP2SG TA come-SUBJ-1SG

‘He said: wife, open the door; in order that I [could] come in’ (folktale 1: 62).

(100)

*biz dunya-yi tazzä ger-ir-äg.*  
we.NOM world-ACC fresh see-PRS-1PL

‘We have just started to see the world’ (folktale 3: 53).

The accusative case is also assigned to grammatical direct objects of verbs such as *gäz-* ‘to walk around, to visit’ and *qoy-* ‘to put’, where the direct object is an adverb of place, ex. (101) and (102), or an adverb of time, ex. (103).

(101)

*šähr-i vari gäz-di-m.*  
town-ACC whole walk.around-PST-1SG

‘I walked around the whole city.’

(102)

*donya-yi qoy-äl-lär ayay alti-na qez gir-ä gäl-mäz.*  
world-ACC put-AOR-3PL foot under.POS3SG-DAT girl hook-DAT come-NEG.AOR3SG

‘They turned the world upside down, the girl was not found’. (folktale 6: 34)

(103)

*bu iş-i ger-ä ger-ä gejä-yi sähär ed-di-m.*  
this work-ACC see-CONV see-CONV night-ACC Dawn do-PST-1SG

‘I spent the whole night (until dawn) doing this work.’

## 7.3. Genitive case

The genitive case (GEN) marks the possessor in a left-branching genitival phrase in which the possessed component takes a possessive suffix:

(104)

*sän bir div-än, män-im qiz-iim sän-ä gäl-mäz,*  
you one demon-PRS.COP2SG I-GEN daughter-POS1SG you-DAT come-NEG.AOR3SG

‘You are a demon; my daughter will not get married with you’. (from a folktale)

(105)

*Ahmäd-in äv-i tazzä dizäl-miş.*  
Ahmad-GEN house-POS3SG newly build.PASS-PF3SG

‘Ahmad’s house is newly built.’

(106)

*Kişi owan-a ged-di min-ni at-in dal-in-ä.*  
man.NOM that.side-DAT go-PST3SG mount-PST3SG horse-GEN back-POS3SG-DAT

‘The man went other way and mounted the horse.’ (folktale 2: 31)

Compare example (106) with example (107) in which the genitive case is absent because the possessor *at* ‘horse’ is not definite.

(107)

*at quyruy-u*

horse tail-POS3SG  
‘Horse-tail’

The Qashqai genitival phrases may indicate different semantic relationships between the possessor and the possessed such as adnominal relationship, inalienable possession, whole-part relationship. This matter is further discussed in (8.3).

There are also headless genitival phrases which function as pronominals (see 0).

## 7.4. Dative case

The dative case (DAT) is expressed by the suffix *-(y)ä*. It has different functions varying from proper dative, to directive, locative, or locutional ones, as discussed in the following subsections.

### 7.4.1. The proper dative uses

In a proper dative role, the dative case has a wide variety of functions. It marks the recipient of trivalent verbs. The common trivalent verbs of this kind are as follows: *ver-* ‘to give’, *de-* ‘to say, to tell’, *ergäd-* ‘to teach’, *yalvar-* ‘to beg’, *tapšir-* ‘to entrust’:

- (108)
- |                   |            |                |           |                 |                 |                |                |
|-------------------|------------|----------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Ašiq Hämzä</i> | <i>älä</i> | <i>inqilab</i> | <i>äl</i> | <i>ver-ännä</i> | <i>ömr-un-u</i> | <i>ver-miš</i> | <i>siz-ä.</i>  |
| Asheq Hamza       | EMPH       | revolution     | hand      | give-CONV       | life-POS3SG-ACC | give-PF3SG     | you.PL-SUBJ3SG |
- ‘Asheq Hamza passed away (lit. gave his life to you) when the Revolution happened.’ (interview)

- (109)
- |               |                 |                 |                  |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| <i>yaribä</i> | <i>ad-in-i</i>  | <i>heškäs-ä</i> | <i>de-mä-di.</i> |
| stranger      | name-POS3SG-ACC | nobody-DAT      | tell-NEG-PST3SG  |
- ‘The stranger told his name to nobody.’

- (110)
- |              |               |                    |               |
|--------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|
| <i>de-di</i> | <i>nämänä</i> | <i>ergäd-är-än</i> | <i>män-ä?</i> |
| say-PST3SG   | what.I.DAT    | teach-AOR3SG-2SG   | I-DAT         |
- ‘He [the bald man] said: what will you teach me?’ (folktale 4: 4)

The dative case also serves to mark the causee of the causative verbs derived from transitive roots, such as *gey-dir-* ‘to dress’, *ger-säd-* < *ger-* ‘to learn, to indicate’:

- (111)
- |               |                  |              |                    |
|---------------|------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| <i>Pärvîn</i> | <i>uşay-in-a</i> | <i>labas</i> | <i>gey-dir-ir.</i> |
| Parvin        | child-POS3SG-DAT | clothes      | dress-CAUS-PRS3SG  |
- ‘Parvin is busy dressing his child.’

- (112)
- |            |             |              |              |                      |
|------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|----------------------|
| <i>bir</i> | <i>adam</i> | <i>yol-u</i> | <i>män-ä</i> | <i>gersäd-di.</i>    |
| a          | person      | road-ACC     | I-DAT        | indicate.CAUS-PST3SG |
- ‘Someone indicated me the road.’

The dative case may also mark the only complement of certain divalent verbs, such as *bax-* ‘to look (at)’, *qulay as-* ‘to listen (to)’, *sertin-* ‘rub oneself’:

- (113)
- |           |              |                   |
|-----------|--------------|-------------------|
| <i>ne</i> | <i>män-ä</i> | <i>bax-ir-än?</i> |
| why       | I-DAT        | look-PRS-2SG      |
- ‘Why are you looking at me?’

- (114)
- |            |            |                |                |                    |
|------------|------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------|
| <i>bir</i> | <i>zad</i> | <i>gäl-miš</i> | <i>tänäf-ä</i> | <i>sert-in-ir.</i> |
| a          | thing      | come-PF3SG     | rope-DAT       | rub-REFL-PRS3SG    |
- ‘Something is rubbing itself against the rope.’ (folktale 6: 31)

Likewise, the dative case can mark the single complement of certain copular predicates:

(115)

<i>inni</i>	<i>çalmağ</i>	<i>arvad-ä</i>	<i>eyb</i>	<i>däyil.</i>
now	playing.music	woman-DAT	shame	NEG.PRS.COP.3SG

‘Now, playing (music) is not a shame to the women.’ (interview 1: 99)

The dative case may also imply the equal distribution of something in the position of unmarked direct object to each member of a set of recipients marked in dative:

(116)

<i>adam-a</i>	<i>ikki</i>	<i>alma</i>	<i>ye-yiñ.</i>
person-DAT	two	apple.NOM	eat-IMP2PL

‘Have two apples each one (of you).’

(117)

<i>uç-u</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ayrı ayrı</i>	<i>näfar-ä</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>tas</i>	<i>tela</i>	<i>getir-mişidi.</i>
three-POS3SG	DA	separately	person-DAT	one	pan	gold.NOM	take-PPF3SG

‘All three, each one separately, had taken a pan of gold.’ (life story 2: 31)

#### 7.4.2. The directive uses of dative case

The directive or allative use of the dative case is best expressed on the oblique complements of the motion verbs, ex. *ged-* ‘to go’, *gäl-* ‘to come’, *gir-* ‘to enter’, *qat-* ‘to insert’, *dennär-* ‘to turn (fig. to translate)’:

(118)

<i>män</i>	<i>yeddi</i>	<i>yaşar-idi-m</i>	<i>ged-di-m</i>	<i>mädräsä-yä.</i>
I	seven	aged-PST-1SG	go-PST-1SG	school-DAT

‘I was seven-years-old [when] I went at school.’ (interview 2: 3)

These complements may sometimes refer to animates or even the human being:

(119)

<i>män</i>	<i>asanak-lärimiz-i</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>meqdar</i>	<i>dennär-dim</i>	<i>farsi-yä.</i>
I	Asanak-POS1PL-ACC	one	measure	turn.CAUS-PST1SG	Persian-DAT

‘I translated a few of our asanaks into Persian.’ (interview 3: 30)

(120)

<i>härnä</i>	<i>muştäri</i>	<i>gäl-irmiş</i>	<i>älä</i>	<i>mun-ä</i>	<i>gäl-irmiş.</i>
whatever	suitor	come-EVIMPF3SG	EMPH	this-DAT	come-EVIMPF3SG

‘Every suitor coming to their home wanted her to marry.’ (folktale 6: 4)

#### 7.4.3. The locative uses of dative case

In this usage, the dative case marks the complements indicating the space, as with the verbs *qoy-* ‘to put, to pose’, *qal-* ‘to stay’, *tur-* ‘to stand up’, *otur-* ‘to sit down’, *bayla-* ‘to attach’. Here are some examples:

(121)

<i>kitab-ı</i>	<i>qoy-irdi-m</i>	<i>ayz-ım</i>	<i>däm-i-nä...</i>
book-ACC	put-IMP-1SG	mouth-POS1SG	before-POS3SG-DAT

‘I would keep the book before my mouth...’ (interview 2: 13)

(122)

<i>beyin</i>	<i>qal-ir-äm</i>	<i>äv-ä.</i>
today	stay-PRS-1SG	home-DAT

‘Today, I (will) stay at home.’

(123)

<i>kişi</i>	<i>tur-ur</i>	<i>äyy-ä.</i>
man	stand.up-AOR3SG	foot-DAT

‘The man stood up.’ (folktale 2: 13)

(124)

<i>qez</i>	<i>yer-in-ä</i>	<i>otur-ur.</i>
girl	place-POS3SG-DAT	sit.down-AOR3SG

‘The girl sat down at her place.’ (folktale 5: 124)

The dative case may also mark adverbials of time in a special construction implying the use of the possessive suffix of the third person singular too, ex. *sähär-in-ä* ‘the next day’:

- (125)
- |                    |             |             |               |               |                |                |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>sähär-in-ä</i>  | <i>genä</i> | <i>ilan</i> | <i>ol-lu</i>  | <i>ged-di</i> | <i>käläš-i</i> | <i>iči-nä.</i> |
| morning-POS3SG-DAT | again       | snake       | become-PST3SG | go-PST3SG     | shoe-POS3SG    | inside-DAT     |
- ‘The next day (lit. to its morning) again, it became a snake and went into his shoes.’ (from a folktale)

#### 7.4.4. The locutional uses of dative case

Oblique nominals in certain locutions can be in the dative case. One of these locutions is *mänä gäl-ir* [I-DAT come-PRS3SG] ‘it seems to me’:

- (126)
- |              |               |                  |
|--------------|---------------|------------------|
| <i>män-ä</i> | <i>gäl-ir</i> | <i>yornay-aŋ</i> |
| I-DAT        | come-PRS3SG   | tired-PRS.COP2SG |
- ‘It seems to me [that] you are tired.’

Another locution of this type is *gir-POS-DAT gäl*-[get.radI-POS-DAT to come], which inflects for all persons and approximately means ‘to come into one’s possession’:

- (127)
- |                |                  |            |             |                     |                |
|----------------|------------------|------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------|
| <i>ävvälki</i> | <i>arvad-dän</i> | <i>bir</i> | <i>oŋul</i> | <i>gir-in-ä</i>     | <i>gäl-er.</i> |
| first          | wife-ABL         | a          | son         | get.radI-POS3SG-DAT | come-AOR3SG    |
- ‘He got a son from the first wife.’ (folktale 3: 89)

This construction is apparently a copy of the Persian colloquial expression *gir-eš mi-yâd* [get-POS3SG PRS-come-3SG]. Notice that *gir-* is the present radical I of Persian verb *gereftan* ‘to get, to obtain, to procure’.

Another locution identical to the previous one is *nävârd-POS-DAT ged-* [battle-POS-DAT go-] ‘to overcome’:

- (128)
- |           |               |              |               |             |              |                    |                  |
|-----------|---------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|--------------------|------------------|
| <i>tä</i> | <i>muddät</i> | <i>ol-lu</i> | <i>ger-di</i> | <i>yow,</i> | <i>munin</i> | <i>nävârd-in-ä</i> | <i>ged-m-ir.</i> |
| TA        | duration      | be-PST3SG    | see-PST3SG    | no          | this.GEN     | battle-POS3SG-DAT  | go-NEG-PRS3SG    |
- ‘Some time passed, and he realized that, no, he can not overcome him.’ (from a folktale)

In *män-im nâzâr-im-ä* [I-GEN opinion-POS1SG-DAT] ‘in my opinion’ the dative case takes part in the construction of an adverbial expression:

- (129)
- |               |                    |              |                |             |             |
|---------------|--------------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>män-im</i> | <i>nâzâr-im-ä</i>  | <i>onnan</i> | <i>yey-tär</i> | <i>adam</i> | <i>yox.</i> |
| I-GEN         | opinion-POS1SG-DAT | 3.SG.ABL     | good-COMP      | person      | inexisting  |
- ‘In my opinion, there is no better person than him / her.’

This construction, too, seems to be a mixed copying of the Persian expression *be nazâr-e man* [DAT opinion-EZ I] ‘in my opinion’.

The dative case is also used in the complex verbal expression *elim-ä gedmäk* ‘to be killed’ (lit. to go to the death). This locutional verb usually denotes a death occurred in a battle or in a tragic way:

- (130)
- |              |               |                |                 |               |
|--------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>burdä</i> | <i>elim-ä</i> | <i>ged-är,</i> | <i>dahva-da</i> | <i>el-li.</i> |
| here.LOC     | death-DAT     | go-AOR3SG      | battle-LOC      | die-PST3SG    |
- ‘He was killed here; in the battle, he died.’ (life story 2: 18)

Another locutional use of the dative case is the attribution of a name to something. This usually needs the use of the verb *demäk* ‘to tell, to say’ in indicative mood of third person plural in a way that it implies the passive voice:

- (131) a. Qashqai
- |                      |                  |              |              |              |                   |
|----------------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|
| <i>arvad-iŋkin-ä</i> | <i>de-yl-lär</i> | <i>haley</i> | <i>daha,</i> | <i>arvad</i> | <i>râqs-in-ä.</i> |
| woman-that.of-DAT    | say-PRS-3PL      | haley        | DAHA         | woman        | dance-POS-DAT     |
- ‘They call that of the women *Haley*, the dance of the women.’ (interview 3: 55)

This structure, too, seems to be a selective copying of a Persian structure. The above example can occur in this language as follows:

(131) b. Persian

*be māl-e zan mi-gan haley dige, be rāqs-e zan.*  
to that.of-EZ woman PRS-say.3PL haley DIGE to dance-EZ woman

## 7.5. Locative case

The locative case (LOC) is expressed by the suffix *-DA*. Typically, it marks noun or noun phrases denoting a location in space, (132) and (133), or an expression of time (134).

(132)

*bir čay o yāxen-lār-dā var-imiš.*  
a river that near-PL-LOC existing-EPPF3SG

‘There had been a river nearby.’ (folktale 6: 8)

(133)

*ašiq-lār-i hukumāt-lār-i ki fars-dā var-imiš saxlad-irmišlār.*  
asheq-PL-ACC government-PL-IDF KI Fars-LOC existing-EPPF3SG keep-EVIMPF3PL

‘The governments, which were in Fars, would patronize the Asheqs.’ (interview 1: 4)

(134)

*bu jeyran-akī gimā ged-irmiš ālā quyu issin-ā.*  
this gazelle-DEF everyday.LOC go-PPF EMPH well upon.POS-DAT

‘This gazelle would go everyday to the well.’ (folktale 5:130)

The locative case may also take part in pronominal, possessive, adverbial and converbial constructions.

In pronominal constructions, the locative case marks a noun or a pronoun which is then suffixed to *ki* as follows: *noun / pronoun + locative case + ki suffix*. Examples: *Ahmād-dā-ki* [Ahmad-LOC-KI] ‘that in the possession of Ahmad’, *müdräsä-dā-ki* [school-LOC-KI] ‘that in (the) school’, *day-da-ki* [mountain-LOC-KI] ‘that in (the) mountain’.

(135)

*Širaz-da-ki äv-im-i sad-dī-m, ama Lar-da-ki-ni saxla-miš-am.*  
Shiraz-LOC-KI house-POS1-ACC sell-PST-1SG but Lar-LOC-KI-ACC keep-PF-1SG

‘I sold my house in Shiraz, but I kept the one in Lar.’

These pronominals can cumulate suffixes of plurality, definiteness, and cases ending into a copula in copular clauses:

(136)

*äv-dā-ki-lār-iñiz-dān-nir*  
home-LOC-KI-PL-POS2PL-ABL-COP.3SG

‘It is from those of yours which are at home.’

In possessive constructions, the locative case may replace the genitive case on the possessor of *var / yox* possessive constructions in which the possessed element or the copula *var / yox* no longer hold the possessive suffix:

(137)

*bir čām var-imiš onnā bir šer var-imiš*  
one meander existing-EVIMPF3SG that.LOC one lion existing-EVIMPF3SG

‘There was a meander in which there was a lion.’ (folktale 6 : 11)

(138)

*daha kāmānčā dā biz-dā yox-idi*  
DAHA Kamancheh DA we-LOC inexistent-IMPF.COP3SG

‘And we did not even have a Kamancheh.’ (interview 1: 91)

(139)

*mān-nā bir ušay artiy yox.*

I-LOC          one      child      more      inexisting.3SG  
 ‘I do not have but one child.’ (interview 2: 29).

In adverbial constructions, namely adverbials of time, the locative case is suffixed to certain nominals indicating time, ex. *gin-nā* [day-LOC] ‘every day’, *hafta-da* [week-LOC] ‘weekly’:

(140)  
*gin-nā      sähär      saät-e      šiš      oyan-ir-äm.*  
 day-LOC      morning      o'clock-EZ      six      wake.up-PRS-1SG  
 ‘Every day morning, I wake up at six o’clock.’

(141)  
*hafta-da      bir      kārāz      estāxr-ä      ged-ir.*  
 week-LOC      a      time      pool-DAT      go-PRS.3SG  
 ‘S/he goes to the pool once a week.’

The demonstrative *o* ‘that’ inflects for the locative to form the adverb *on-na* ‘then’:

(142)  
*onnä      xälx      täh      muräxäs      ol-ur.*  
 that.LOC      people      all      released      become-AOR3SG  
 ‘Then, the whole people were released.’ (folktale 4: 23)

In converbial constructions, the locative case along with the participial suffix *-(y)An* forms the converbial suffix *-(y)AnnA*. This latter, when suffixed to a verb stem, denotes the immediacy of an action happening along with another action (see also sections 5.2.1.3 and 12.1.4.1):

(143)  
*älä      inqilab      äl      ver-ännä      ömr-u-nu      ver-miš      siz-ä.*  
 EMPH      revolution      hand      give-CONV      life-POS3SG-ACC      give-PF.3SG      you-DAT  
 ‘He apparently passed away as soon as the revolution started.’ (Lit. He gave his life to you when the revolution gave the hand.) (interview 1: 14)

## 7.6. Ablative case

The ablative (ABL) case is expressed by the suffix *-DA*. It generally denotes the origin and provenance (‘from’). It may also convey other meanings depending on its role in establishing a relation between different syntactic elements.

### *Provenance*

The ablative case denotes the provenance on the complements expressing a location in the space, ex. (144), or a body part, ex. (145).

(144)  
*Häsän      širaz-dan      gäl-miš.*  
 Hassan      Shiraz-ABL      come-PF3SG  
 ‘Hassan has come from Shiraz.’

(145)  
*hešnä      äl-im-nän      gäl-m-ir.*  
 nothing.what      hand-POS1SG-ABL      come-NEG-PRS3SG  
 ‘I can do nothing.’ (Lit. nothing comes from my hand).

### *Point of departure*

Adverbs or adverbials can be inflected for the ablative case in order to mark a point of in the time, space, or in a set of numbers.

To mark a point of departure in the time:

(146)  
*dinän      šam-nan      yayiš      yay-ir.*

yester night-ABL rain rain-PRS3SG  
 ‘It has been raining since last night.’

(147)  
*bu də ašši-y-imiš ilärtär-dän šah oyul-u-nä.*  
 this DA lover-COP.EPPF3SG before-ABL king son-POS3SG-DAT  
 ‘This [woman] had been in love with the son of the king from before.’ (folktale 5: 115)

(148)  
*enqilab-dän bəri härnä jävan äyäy-ä tut-muš...*  
 revolution-ABL since whatever young foot-DAT take-PF3SG  
 ‘Whoever has grown up as young since the Revolution...’ (interview 1: 27)

To mark the point of departure in the space:

(149)  
*ordän bəri daha su diz-änčä artiy gäl-mi-r.*  
 there.ABL since DAHA water knee-EQU more come-NEG-PRS3SG  
 ‘From that point onwards, the water only mounts as high as the knees.’ (folktale 5: 54)

To mark a number indicating a quantity:

(150)  
*bu kän-niñ bešiz-dän artiy jämiyät var-i*  
 this village-GEN five.hundred-ABL more population existing-POS3SG  
 ‘This village has a population of more than 500 hundred people.’

As shown in the examples above, the ablative case may govern postpositions such as *bəri* ‘since’, *artiy* ‘more’, *ilärtär* ‘before’ to express a restriction on the space, time, quality or quantity (see also chapter 4.10).

### Comparisons

The ablative case serves along with the comparative suffix *-tär* of Persian origin to form comparative pairs of nominals:

(151)  
*Qez bir kaka də var-i-ymiš ez-in-nän kučik-tär-imiš.*  
 girl one brother DA existing-POS3-EVIMPF3SG self-POS3-ABL little-COMP-PF.COP3SG  
 ‘The girl had also had a brother who had been younger than her.’ (folktale 5: 25)

For more examples on comparative constructions see 8.2.4.1.

### Cause

The ablative case marks the nouns or noun phrases referring to the states or entities causing a (positive or negative) change in a participant of speech, usually a person:

(152)  
*až-in-nän yoxi-yä də ged-me-yrimiš.*  
 hunger-POS3SG-ABL sleep-DAT DA go-NEG-PROG.PF3SG  
 ‘He could not fall asleep because of his hunger.’ (folktale 3:8)

(153)  
*äl-lär-im sowuy-dan yäxlä-di.*  
 hand-PL-POS1SG cold-ABL freeze-PST3SG  
 ‘My hands are freezed because of the cold.’

(154)  
*başayri-dan fešar-im ged-miš uxari.*  
 headache-ABL pressure-POS1SG go-PF3SG above  
 ‘My [blood] pressure has elevated because of the headache.’

(155)  
*sän-in gällig-iñ-nän xošhal ol-lu-m.*

you-GEN coming-POS2SG-ABL pleased become-PST-1SG  
 ‘I was pleased of your visit.’

#### Source

The referent of noun phrases inflected for the ablative case is the source of something denoted by the referent of another noun phrase, as in these examples:

(156)  
*ušay-lar-dan xəbər ol-ma-dī.*  
 child-PL-ABL news be-NEG-PST3SG  
 ‘There is no news of the children.’

(157)  
*šah oyl-un-nän nə ušayli ol-mušumuš.*  
 king son-POS3SG-ABL DA pregnant become-EPPF3SG  
 ‘And she had got pregnant from the son of the king.’ (folktale 6:112)

(158)  
*onnän bir oyl-unän bir qez gir-i-nä gäl-er.*  
 he.ABL a son-INST a girl hook-POS3SG-DAT come-AOR3SG  
 ‘He got a son and a daughter from that [wife].’ (folktale 6: 2)

#### Partitive

The ablative case marks noun phrases whose referent is partly submitted to the action expressed by the predicate. Here are two examples:

(159)  
*munin piy-in-nän küçik-aki birparä qaz-dī.*  
 this.GEN fat-POS3SG-ABL small-DEF some cut-PST3SG  
 ‘The younger one cut out some of the fat of this [demon].’ (from a folktale)

(160)  
*härnä jeb var-i-ymiš dollur-ur bu gowhär-dän*  
 whatever pocket existing-POS3SG-COP.3SG fill-AOR3SG this jewel-ABL  
 ‘She filled however many pockets she had from these jewels.’ (folktale 6: 69)

#### 7.6.1. Ablative case in locutions

The ablative case may mark the nominals of certain locutional constructions which seems to be mixed copyings of locutions frequently used in Persian. The two most frequent of these locutions are constructed as follows:

*NP-ABL xoš-POS gäl-* ‘like / take pleasure of something / someone’ ex. (161)  
*NP-ABL yaman-POS gäl-* ‘dislike something / someone’ ex. (162)

(161)  
*munin iss-in-nän xoš-um gäl-irdi*  
 this.GEN smell-POS3SG-ABL pleasant-POS3SG come-IMPF.3SG  
 ‘I would take pleasure from the smell of this [book].’ (interview 2: 13)

(162)  
*bu zānbowa dä onlär-dän yaman-i gäl-ir-miš,*  
 this step.mother DA they-ABL bad-POS3SG come-PRS-PF3SG  
 ‘And this stepmother would apparently hate them.’ (folktale 5: 27).



## 7.7. Terminative case

The terminative case (TER) is expressed by the suffix  $-(y)An\check{A}(z/s/m)$ . It specifies a limit in the space and time denoting the notion ‘up to a certain point’, ex. *äv-änčä(z/s/m)* ‘up to the home’ and *šam-änčä(z/s/m)* ‘until the evening’. The functions of terminative case in Qashqai can be summed up as follows:

i) To express a certain point in time (temporal usage):

(163)

<i>män</i>	<i>inni-yänčä</i>	<i>beš</i>	<i>ketab-ım</i>	<i>čap</i>	<i>ol-muš.</i>
I	now-TER	five	book-POS1SG	printing	become-PF3SG

‘By now, five books of mine have been published.’ (interview 2: 22)

(164)

<i>čox</i>	<i>otur-du-m</i>	<i>gejā</i>	<i>sähär-änčäs.</i>
much	sit-PST-1SG	night	dawn-TER

‘I stayed awake long over night until dawn.’ (interview 3: 31)

ii) To express a certain point in space (spatial usage):

(165)

<i>män</i>	<i>äv-änčä</i>	<i>qäš-di-m</i>
I	home-TER	run-PST-1SG

‘I ran until the home.’

(166)

<i>älä</i>	<i>yayış</i>	<i>yay-mış</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>čay</i>	<i>gäl-ir</i>	<i>deš-änčä.</i>
EMPH	rain	rain-PF3SG	KI	river	come-PRS3SG	chest-TER

‘It has rained so much that the floodwater is up to one’s chest.’

iii) To express the end-point, target or goal of an action. In this, the terminative case is suffixed to the participial forms in  $-(y)An$ , this latter taking the function of a verbal noun:

(167)

<i>de-di</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>doy-än-änčä.</i>
say-PST3SG	eat.IMP2SG	TA	be.satiated-PART-TER

‘He said: eat it until you be satiated.’ (from a folktale)

(168)

<i>iš</i>	<i>tikän-än-änčä</i>	<i>äv-ä</i>	<i>bik-il-mä-yäsi-η.</i>
work	be.finished-PART-TER	home-DAT	turn-PASS-NEG-NECS-2SG

‘You should not return home until the work is finished.’

## 7.8. Equative case

The equative case (EQU) is expressed by the suffix  $-čA$ . The functions of the equative case are as follows:

i) To express the quality of qualities such as weight, ex. (169) and size, ex. (170). The noun so inflected for the equative serves as the reference of comparison with another noun.

(169)

<i>de-miš</i>	<i>qulay-ım</i>	<i>ayiri-čä</i>	<i>ardibulay</i>	<i>ver-iη</i>	<i>ye-yä-m.</i>
say-PF3SG	ear-POS1SG	weight-EQU	ardibulay	give-IMP2PL	eat-SUBJ-1SG

‘She said: give me of the Ardibulay the weight of my ears to eat.’ (folktale 5: 95)

(170)

<i>qarpiz</i>	<i>duš-muš</i>	<i>adam</i>	<i>laš-i-ča.</i>
watermelon	fall-PF3SG	human	body-POS3SG-EQU

‘There are watermelons as big as the human body.’ (from a folktale)

ii) To express the approximation of quantities by a numeral, ex. *ottužča* ‘about thirty’ as in (171), or by a quantifier, ex. *bir ašja < bir aš-ča* ‘a small amount’ as in (172).

(171)  
*mänim ottuz-ča gäčči var-İM*  
 I-GEN thirty-EQU goat existing-POS1SG  
 ‘I have got around thirty goats.’

(172)  
*bir az-ča qar yay-mış.*  
 a little-EQU snow rain-PST3SG  
 ‘It snowed a little bit.’

Seemingly in the same way, the equative is used to form the question word *neččä* ‘how many’ out of another question word *nä* ‘what’:

(173)  
*siz-İn neččä uşay var-İniz?*  
 you-GEN how.many child existing-POS2PL  
 ‘How many children do you have?’

## 7.9. Instrumental case

The instrumental case (INST) is expressed by the suffix *-(y/I)nAn*. It has instrumental, comitative and coordinative meanings as discussed below:

i) With instrumental meaning, the instrumental case marks the oblique objects whose referents are inanimate, non-human animate, or body parts, as in: *bel-inän* ‘with a (the) shovel’, *at-İnan* ‘by horse’, *äl-inän* ‘by hand’:

(174)  
*yer-i bel-inän qaz-dİlar.*  
 soil-ACC shovel-INST dig-PST3PL  
 ‘They dug the soil with a shovel.’

(175)  
*at-İnan ged-di-m şähr-ä.*  
 horse-INST go-PST-1SG town-DAT  
 ‘I traveled to the town by horse.’

(176)  
*täpig-inän vur-ännä där-i qerr-är.*  
 kick-INST hit-CONV door-ACC break-AOR3SG  
 ‘He broke the door giving it a kick.’ (folktale 1:48)

In instrumental function, the suffix *-(y/I)nAn* may sometimes attach to abstract nouns, ex. *xošballıg* ‘joy’ as in example (177). The form thus constructed is an adverb of manner.

(177)  
*gez xoşballıg-inän tur-ur äyy-ä.*  
 girl joy-INST stand.up-AOR3SG foot-DAT  
 ‘The girl stood up joyfully.’ (folktale 5: 81)

Likewise, the instrumental case may mark certain nouns in Ezafeh constructions to convey a concessive meaning. This is a copying of a similar construction in Persian, ex. (178) a - b.

(178) a. Qashqai  
*[tämam-e moşkelat-inän] zendeganlıg-İM-i ed-di-m.*  
 all-EZ difficulties-INST life-POS1SG-ACC do-PST-1SG  
 ‘Despite all difficulties, I did my life.’ (interview 3: 28)

(178) b. Persian  
*[bâ hame-ye moşkelat] zendegi-m-o kard-am.*  
 with.all-EZ difficulties life-POS1SG-DO do.PST-1SG

ii) With comitative meaning, the instrumental case marks the nouns referring to human beings, ex.:

*Pärvin-inän* ‘(together) with Parvin’, *kaka-m-inan* ‘(together) with my brother’, *bir adam-inan* ‘(together) with a person’, *män-im-inän* ‘(together) with me’:

(179)

*bu män-im-inän danış-äsi-ydi.*  
this I-GEN-INST talk-NECS-PST.COP3SG

‘This [boy] should have been talking with me.’ (folktale 3:14)

(180)

*şah oğul-u mirşikal-i-ni yollä-r birikki adam-inän on-iñ qulunĵ-u-nä.*  
king son-POS3SG hunter-POS3SG-ACC send-AOR3SG one.two person-INST he-GEN back-POS3SG-DAT

‘The son of the king sent his chief hunter together with a couple of persons after him.’ (folktale 5:135)

Sometimes, the instrumental case is governed by the predicate:

(181)

*yazdığ-inän moxalif-idi.*  
writing-INST against-COP.PST3SG

‘He was against writing.’ (interview 3: 24)

iii) With coordinative meaning, the instrumental case serves as a coordination conjunction linking two successive nouns or noun phrases, ex.: *Häsän-inän Ahmäd* ‘Hassan and Ahmad’, *daş-inan torpay* ‘stone and soil’, *bir kepäy-nän bir eşşag* ‘a dog and a donkey’.

The following section discusses the relationship between cases and postpositions.

## 7.10. Postpositional phrases

The primary function of postpositions is relational, that is, they introduce a complement by relating it to another part of speech. In this, they are in close correlation with cases. Qashqai is a language of postpositions. If any, prepositions occur only in copyings of Persian origin. Qashqai postpositions occur after their complements, a nominal or pronominal head which may be in nominative, genitive, dative, or ablative case. Postpositions can be classified according to the case required on their complements.

### 7.10.1. Postpositions taking nominative or genitive complements

These postpositions require nominative (zero) case for their nominal complements but assign the genitive case to their pronominal complements (except to the third person plural pronoun).

#### *iči(n)* ‘for, for the sake of’

The postposition *iči(n)* < *üčün* ‘for, for the sake of’ is the only purposive element in Qashqai. The case assigned to complements of *iči(n)* may be:

i) The nominative (unmarked), if the complement is a noun:

(182)

*maşin iči bir tayir al-miş-am.*  
car for a tire take-PF-1SG

‘I have bought a tire for the car.’

(183)

*Häsän iči toy tut-muş-lar.*  
Hassan for wedding.party take-PF-3PL

‘They have set a wedding ceremony for Hassan.’

Rarely, the case occurring with a noun as purposive complement is the genitive:

(184)

*qez-lär-iñ iči dä su-yu qo-du qäynä-di.*  
girl-PL-GEN for DA water-ACC put-PST3SG boil-PST3SG

‘And he made the water boil for the girls.’ (from a folktale)

ii) The genitive, if the complement is a pronoun:

(185)

*män-im iči bir tayä tut-muš-lär...*  
I-GEN for a nanny take-PF-3PL

‘They have recruited a nanny for me...’ (interview 3: 2)

As said earlier, the third person plural pronoun behaves as a noun in taking the nominative case when it is assigned as purposive complement:

(186)

*onlar iči dä yemäli gätir-di-m.*  
those for da food bring-pst-1sg

‘I brought food for those (people), too.’

### ***TäKin (täyin, läyin)* ‘like, as’**

The enclitic postposition *TäKin* and its variants *täyin*, and *läyin* may have originated from the similitive suffix +*LäyU* and / or the postposition *täg*—both attested in some Eastern Turkic languages (Erdal 2004: 380). The case assigned to complements of *TäKin* are as follows:

i) The nominative, if the complement is a noun (or a substantivized adjective):

(187)

*neččä il älä belä däli-lär=täyin gäz-ir-miš.*  
several year EMPH such mad-PL-like walk-PRS-PF3SG

‘He was wandering several years like mad people.’ (Parvin Bahmani)

ii) The genitive, if the complement is a pronoun, ex. (188), except the third person plural pronoun, ex. (189).

(188)

*qurbät-lär älä biz-im=täyin danış-illärdä.*  
gypsy-PL EMPH we-GEN-like speak-IMP3PL

‘The Gypsy would speak as us (speak our language).’ (interview 3: 40).

(189)

*onlar=täyin xub adam ger-mä-miš-äm.*  
they=like good person see-PF-1SG

‘I have not seen people as kind as them.’

The postposition *TäKin* may serve to make a comparison of equality between two items, of which the one that is suffixed for the postposition occurs as a modifier on the left:

(190)

*ger-di [bir män-im=täyin qärri] el-miš.*  
see-PST3SG a I-GEN-like old.woman die-PF3SG

‘He saw an old woman like me who had died.’ (folktale 1:15)

### **7.10.2. Postpositions taking dative complements**

These are the postpositions whose complements (both nominal and pronominal) require dative case.

#### ***sari* ‘towards’**

The complements followed by the postposition *sari* ‘towards’ are in the dative.

*män-ä sari* ‘towards me’ *Häsän-ä sari* ‘towards Hassan’  
*bizlär-ä sari* ‘towards us’ *day-a sari* ‘towards (the) mountain’

This postposition may have both temporal meaning, as in (191) and spatial meaning, as in (192) and (193).

(191)

*sähär-ä sari keč-äl-lär.*

morning-DAT    towards    depart-AOR-3PL  
 ‘Towards dawn, they departed.’ (folktale 5: 38)

(192)  
*var-di            ged-di            kaka-si            äv-in-ä            sari.*  
 existing-PST3SG    go-PST3SG    brother-POS3SG    home-POS3SG-DAT    towards  
 ‘He went towards the house of his brother.’ (from a folktale)

(193)  
*ušay-a            de            gäl-ä            män-ä            sari.*  
 child-DAT    say.IMP2SG    come-SUBJ3SG    I-DAT    towards  
 ‘Tell the child to come to me!’

In the speech of much Persianized speakers, a genitival phrase involving a pronominal complement and the postposition *sari* is also possible. The complement, in this construction, is in the genitive and the postposition *sari* takes the possessive marker and dative case:

(194)  
*ušay    gäl-li            [män-im    sari-m-a].*  
 child    come-PST3SG    I-GEN    towards-POS1SG-DAT  
 ‘The child came towards me.’

This construction is a mixed copying of the Persian adpositional *be tərəf-e män* [towards side-EZ I] ‘towards me’. Notice that the construction *män-im tərəf-im-ä* [I-GEN side-POS1SG-DAT] is also used instead of *män-ä sari* or *män-im sari-m-a*.

**Note:** in one instance, the postposition *sari* takes ablative complements:

(195)  
*aşıyın    äsli            dä,    mess-e    bu    ki    Daravxan    gätirmiş,*  
 asheq.GEN    origin.POS    DA    like-EZ    this    KI    Darab.Khan    bring.PF3SG  
*o    Tavrız,    Türkiyä-dän    sari    gätirmişlär.*  
 that    Tabriz    Turkey-ABL    from    bring.PF3PL

‘As for the origin of the asheqs, it seems that it was Darab Khan who brought them; he brought them from Tabriz, from Turkey.’ (interview 1: 7)

### ***gerä* < *göra* ‘according to’**

This postposition is rarely used in Qashqai. It only expresses the conformity relation after a noun phrase in the dative case:

(196)  
*qonşular-a            gerä            kätxoda            oyl-u            toy            ed-miş.*  
 neighbours-DAT    according    headman    son-POS3SG    marriage    do-PF3SG  
 ‘According to the neighbours, the son of the headman has got married.’

### **7.10.3. Postpositions taking ablative complements**

This group includes *ayri* ‘apart from’, *iläri* ‘before’, *sorä* ‘after’, *bäri* ‘since, from’. They assign the ablative case to their complements (both nominal and pronominal).

#### ***ayri* ‘apart from’**

The postposition *ayri* ‘apart from’ expresses the exception. It assigns the ablative case to its complements, which may be a noun or a pronoun:

(197)  
*Qiliž-dän    ayri            daha    kişi    yox-udu.*  
 Q.-ABL    apart.from    other    man    inexistent-COP.PST  
 ‘Apart from Qilich, there was no other man.’ (life story 2: 36)

(198)  
*sän-nän    ayri            heşkäs    yox-um.*  
 you-ABL    other    nobody    inexistent-POS1SG  
 ‘I have nobody but you.’

(199)

<i>qiz-in-nan</i>	<i>ayri</i>	<i>yat-maz.</i>
Daughter-POS3SG-ABL	separate	sleep-NEG.AOR3SG

‘She will not sleep separated from her daughter.’ (folkpoem 12: 25)

The word *ayri* may also be served as modifier (200) and as adverb if doubled (201):

(200)

<i>qurbat-lar</i>	<i>şayad</i>	<i>ayri</i>	<i>yer-lar-dan</i>	<i>gäl-miş-lärdi</i>
gypsy-PL	perhaps	other	place-PL-ABL	come-PF-3PL

‘The Gypsy might come from other places.’ (interview 3: 42)

(201)

<i>uçu</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ayri ayri</i>	<i>näfar-ä</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>tas</i>	<i>tela</i>	<i>getir-mişidi.</i>
three-POS3SG	DA	separately	person-DAT	one	pan	gold	take-PPF3SG

‘All three, each one separately, had taken a pan of gold.’ (life story 2: 31)

### **iläri ‘before’**

*iläri* ‘before’ is an adverb and a postposition. As an adverb, it expresses both temporal and spatial meanings (see 4.8.3.2). As a postposition, it has only temporal meaning:

(202)

<i>nowruz-dan</i>	<i>iläri</i>	<i>fäyät</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>däfa</i>	<i>yay-di.</i>
Nowruz-ABL	before	only	one	time	rain-PST3SG

‘Before Nowruz, it rained only one time.’

(203)

<i>tähqiqat-ı</i>	<i>igirmi</i>	<i>il</i>	<i>mun-nän</i>	<i>iläri</i>	<i>şuru</i>	<i>ed-miş-äm.</i>
research-ACC	twenty	year	this-ABL	before	start	do-PF-1SG

‘I have started the research twenty years ago.’ (interview 2: 20)

### **sora ‘after’**

The postposition *sora* ‘after’ is mainly employed with temporal complements assigned to the ablative case:

(204)

<i>beyig</i>	<i>uş</i>	<i>gin-nän</i>	<i>sora</i>	<i>gäl-li.</i>
big	three	day-ABL	after	come-PST3SG

‘The elder [brother] came [back] after three days.’ (from a folktale)

Sometimes, a person name or a personal pronoun may occur as the complement of the postposition *sora* ‘after’; in this, too, a temporal meaning is inferred:

(205)

<i>sän-nän</i>	<i>sora</i>	<i>heşkäs-i</i>	<i>daha</i>	<i>säv-mä-m.</i>
you-ABL	after	nobody-ACC	anymore	love-NEG.AOR-1SG

‘After you, I will not love anyone else.’

### **bäri ‘since, from’**

The postposition *bäri* ‘since’ occurs with complements in the ablative. These complements, both nominal and pronominal, may have spatial meaning, as in (206) and temporal meaning, as in (207).

(206)

<i>ordän</i>	<i>bäri</i>	<i>daha</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>diz-änčä</i>	<i>artiy</i>	<i>gäl-mi-r.</i>
there.ABL	since	DAHA	water	knee-EQU	more	come-NEG-PRS3SG

‘From that point on, the water is only as high as the knee.’ (folktale 5: 54)

(207)

<i>towsan-nan</i>	<i>bäri</i>	<i>daha</i>	<i>mivä</i>	<i>bazar-da</i>	<i>yox.</i>
summer-ABL	since	anymore	fruits	market-LOC	inexisting

‘Since the summer, there are no fruits anymore in the market.’

#### 7.10.4. The postposition *serä* ‘with’

The postposition *serä* ‘with’ expresses a comitative relation. It assigns no case to its unique complement that is the noun *yan* ‘side’; instead, this complement is marked as the possessed element of a genitival phrase:

(208)

*gäl*                      *Kaka*    *yan-īmiz*    *serä*    *ged-ä-g*    *täfriy-ä.*  
come.IMP2SG    Kaka    side-POS1PL    with    go-SUBJ-1PL    recreation-DAT

‘Kaka, come with us in order that we go for a walk.’ (folktale 1: 9)

(209)

*Ahmäd*    *bañi-sin-iñ*                      *yan-i*                      *serä*    *ged-di*                      *mädräsä-yä.*  
Ahmad    sister-POS3SG-GEN                      side-POS3SG                      with    go-PST3SG                      school-DAT

‘Ahmad kept company of her sister to the school.

The following example seemingly exhibits a defective or extended use of the postposition *serä*:

(210)

*päsin*                      *nä*    *dowar*    *äyy-i-sä*                      *ged-ä-ñ*                      *äv-ä.*  
afternoon    DA    herd    foot-POS3SG-with    go-SUBJ-2SG    home-SUBJ3SG

‘And in the afternoon, you would return home along with the herd’. (folktale 3: 33)

## 8. NOUN PHRASES

### 8.0. Introduction

A noun phrase (NP) consists of a nominal item, which is called head, and one or more modifiers that may optionally modify the head or provide more information about it. This chapter deals with the Qashqai noun phrases: their structure (8.1), simple noun phrases and the role of their modifiers (8.2), and complex noun phrases, which involve a combination of two or more of them (8.3).

### 8.1. Structure of noun phrases

The Qashqai noun phrases are left-branching, that is, their modifiers are placed on the left side of the nominal head, whether they are simple or complex. (They are shown in **bold** print in this chapter). Some examples:

<i>bir <b>daš</b></i>	‘a stone’	<i>bir qārā <b>daš</b></i>	‘a black stone’
<i>bir aḡir beyig qārā <b>daš</b></i>	‘a large heavy black stone’	<i>ikki aḡri <b>daš</b></i>	‘two other stones’

The nominal head is the obligatory constituent of the noun phrase. It determines the syntactic function of the whole noun phrase. If definite, the head of noun phrases may occur without modifier, ex. *yel* ‘wind’ in this sentence:

(211)  
***yel**      ās-ir.*  
wind      blow-PRS3SG  
‘It is windy.’

Two other instances of nominal head occurring without modifier are genitive-possessive constructions, ex. (212), and relative clauses, ex. (213).

(212)  
*Ahmād-in      **baḡi-si***  
Ahmad-GEN      sister-POS3SG  
‘Ahmad’s sister’

(213)  
*day-dan      ḡāl-ān      **kiši***  
mountain-ABL      come-PART      man  
‘The man coming / who comes from the mountain’

Beside nouns, substantivized adjectives, ex. (214), and nominalized verbs, ex. (215), may occur as the head of noun phrases:

(214)  
***aḡ-lig**      ger-mā-miš.*  
hungry-DER      see-NEG-PF3SG  
‘S/he has not encountered (experienced) hunger.’

(215)  
*qāšqay-lār      **talay al-lig-i**      *eyb*      *bil-illārdi.**  
Qashqai-PL      divorce.take-DIG.PART-ACC      blemish      know-IMPF3PL  
‘The Qashqai considered divorce as a blemish.’ (interview 3: 21)

The modifiers can be subclassified into the determiners and the adjectives. Determiners including articles, demonstratives, numerals, indicate the limitation or lack of limitation of the referent of noun phrases, as in: *bir **adam*** ‘a person’, *bu **xābār*** ‘this news’, *vari **xalx*** ‘all people’, *beš **quš*** ‘five birds’, *belāyin **zad*** ‘such a thing’.

Some determiners are complex constructions, ex. *hayat-da-ki* ‘that in the yard’ which is formed by means of the locative case and *ki* suffix, ex. *hayat-da-ki ḡil-lār* [yard-LOC-KI flower-PL] ‘the flowers in the yard’.

**Note:** The Question words such as *hani* ‘which’, *nā* ‘what’, *neḡḡā* ‘how many’, *nayarḡa* ‘how much’, may



serve as interrogative determiners, as in: *hani berk?* ‘which hat?’, *nä saat?* ‘what time?’

Adjectives specify quality present in the referent of the head of a noun phrase, ex., *yeŋi keynäg* ‘new shirt’, *xub adam* ‘nice person’, *uŋa day* ‘high mountain’.

## 8.2. Simple noun phrases

Most noun phrases are simple, that is, they comprise a single nominal item. Modifiers such as articles, adjectives, demonstratives, or numerals can specify, qualify or characterize the head of the simple noun phrases.

### 8.2.1. Articles

The occurrence or the absence of articles imply the indefiniteness, definiteness and genericness of noun phrases assuming different roles in the clause.

#### 8.2.1.1. Indefinite noun phrases

Qashqai has an indefinite article—the numeral *bir* ‘a (one)’. It precedes the head noun and occurs before all other modifiers in the noun phrase:

(216)  
*bir deräxt*  
 a tree  
 ‘a tree’

(217)  
*bir gey deräxt*  
 a green tree  
 ‘a green tree’

(218)  
*bir uŋa gey deräxt*  
 a tall green tree  
 ‘a green tall tree’

(219)  
*su-yiŋ qaray-in-ä bir beyig čenar-dī.*  
 water-GEN beside-POS3SG-DAT a big plane.tree-PST3SG  
 ‘Beside the water, there is a tall plane tree.’ (folktale 3: 70)

In addition to the article *bir*, a noun phrase can sometimes take the Persian enclitic marker of indefiniteness *-(j)i*. The sequence *bir+NP=-(j)i* renders the noun phrase specific and indefinite, ex. *bir qārri=yi* ‘a certain old woman’:

(220)  
 [bir qārri=yi] var-īdī bir oŋul var-i-ydī...  
 a old.woman-INDEF existing-PST.COP a son existing-POS3SG-PST.COP  
 ‘There was a certain old woman [who] had a son...’ (from a folktale)

Indefinite noun phrases may occur without any marker of indefiniteness. This happens when the noun phrase is a direct object in the nominative:

(221)  
*nunvay-dan čeräg al-lī-m.*  
 baker’s-ABL bread buy-PST-1SG  
 ‘I bought (some) bread from the bakery.’

#### 8.2.1.2. Definite noun phrases

It is already said in chapter 5 that Qashqai has no definite article. Definiteness may be expressed by other devices such as the possessive suffix, ex. (222), or case marking, ex. (223).

(222)  
**mašin-īm**    *xarab*    *ol-lu.*  
 car-POS1SG    Damaged    be-PST3SG  
 ‘My car broke down.’

(223)  
**mašin-i**    *apar-di-m*    *täämingah-a.*  
 car-ACC    take-PST-1SG    workshop-DAT  
 ‘I took the car to the workshop.’

Noun phrases whose referents are recoverable from the immediate discourse or the context or are known to both the speaker and the addressee are expressed in two ways: either they occur without any marker, ex. (224)a, or they are marked by the optional suffix *-(y)akī* which expresses a certain degree of familiarity and definiteness with anaphoric reference, ex. (224)b.

(224)  
 a)  
**kepäg**    *hoxur-du.*  
 dog    bark-PST3SG  
 ‘The dog barked.’

b)  
**kepäg-akī**    *yat-di.*  
 dog-DEF    sleep-PST3SG  
 ‘The (aforesaid) dog slept.’

The suffix *-(y)akī* neither attach to numerals, pronouns, nouns with unique reference such as *gin* ‘sun’, *donya* ‘world’, nor to nouns already qualified by an adjective: \**xub kitab-akī*. It can be followed by case markers, ex. (645) and copulas, ex. (646). See also section .13.1 for discussion of *-(y)akī* at discourse level.

### 8.2.1.3. Unique and generic noun phrases

Noun phrases with unique reference such as *gin* ‘sun’, *ay* ‘moon’ and *tari* ‘God’ take neither article nor any other markers denoting definiteness:

(225)  
**gin**    *saat-e*    *pänž-dä*    *čal-ir.*  
 sun    o’clock-EZ    five-LOC    rise-PRS3SG  
 ‘The sun rises at five o’clock.’

Noun phrases with generic reference can be expressed without any article or marker, ex. (226) in which both noun phrases are generic.

(226)  
**čay**    *bašayiri*    *iči*    *xub-dur.*  
 tea    headache    for    good-PRS.COP  
 ‘Tea is good for headache.’

### 8.2.2. Demonstratives

Qashqai has a binary set of demonstratives: *bu* ‘this’ for proximal referents and *o* ‘that’ for distal referents. The plural forms are *munlar* ‘these’ and *onlar* ‘those’, respectively (see also 4.6.4). Demonstratives can function as the spatio-temporal determiners of noun phrases with regard to the location of speech participants:

(227)  
**bu**    *jeýran*    *o*    *käfä-dän*    *gäl-miš.*  
 this    gazelle    that    plain-ABL    come-PF3SG  
 ‘This gazelle has come / came from that plain.’

(228)

o	<b>färhän</b> =o	o	<b>gäp-lär-i</b>	dä	ki	biz	čay-ılmiš-äg...
that	culture=and	that	word-PL-INDEF	DA	KI	we	play-EVIMPF-1PL

‘That culture and those lyrics which we used to play...’ (interview 1: 97)

The demonstrative determiners do not agree with plural heads, i.e. they occur in singular form both with singular and plural forms of nouns:

(229)

o	<b>deräxt-lär-i</b>	sowar-di-m.
that	tree-PL-ACC	water-PST-1SG

‘I watered those trees.’

(230)

bu	<b>kitab-lar</b>	kim-iŋ-ni?
this	book-PL	who-GEN-PRS.COP

‘Whose are these books?’

The demonstratives may occur in noun phrases inflected for cases:

(231)

bu	<b>män-im</b>	<b>ketab-ım-i</b>	ger-mä-di-ŋiz?
this	I-GEN	book-POS1SG-ACC	see-NEG-PST-2PL

‘Haven’t you seen my book (that which was just here)?’

The demonstratives often occur in noun phrases heading relative clauses (see also 8.3):

(232)

o	<b>gez-i</b>	ke	män	ese-r-äm	bu	däyil.
that	girl=INDEF	KI	I	want-PRS-1SG	this	NEG.COP.3SG

‘The girl whom I want is not this (one).’ (folktale 5: 85)

The demonstratives can occur as pronouns referring to a noun which occurs immediately in the same sentence or context (see also 6.6):

(233)

bu	<b>män-im</b>	bowa-m	šähr-i-dir.
this	I-GEN	father-POS1SG	town-POS3SG-PRS.COP

‘This [town] is my father’s town.’ (folktale 1: 34)

(234)

<b>munär</b>	<b>bästä-ymiš</b>	älä	bu	<b>xan-lär-ä</b>
this.PL	attached-COP.EVIMPF3SG	EMPH	this	khan-PL-DAT

‘These [people] had been attached to these very khans.’ (interview 1: 6)

### 8.2.3. Numerals

Both cardinal and ordinal numerals can occur as modifiers of noun phrases. They do not differ in their syntax, that is, both precede the noun head:

(235)

<b>män-nä</b>	<b>beš</b>	<b>ušay</b>	var.
I-LOC	five	child	existing

‘I have got five children.’

(236)

<b>sevvomki</b>	<b>ušay-ım</b>	gez-di.
third	child-POS1SG	girl-PRS.COP

‘My third child is a girl.’

Numerals take the first place when there are several modifiers in the noun phrase:

(237)

[yeddi	kučik	sari	qäšäŋ	<b>quš</b> ]	bay-da	ger-di-m.
--------	-------	------	-------	--------------	--------	-----------

seven small yellow beautiful bird orchard-LOC see-PST-1SG  
 ‘I saw seven small beautiful yellow birds in the orchard.’

A special sequence of the number *bir* ‘one’, used as indefinite article, and another cardinal numeral can occur to denote the numeral approximation a nominal item:

(238)  
*ese-r-äm biriniñ BİR on eššäg var-i oyunnur-ä-m.*  
 want-PRS-1SG someone One ten donkey existing-POS3SG turn.CAUS-SUBJ-1SG  
 ‘Someone has around 10 donkeys, I want to steal them(folktale 4: 6)

(239)  
*inni bir ikki iz temän bur-dän gir-im-ä gäy-il.*  
 now one two hundred tuman this.space-ABL hook.POS1-DAT come-PRS3SG  
 ‘Now, I earn some two hundred [thousand] tumans from here.’ (interview 1: 65)

#### 8.2.4. Adjectives

Adjectives indicate additional semantic properties or attributes of a noun referent. In Qashqai, adjectives precede the noun head:

(240)  
*[bir dadli čeräg] ye-di-m.*  
 a delicious bread. eat-PST-1SG  
 ‘I ate a (loaf of) delicious bread.’

In the speech of young generations and educated people, the adjective can follow the noun head, in which case the enclitic Ezafeh *-e* links the noun head and the postposed adjective. This is a feature copied from Persian. See the example below.

(241)  
*biz-dä derd now [räqs=e äsil=e äsil] var.*  
 we-LOC four Type Dance=EZ original=EZ original existing  
 ‘We have four types of very original dances.’ (interview 3: 54)

Adjectives may be substantivized by being inflected for case, ex. (242), and number, ex. (243).

(242)  
*yalanči-ya inan-ma!*  
 liar-DAT trust-PROH2SG  
 ‘Do not trust (the) liar(s)!’

(243)  
*beyig-lär-ä de gäl-ä-lär!*  
 big-PL-DAT say.IMP2SG come-SUBJ-3PL  
 ‘Call the adults to come!’

Other adjectives or determiners can specify the substantivized adjectives occurring as the head:

(244)  
*o iziyärä yalanči genä män-i allad-di.*  
 that black.faced liar again I-ACC cheat-PST3SG  
 ‘That shameless liar cheated on me again.’

(245)  
*bu kän-nä beš aysäqqäl var.*  
 this village-LOC five white.beard existing  
 ‘There are five white-beards [respected oldmans] in this village.’

##### 8.2.4.1. Comparatives

Two or more noun phrases can be compared with each other by means of the comparative morpheme *-tärs* suffixed on adjectives. Of two noun phrases compared, the first is in the nominative and the second is in the ablative:

(246)

*män*    *Ali-dän*    *beyig-tär-äm.*  
 I            Ali-ABL    big-COMP-PRS.COP1SG

‘I am older than Ali.’

(247)

[*munnan*    *qäšän-tär*    *šeer*]    *yox.*  
 this.ABL    beautiful-COMP    poem    inexistent

‘There is no poem more beautiful than this one.’

When there are more than two noun phrases compared, the first is in the nominative and the others may or may not be in the ablative, except the last one (occurring immediately before the adjective) which is always in ablative:

(248)

*Häsän*    *män-(nän),*    *Ali-(dän)=o*    *Mähmud-dän*    *beyig-tär-di.*  
 Hassan    I-ABL    Ali-ABL=and    Mahmud-ABL    big-COMP-PRS.COP

‘Hassan is older than me, than Ali, and than Mahmud.’

Sometimes, the compared noun phrase has an inferred head:

(249)

[*bu*    *mašin-nan*    *yey-tär*]    *çok*    *ger-miş-äm.*  
 this    car-ABL    good-COMP    many    see-PF-1SG

‘I have seen many [cars] better than this car.’

#### 8.2.4.2. Superlatives

The superlative degree of adjectives is expressed by a genitive-possessive construction in which the head noun, inflected for the genitive, is the grammatical possessor of a comparative adjective which is substantivized and suffixed for possessive marker:

(250)

*qezlär-in*    *beyig-tär-i*  
 girls-GEN    big-COMP-POS3SG

‘The oldest girl’ or ‘the oldest of the girls’

Sometimes, the determiner *vari* ‘all’, in the ablative (*vari-dan*), intervenes between the head noun and the adjective:

(251)

*qezlär-in*    *vari-dan*    *beyig-tär-i*  
 girls-GEN    all-ABL    big-COMP-POS3SG

‘The oldest one of the girls’

#### 8.2.5. Co-occurrence of modifiers

It is possible in Qashqai that more than one determiner modify the head of a simple noun phrase. The most common sequences of this kind are:

i) Article + adjective + noun head:

(252)

*bir*    *durru*    *su*  
 one    clear    water

‘a clear water’

**Note:** The sequence adjective + article + noun head, ex. *\*qärä bir day* ‘a black mountain’ does not occur in Qashqai. This is an evident syntactic difference between Qashqai and standard Turkish.

ii) Demonstrative + adjective + noun head:

(253)

*bu*    *kučig*    *ušay*

this little child  
‘this little child’

(254)

*o uʃa day-lar*  
that high mountain-PL  
‘those high mountains’

iii) Numeral + adjective + noun head:

(255)

*ikki arriy Adam*  
two slim Person  
‘two slim persons’

iv) Quantifier + adjective + noun head:

(256)

*biraz toroš qätteq*  
a.little sour yoghurt  
‘a small amount of sour yoghurt’

v) Interrogative + adjective + noun head:

(257)

*hanī xub adam?*  
which nice Person  
‘which nice person?’

### 8.3. Complex noun phrases

Complex noun phrases consist of at least two nominal and / or pronominal items. They are structured by means of certain cases usually in relation with a possessive marker. In Qashqai, they are often genitive-possessive constructions (8.3.1). The Ezafeh, of Persian origin, can also be seen in some complex noun phrases (8.3.2).

#### 8.3.1. Genitival phrases

Genitival noun phrases comprise two noun phrases according to this general pattern: [NP-GENITIVE] + [NP-POSSESSIVE]

The noun phrase in the left side, generally in the genitive, indicates the grammatical possessor of the noun phrase in the right side. This one takes the possessive marker and is the grammatical possessed element:

(258)

*äv-iŋ qärši-si*  
house-GEN opposite-POS3SG  
‘The opposite of (the) house’

The noun phrases of this group express a broad range of relations and meanings as follows:

i) “Non-referential” relationship between two nouns, the first one specifying the category or the type of the second one (the head noun). In this function, the modifier is not in the genitive but in the nominative, ex. (259) and (260).

(259)

*čah su-yu*  
well water-POS3SG  
‘well water’

(260)

*gäčči sid-i iš-di-m*

goat milk-POS3SG drink-PST-1SG  
 ‘I drank (some) goat milk.’

These constructions become “referential” referring to a definite possessor when the modifier is in the genitive:

(261)  
*čah-iŋ su-yu*  
 well-GEN water-POS3SG  
 ‘the water of the well’

(262)  
*Sälmanî uşay-iŋ baş-î-nî da qîrx-dî.*  
 barber child-GEN head-POS3SG-ACC DA cut-PST3SG  
 ‘The barber cut the hair of the child, too. (Molla Nasreddin 1: 5)

ii) Inalienable possession involving kinship relations. In this function, the modifier can occur with or without a genitive case marker:

(263)  
*Ahmäd-iŋ bowa-sî*  
 Ahmad-GEN father-POS3SG  
 ‘Ahmad’s father’

(264)  
*Pärvin bajî-sî*  
 Parvin sister-POS3SG  
 ‘Parvin’s sister’

iii) Inalienable possession that involves a part-whole relation:

(265)  
*at-iŋ quyruŋ-u*  
 horse-GEN tail-POS3SG  
 ‘The tail of (the) horse’

iv) Alienable possession which indicates a conventional relationship in terms of possession:

(266)  
*Häsän-iŋ dowar-î*  
 Hassan-GEN herd-POS3SG  
 ‘The herd of Hassan’

(267)  
*Aslan maşî-î*  
 Aslan car-POS3SG  
 ‘Aslan’s car’

Both noun phrases in these complex constructions can take other modifiers:

(268)  
*bir kişî-niŋ äl-i qer-el-li.*  
 a man-GEN hand-POS3SG break-PASS-PST3SG  
 ‘The hand of a man was broken.’

(269)  
*Häsän-iŋ kuçig uşay-î beş yaş-în-na.*  
 Hassan-GEN little child-POS3SG five age-POS3SG-LOC  
 ‘The little one of Hassan’s children is five years-old.’

Sometimes, the possessor constituent of a genitive-possessive construction can be a simple or complex non-finite relative clause:

(270)  
 [o day-a ged-än gäl-än]-iŋ baş-în-î Alabärzäni qaz-irmiş.

that mount-DAT go-PART come-PART-GEN head-POS3SG-ACC Alabarzangi cut-EVIMPF  
 ‘Alabarzangi would cut the head of those visiting that mountain.’ (folktale 3: 58)

A genitive-possessive construction can itself function as the possessor constituent in a larger genitive-possessive construction:

(271)  
 [on<sup>1</sup> *baš-i-ni<sup>2</sup>* *ǰannar-i<sup>3</sup>*] *tāh* *čīyan-īmīš*.  
 he.GEN head-POS3SG-GEN beast-POS3SG all millipede-EPPF.COP3SG  
 ‘The beasts on his head were all millipede.’ (folktale 7: 13)

v) To indicate or specify one or more items from a type or set (partitive relation):

(272)  
*ušaγ-lar-i<sup>1</sup>* *beyig-i*  
 child-PL-GEN old-POS3SG  
 ‘The oldest one of the children’

(273)  
*sari<sup>1</sup>* *gil-lār-i<sup>2</sup>* *altī-sī*  
 yellow flower-GEN six-POS3SG  
 ‘Six of the yellow flowers’

(274)  
*bu* *kiši-lār-i<sup>1</sup>* *bāzi-si*  
 this man-PL-GEN certain-POS3SG  
 ‘Some of these men’

vi) In a specific usage and often in the beginning of a narration, the indefinite unique referent (always a human being) of a noun phrase is specified using this strategy:

(275)  
*kiši-ni<sup>1</sup>* *bir-i-si* *bičarā-ymiš*.  
 man-GEN one-POS3SG-POS3SG poor-COP.PPF3SG  
 ‘[There was] a certain man [who] was poor (folktale 1: 1).

This strategy of referring to a specific person can also occur when discretion should be exercised:

(276)  
*aram* *daniš-ag*, *adam-i<sup>1</sup>* *bir-i-si* *ešid-ir*.  
 quiet talk-IMP1PL person-GEN one-POS3SG-POS3SG hear-PRS3SG  
 ‘Let’s talk softly, [because] a certain person hears [us].’

The relation of these complex noun phrases with other constituents in the clause is established by means of different inflectional suffixes such as the case markers attached to the possessive-marked noun head:

(277)  
*yayīš* *su-yun-nan* *iš-di-m*.  
 rain water-POS3SG-ABL drink-PST-1SG  
 ‘I drank of the rainwater.’

(278)  
*Ali* *äv-i* *čay* *kām-in-nä*.  
 Ali home-POS3SG river bank-POS3SG-LOC  
 ‘Ali’s home is on the bank of (the) river.’

### 8.3.1.1. Genitival phrases with pronominal possessors

Pronouns may occur as the modifier or possessor of genitival phrases. In these situations, they have to be in the genitive, ex. (279) and (280).

(279)  
*sän-i<sup>1</sup>* *kitab-lar-i<sup>2</sup>*



you-GEN      book-PL-POS3SG  
 ‘Your books’

(280)  
*vari-sin-iñ      ĵeld-i      qärä-dir.*  
 all-POS3SG-GEN      cover-POS3SG      black-COP.PRS3G  
 ‘The cover of all [books] is black.’

### 8.3.1.2. Genitival phrases with headless adjectives

In these phrases, a genitive-marked noun is the grammatical possessor of a possessive-marked adjective (with or without the Persian comparative marker *-tär*) which is the grammatical possessed. This strategy may express superlativity, ex. *uſaylar-iñ beyig-i* (*beyig-tär-i*) ‘the oldest of (the) children’ (see also 8.2.4.2). Similar phrases can contain cardinal numerals (refer to 4.7.2), ex. *qizlar-iñ biri-si* ‘one of (the) girls’, or ordinal numerals, ex. *räqslär-iñ ävvälki-si* ‘the first of (the) dances’:

(281)  
*biz-dä      derd      now      räqs=e      äsil      var;      ävvälki-si      ayir      haley-dir.*  
 we-LOC      four      type      Dance=EZ      original      existing      first-POS3SG      heavy      haley-PRS.COP3  
 ‘We have four types of original dances, the first of which is called the heavy haley.’ (interview 3: 54-55)

Note that in the example above, the genitive-marked element of the genitival phrase is anaphorically retrievable in the previous sentence.

### 8.3.2. The Ezafeh

The Ezafeh is a Persian enclitic particle which serves to mark nominal determination (Lazard, 2006: 57). It links two items mostly two nominals particularly establishing adjectival, genitival or adpositional phrases. The Ezafeh marker is the unaccented clitic *=e* or *=ye* which attaches to words ending in a consonant or in a vowel, respectively. Following are some morphosyntactic functions of the Ezafeh in Persian:

i) To link a possessed item to its possessor in a genitival phrase:

(282)  
*ketâb=e      Ali*  
 book=EZ      Ali  
 ‘The book of Ali’

ii) To link a noun to its attributes, which can be followed by a possessor as well:

(283)  
*ketâb=e      tâze(-ye      Ali)*  
 book=EZ      new(-EZ      Ali)  
 ‘The new book (of Ali)’

(284) a.  
*yek      sang=e      dorošt=e      sangin=e      siyâh*  
 a      stone=EZ      huge=EZ      heavy=EZ      black  
 ‘A huge heavy black stone’

However, with multiple attributes, only the nearest attribute should be linked to the noun by the Ezafeh; others may be linked by the Ezafeh or the coordination conjunction *va* / *o* ‘and’; thus, the example (284) can be rewritten as follows:

(285) b.  
*yek      sang=e      dorošt      o      sangin      o      siyâh*  
 a      stone=EZ      huge      and      heavy      and      black

iii) To link a preposition to its complement(s):

(286)  
*barâ=ye      man*  
 for=EZ      I

‘For me’

With coordinated adpositional complements, the nearest complement is linked to the preposition by the Ezafeh; then it is coordinated with other complements by the conjunction *va* / *o* ‘and’:

(287)

*barâ=yē man o Ali o Hasan*  
for=EZ I and Ali and Hassan

‘For Ali, Hassan and me.’

For more discussion on the Ezafeh refer to Persian grammars especially Lazard (2006: 55-60).

### 8.3.2.1. The Ezafeh in Qashqai

Addressing the Ezafeh in Qashqai in no way means that it is regarded as a full-fledged device of nominal determination in this language. However, the Ezafeh is seen in the expressions and structures borrowed en bloc from Persian. See the following instances:

The phrases in which a noun is related to the noun *xodâ* ‘God’ by means of the Ezafeh:

(288)

*bir bânne=y xodâ-nîḡ at-î baylî-ydî.*  
a servant=EZ God-GEN horse-POS3SG attached-PST.COP3SG

‘The horse of someone (lit. a servant of God) was attached.’ (folktale 2: 24)

(289)

*bu arvad dâ iṇer šahnum=e xodâ.*  
this woman DA seemingly angel=EZ God

‘As for the woman, she seemed to be an angel of God’ (folktale 3: 48).

To introduce oneself or address or introduce someone else with the full name, as follows:

(290)

*Ahmâd=e Älävi*  
Ahmad=EZ Alavi

‘Ahmad Alavi’ (a proper full name)

Likewise, the Ezafeh is used to link titles such as *āya* ‘Mister’, *jenab=e āya* ‘His Excellency’, *xanim* / *xanom* ‘Missus’ to the surname of persons:

(291)

*o dâ xanim=e bāhmāni bânne=y xodâ kemāg ed-di...*  
that DA Mrs=EZ Bahmani servant=EZ God help do-PST3SG

‘And that was the [good] servant of God, Mrs Bahmani, who helped...’ (interview 1: 69).

The Ezafeh is always present in the noun phrases indicating time and date *à la persane*:

(292)

*seta zāṇ kollān var-imüz, saat=e haftonim tã dāvazdāhonim.*  
three.TA ring in.total have-1PL hour=EZ half.past.seven till half.past.twelve

‘In total, we have three classes, from half past seven to half past noon.’ (interview 4).

(293)

*sâne=yē čeloyek bir qārā il gāl-li.*  
year=EZ forty.one a black year come-PST3SG

‘The year 41 [1341 H.] was a year of famine.’ (interview 1: 46)

More importantly, the Ezafeh can be found as a component of some expressions calqued on the Persian structures using the Ezafeh:

(294)

*Ašîy-iṇ äsl-i dâ, mess=e bu ki Daravxan gätir-miš,*  
Asheq-GEN origin-POS3SG DA like=EZ this KI Darabkhan bring-PF3SG

‘As for the origin of the Asheq, it was apparently Darabkhan who brought them.’ (interview 1: 7)

(295)

**zäman-e** **ilär-tär** **aşıq-lar-ı** **xan-lar** **mäzles-lärin-nä** **saxlad-irmişlär**,  
time-EZ before-COMP asheq-PL-ACC khan-PL assembly-POS3PL-LOC keep-EVIMPF3PL

‘In former times, the Khan would keep the asheqs in their gatherings.’ (interview 1: 4)

(296)

**burdä** **märz-dän** **čix-dilär** **ged-dilär** **bir** **daha** **kişvār-ä**,  
this.place.LOC border-ABL exit-PST3PL go-PST3PL a other country-DAT  
**märz-e** **bu** **šah-dän** **čix-dilär**.  
border-EZ this king-ABL exit-PST3PL

‘Here, they crossed the border and reached another country. They crossed the border of this king. (folktale 1: 43)

The three Ezafeh structures above are mixed copyings of the following Persian structures respectively: *mess=e in ke*, *zamân-e jolow-tar*, *až märz-e in šab*.

Likewise, the Ezafeh in Qashqai can determine certain plural pronouns under this pattern: *A PLURAL PRONOUN=EZ + A PLURAL NOMINAL ITEM*. This pattern, which mostly concerns the first and the second personal pronouns, serves to refer to a group sharing the same age or profession or social status, as in: *biz=e ša’erlär* ‘we, the poets’, ex. (297), *siz=e jävanlär* ‘you, the young people’, ex. (298).

(297)

**biz=e** **ša’er-lär** **geräg** **dil-imiz-i** **dirrid-ä-g**.  
we.PL=EZ poet-PL must language-POS1PL-ACC revitalize-SUBJ-1PL

‘We the poets should revitalize our language.’

(298)

**ägä** **daha** **siz=e** **jävan-lär** **esalät-i** **yad-ä** **sal-ä-ñiz**.  
if DAHA you.PL=EZ young-PL originality-ACC memory-DAT hang-SUBJ-2PL

‘Unless you the young people would remember the originality (of the Qashqai).’ (interview 1: 94)

This pattern is seemingly copied on what that can be seen in colloquial Persian, for example: *to=ye piremard* [you.SG=EZ oldman] ‘you, the oldman’. On the other hand, in standard Persian, the personal pronouns are not determined by the Ezafeh, ex. *šoma javânbâ* ‘you, the young people’.

## 9. TENSE / ASPECT / MOOD (TAM)

### 9.0. Introduction

Tense, aspect, and mood (usually abbreviated TAM) in Qashqai are expressed on verb stems by means of inflectional suffixes. This chapter studies these suffixes taking a ‘form to function’ approach. First, the simple forms are addressed; then, the complex forms which are combinations of the ‘participial forms’ with copulas. If appropriate, a TAM category label is given after each suffix regarding its main function.

### 9.1. *-(y)ir*: the present tense

In most of the Qashqai varieties, *-(y)ir* is the unique suffix expressing the present tense and related aspects such as, the simple present, the present continuous, the present habitual, and the non-modal future as in example (299).<sup>27</sup>

- (299)  
*män mädräsä-yä ged-ir-äm.*  
I school-DAT go-PRS-1SG  
‘I go / am going / go habitually / will go to school.’

The ambiguity in these categories is avoided by contextual references or by making use of other devices, mostly adverbials, as in examples (300) to (303).

- (300)  
*män iş ger-ir-äm.*  
I work see-PRS-1SG  
‘I work.’ (simple present)

- (301)  
*män bu saat iş ger-ir-äm.*  
I this hour work see-PRS-1SG  
‘I am working at this moment.’ (present continuous)

- (302)  
*män ginnä iş ger-ir-äm.*  
I everyday work see-PRS-1SG  
‘I work everyday.’ (present habitual)

- (303)  
*män saba səhər iş-ä ged-ir-äm.*  
I tomorrow morning work-DAT go-PRS-1SG  
‘I am going to work tomorrow morning.’ (non-modal or near future)

This suffix has the form *-yir* in the following occurrences: i) after the stems ending in a vowel (both front and back), ex. *de-yir* [say-PRS3SG], *yu-yir* [wash-PRS3SG]; ii) when it follows the negative marker *-m-*, ex. *vur-me-yir* [hit-NEG-PRS3SG], *gäl-me-yir* [come-NEG-PRS3SG], *apar-me-yir* [take-NEG-PRS3SG]. Examples:

- (304)  
*gez-akî dä ordä yol gezle-yir ki kaka gäl-ä.*  
girl-DEF DA there.LOC road watch-PRS3SG KI brother come-SUBJ3SG  
‘And the girl was watching the road over there for her brother to come back.’ (folktale 5: 71)

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<sup>27</sup> The future tense suffix in Turkic languages of the Oghuz branch is *-(y)AġAK*. In today’s spoken Qashqai, except for some varieties such as Fârsimadân, this suffix is obsolete. Instead, the modal suffixes of the aorist *-(y)A/Ir*, and the necessitative *-(y)AsI* are in use.

(305)  
**bura otur-ir iş ger-me-yir.**  
 here.DAT sit-PRS3SG work see-NEG-PRS3SG  
 ‘He sits here and does not work.’ (folktale 1: 2)

(306)  
**inni div-akî bayîşlâ-me-yir.**  
 now demon-DEF forgive-NEG-PRS3SG  
 ‘Now the demon does not forgive [him].’ (folktale 5: 15)

### 9.1.1. The suffix *-(y)ir* + copulas

The combination of *-(y)ir* with the enclitic copulas *IdI* and *ImIş* results in TAM categories expressing the imperfective and evidential past. The vowel *I* in the beginning of *IdI* and *ImIş* is dropped when the copulas meet the suffix *-(y)ir*.

#### 9.1.1.1. *-(y)irdi < -(y)ir idi: the imperfective past*

A combination of *-(y)ir* and the copula *IdI*, this suffix expresses the past progressive (imperfective past):

(307)  
**dinän geĵä qar yay-irdi**  
 yester night snow rain-PST.PROG3SG  
 ‘Last night, it was snowing.’

#### 9.1.1.2. *-(y)irmiş < -(y)ir imiş: the imperfective (evidential) past*

A combination of the suffix *-(y)ir* and the copula *ImIş*, this suffix expresses the past progressive (evidential):

(308)  
**bir qara biyaban-iñ qaray-iñ-nä زندeganlig ed-irmiş.**  
 a black desert-GEN verge-POS3SG-LOC life do-PPF3SG  
 ‘He was living on the bank of a black desert.’ (folktale 5: 1)

(309)  
**kummuĵä oĵul lä gebäy-i issin-ä gâz-irmiş.**  
 little boy DA navel-ACC upon.POS3SG-DAT walk-PPF3SG  
 ‘And the little boy was moving on his navel (belly).’ (folktale 3: 90)

### 9.2. *-DI*: the perfective past

The suffix *-DI* may have the following functions:

i) To express an action accomplished in the past which is in some way witnessed by the utterer (perfective past):

(310)  
**dinän geĵä qar yay-di**  
 yester night snow rain-PST3SG  
 ‘Last night, it snowed.’

(311)  
**o da otur-du aĵla-di.**  
 s/he DA sit-PST3SG cry-PST3SG  
 ‘S/he, too, sat and cried.’ (folktale 2: 5)

ii) To express an event that would take place before a second event in the future whose occurrence is determined by the first one:

(312)  
**hâr vâxt äv-ä etiş-ti-ŋ män-ä zâŋ vur.**  
 once home-DAT arrive-PST-2SG I-DAT ring strike.IMP2SG  
 ‘Once you have arrived at home, give me a ring.’

iii) To express an imminent action as though it is already accomplished:

(313)

*tur-iŋ*                      *ayγ-a,*                      *qonay-lar*                      *gäl-li-lär!*  
stand.up-IMP2PL                      foot-DAT                      guest-PL                      come-PST-3PL

‘Stand up, the guests are arriving right away!’

iv) To serve in the predicate of factual conditional clauses, with the particle *äyä* < *ägär* ‘if’ (314) or without (315).

(314)

*äyä*                      *bikil-li-m*                      *geri*                      *ifteza*                      *ol-l-äm.*  
if                      return-PST-1SG                      back                      scandal                      be-AOR-1SG

‘If I return, I will be the subject of scandal.’ (folktale 3: 17)

(315)

*Ahmäd-i*                      *ger-di-ŋ*                      *beläsi-nä*                      *salam*                      *etiš-tir!*  
Ahmad-ACC                      see-PST-2SG                      ANPH.3SG-DAT                      greetings                      arrive-CAUS.IMP2SG

‘If you see Ahmad, give my greetings to him!’

No other TAM suffix can occur after the suffix *-DI*.

### 9.3. *-mIš*: the indirective / the perfect

The suffix *-mIš* in Qashqai primarily serves to mark the perfectness. In this usage, it expresses present perfect—a tense-aspect category that refers to an action started in the past and ongoing into the present or to a present state resulting from a past situation:

(316)

*män*                      *nahar*                      *ye-miš-äm.*  
I                      lunch                      eat-PF-1SG

‘I have taken lunch.’

(317)

*ušay-īm*                      *yat-miš.*  
child-POS1SG                      sleep-PF3SG

‘My child has slept.’

(318)

*kakabowa-sin-nän*                      *aralan-miš*                      *owqat-i*                      *tälx-di.*  
brother.father-POS3SG-ABL                      separate.PASS-PF3SG                      mood-POS3SG                      bitter-PRS3SG

‘She is separated from her brother and father [and] is in a bad mood.’ (folktale 3: 17).

This suffix also serves as the marker of ‘evidentiality’ or ‘indirectivity’ (see Johanson 2000b and 2003); it expresses actions, events or states occurring in the absence of the speaker who may be subjectively aware of them usually according to indirect evidences or sources:

(319)

*čah*                      *qurru-muš.*  
well                      dry-PF3SG

‘The well has dried.’

(320)

*Tehran-na*                      *qar*                      *yay-miš.*  
Tehran-LOC                      snow                      rain-PF3SG

‘[Reportedly] it has snowed in Tehran.’

(321)

*Häsän*                      *Allah*                      *rähmät-in-ä*                      *ged-miš.*  
Hassan                      God                      mercy-POS3SG-DAT                      go-PF3SG

‘[They say that] Hassan has passed away.’

Johanson (2000: 61) uses the term “indirectivity” instead of evidential and defines it as “the linguistic expression of” a narrative situation stated indirectly, that is, “by reference to its reception by a conscious

subject”. He states that “Indirectivity represents a cognitive category firmly integrated into the grammar of Turkic languages” (ibid: 61). Qashqai is not an exception to this definition, because its *-mİš* suffix expresses various nuances of indirectivity such as ‘hearsy’, ‘inferential’, admirative; though it is rather known as expressing perfectness under the Persian influence.

### 9.3.1. The suffix *-mİš* + copulas

#### 9.3.1.1. *-mİšDIr*

This suffix expresses a constant state of affairs or action whose results are expanded into the utterance time in the present—the perfect aspect:

(322)  
*heč šäxs vä heč äñjomän=i män-ä kemäg ed-mä-mišdir.*  
 none person and none association=INDEF I-DAT help do-NEG-PF-COP

‘No person and no association have ever helped me.’ (interview 2: 24)

Only few instances of using this suffix are seen in the corpus.

#### 9.3.1.2. *-mİšDI < -mİš IdI*

This suffix expresses an action or state of affairs unfolding in the presence of or witnessed by the utterer in a given point of the past time:

(323)  
*uç-u da näfär-ä bir tas tela getir-mišidi.*  
 three-POS3SG DA person-DAT a pan gold take-PPF3SG

‘All three had taken a pan of gold.’ (life story 2: 31)

Often, especially in the fast speech, the initial /i/ of the copula *IdI* is dropped:

(324)  
*Kazeran-ı burru çap-miş-lardı.*  
 Kazerun-ACC completely plunder-PPF-3PL

‘They had plundered Kazerun completely.’ (life story 2: 28)

#### 9.3.1.3. *-mİšImİš*: the evidential pluperfect

This suffix expresses an action or state of affairs in a distant past which the utterer has only indirectly taken knowledge of it—the evidential pluperfect:

(325)  
*bowa-läri bir daha arvad al-mişimiş.*  
 father-POS3PL a other wife take-EPPF3SG

‘Their father had [evidently] taken another wife.’ (folktale 5: 27)

(326)  
*bu ged-är otur-ä; duş-är quyu-yä.*  
 This go-AOR3SG sit—SUBJ3SG fall-AOR3SG well-DAT  
*älä o dädä bu iş-i ger-mişimiş ä.*  
 EMPH that maid this work-ACC see-EPPF3SG EMPH

‘This (woman) went to sit there, she fell into the well. It was [evidently] that very maid who had [dug that well]’. (folktale 5: 121-122)

#### 9.3.1.4. *mİš ol-A*

The suffix *-mİš* followed by the verb / copula *ol-* ‘to become’ and the subjunctive suffix *-(y)A* constitutes a TAM category that denotes:

i) An astonishment:

(327)  
*ger-miş ol-a-η hečkäs yox-in ol-a*

see-PART      become-SUBJ-2SG      nobody      inexistent-POS2SG      become-SUBJ3SG  
*belän-ä      kemäg      ed-ä!*  
 ANPH2SG-DAT      help      do-SUBJ3SG  
 ‘How come there is no one to help you!’

ii) A ‘must be’ conclusion resulting from a fact:

(328)  
*bu      lamp      rowšän      ol-m-ir,      geräk      yan-miš      ol-a.*  
 this      lampe      turned.on      become-NEG-PRS3SG      must      burn-PART      become-SUBJ3SG  
 ‘This lampe does not work, it must be broken.’

This form occurs rather in the speech of well-competent Qashqai speakers.

#### 9.4.    -(y)A: the subjunctive

The suffix *-(y)A* is the marker of subjunctive mood which in Qashqai occupies an important place among the TAM categories. It directly attaches to the verb stem, ex. *gil-äm* [laugh-SUBJ1SG], *yatird-anjix* [make sleep-SUBJ2PL], *vur-a* [beat-SUBJ3SG]. In Qashqai, the subjunctive mood may occur in independent or dependent (subordinate) clauses.

##### 9.4.1.    Independent uses of the subjunctive

In this usage, the subjunctive mood is anchored on the predicate of independent clauses, which may have the following functions.

###### 9.4.1.1.    Cohortative

In cohortative function, the subjunctive serves to render English ‘let us’:

(329)  
*ged-ä-g      yazzï-ya.*  
 go-SUBJ-1PL      outside-DAT  
 ‘Let us go outside.’

(330)  
*sähär-ä      sari      tur-ä-g      ged-ä-g.*  
 Dawn-DAT      towards      stand.up-SUBJ-1PL      go-SUBJ-1PL  
 ‘Let’s get up and go away early morning.’ (folktale 5: 34)

###### 9.4.1.2.    Deliberative

In deliberative modality, marked by the subjunctive in Qashqai, the speaker asks the addressee for instructions whether to do or not to do something:

(331)  
*su      gätir-ä-m      belä-η      iči?*  
 water      bring-SUBJ-1SG      ANPH-2SG      for  
 ‘Shall I bring (some) water for you?’

Sometimes, the deliberative implies doubt and hesitation:

(332)  
*de-yär      niĵ      ed-ä-g?*  
 say-AOR3SG      what      do-SUBJ-1PL  
 ‘She/he said: what shall we do?’ (folktale 5: 41)

###### 9.4.1.3.    Obligation

To express obligation in Qashqai, the subjunctive form is not enough alone and needs the adverbial *geräk* ‘must’ as well:

(333)  
*geräk      tez      ol-a-η!*



must soon be-SUBJ-2SG  
 ‘You need to hurry up.’

(334)  
*bir uzun tärkä-ynän, geräk tär dä ol-a,*  
 a long stick-INST must wet DA be-SUBJ3SG  
*ükküş näfär mu-nu tärkäy-nän vur-irdi.*  
 a.couple.of person this-ACC stick-INST strike-IMP3SG

‘And with a long stick, it must be freshly cut, several persons would strike, shake and pile it.’ (life story 1: 16)

All Turkic languages of Iran display this combined construction of the subjunctive and the adverbial *geräk* ‘must’. This way of expressing the obligation is copied from Persian, where the combination of *bâyad* ‘must’ and the subjunctive is used, as in:

(335) Persian  
*bâyad az injâ be-r-im.*  
 must from here SUBJ-go-1PL  
 ‘We must leave here’.

#### 9.4.2. Dependent (subordinate) uses of the subjunctive

In this usage, the subjunctive occurs on the verb of some completive, adverbial, and conditional clauses, which are subordinate to a main clause (see chapter 12). The subjunctive in these subordinate clauses may have the following functions.

##### 9.4.2.1. Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality is usually expressed by the subjunctive mood. It concerns the amount of certainty or evidence the speaker provides for his / her utterance. It is expressed by a finite clause made of the participial form in *-mlš* and the subjunctive form of the verb *-ol* ‘to be(come)’ preceded by the obligatory modal *geräk* ‘must’:

(336)  
*uşay-iñ säs-i gäl-me-yir, geräg yat-miş ol-a.*  
 child-GEN voice-POS3SG come-NEG-PRS3SG must sleep-PART be-SUBJ3SG  
 ‘The baby’s cry is not heard; it must have fallen asleep.’

##### 9.4.2.2. Permissive

In permissive modality, the speaker gives the permission of an act to the addressee:

(337)  
*siz saba başar-r-añiz man-im äv-im-ä gäl-ä-ñiz.*  
 you.SG tomorrow can-AOR-2PL I-GEN house-POS1SG-DAT come-SUBJ-2SG  
 ‘You may (can) come to my house tomorrow.’

##### 9.4.2.3. Desiderative

Desires, wishes and hopes are expressed in complex sentences involving the subjunctive mood in the subordinate clause.

(338)  
*nä iş ese-r-äñ ger-ä-ñ?*  
 what work want-PRS-2SG see-SUBJ-2SG  
 ‘What do you want to do?’ (folktale 4: 5)

(339)  
*geyn-im ise-yr män-i yad-a sal-a-ñ.*  
 heart-POS1SG want-PRS3SG I-ACC memory-DAT hang-SUBJ-2SG  
 ‘I want [that] you remember me.’

(340)  
*kaş başar-aydi-m sän-i ger-ä-m.*

if.only can-SUBJ.PST-1SG you-ACC see-SUBJ-1SG  
 ‘If only I could see you.’

(341)

*neččä jahalqiz jahaloγul ol-ä-η irläš-ä-η.*  
 a.few young.girl young.boy be-SUBJ-2SG sing.COM-SUBJ-2SG

‘What if there were a few young girls and boys, so as we would sing together.’ (folktale 3: 30)

#### 9.4.2.4. Exception

An Exception to a routine is expressed by the subjunctive mood in a subordinate clause started by the adverbial conjunction *mägär bu ki* ‘unless’:

(342)

*äv-dä turki daniš-ir-äg varī-miz, mägär bu ki*  
 home-LOC Turkic speak-PRS-1PL all-POS1PL unless this KI  
*bir fars dil-li gäl-ä äv-imiz-ä.*  
 a Persian language-DER come-SUBJ3SG home-POS1PL-DAT

‘At home, we all speak Turkic, unless a Persian speaker comes to our home.’ (interview 2: 27)

#### 9.4.2.5. Probability

The probability is expressed by both subjunctive mood and the obligatory adverbial *šayäd* ‘perhaps, possibly’ (or sometimes its equivalent *ehtemalän*):

(343)

*ged-mišimiš biyaban-ä bil-me-r-äm nä iš ger-ä; šayäd odun iy-ä.*  
 go-PPF-3SG desert-DAT know-NEG-PRS-1SG what work see-SUBJ3SG maybe wood collect-SUBJ3SG

‘He had gone to the desert, I don’t know to do what, perhaps to collect firewood.’ (folktale 5: 4)

#### 9.4.2.6. Positive or negative prospective aspect

This is a purpose relation in which the expressed intent is supposed to meet a state or an event, ex. (344), or to avoid it, ex. (345).

(344)

*ged-är gilikčä-sin-i getir-ä...*  
 go-AOR3SG yarn.ball-POS3SG-ACC take-SUBJ3SG

‘She went to take her yarn ball...’ (folktale 7: 68)

(345)

*där-i bayla-dī-m tä sowuy ičäri gäl-me-yä.*  
 door-ACC close-PST-1SG in.order cold inside come-NEG-SUBJ3SG

‘I closed the door lest the cold air not enter inside.’

#### 9.4.2.7. Premonition

It is a type of negative purpose relation that prohibits from an action of serious consequences. To express premonition, Qashqai uses the negated subjunctive of the copula / verb *ol-* ‘to be(come)’ inflected for the third person singular: *ol-me-yä* [be-NEG-SUBJ3SG]. This construction occurs as a fixed form in the beginning of premonitory clauses, which in turn have a predicate in subjunctive mood.

(346)

*aziz kaka-m, ol-me-yä o su-dän ič-ä-η!*  
 dear brother-POS1SG be-NEG-SUBJ3SG that water-ABL drink-SUBJ-2SG

‘My dear brother, just remember not to drink from that water!’ (folktale 5: 68)

The verbal form *olmeyä* seems to be a selective copying of the Persian verbal expression *mabâdâ* [NEG.be.SUBJ.A] ‘may it not be...’, as shown in example (347).

(347) Qashqai

*ol-me-yä o su-dän ič-ä-η!*

be-NEG-SUBJ3SG      that      water-ABL      drink-SUBJ-2SG  
 Persian  
*ma-bâd-â      az      un      âb      be-khor-i!*  
 NEG-be.SUBJ3SG-A      ABL      that      water      IMP-drink-2SG  
 ‘Just remember not to drink from that water!’

#### 9.4.3. **-(y)Aydl: the past subjunctive**

The suffix *-(y)Aydl* is composed of the subjunctive suffix *-(y)A* and the copula *(y)Idl*. It expresses past tense of the subjunctive mood. It occurs in the main clauses of some purposive sentences whose subordinate clause, too, has a subjunctive predicate:

(348)  
*neččä      seyer-in      ol-äydi      gätir-ä-η      burä...*  
 a.few      cow-POS2SG      be-PST.SUBJ3SG      bring-SUBJ-2SG      here.DAT  
 ‘If only there were a few cows in order to bring them here...’ (folktale 3: 26)

(349)  
*därs-in-i      oxu-yaydi-η      tä      räd      ol-me-yä-η.*  
 lesson-POS2SG-ACC      read-PST.SUBJ-2SG      TA      failed      become-NEG-SUBJ-2SG  
 ‘You should have worked on your lessons so that you would not fail.’

#### 9.5. **-(y)(A/I)r: the aorist**

This suffix expresses the old present or the so-called aorist. All monosyllabic and polysyllabic verb stems in Qashqai, regardless of their ending consonant, may accept any variant of this suffix.<sup>28</sup> In the following subsections are examined the different variants of the aorist suffix.

##### 9.5.1. **-(y)Ar**

With two phonological forms *-(y)ar*, *-(y)är*, and sometimes *-(y)er*, this variant is the aorist suffix the most frequent in Qashqai. In the oral narratives collected by the author, the vocalic harmony tends to be violated with these suffixes.

(350)  
*neččä      il-län      sorä      bowa-si-n-iñ      čoban-i      dower-i*  
 several      year-ABL      after      father-POS3SG-GEN      shepherd-POS3      herd-ACC  
*geter-er      apar-är      o      čäme šer-dä      otar-ä.*  
 take-AOR3SG      bring-AOR3SG      that      meander.lion-ABL      graze-SUBJ3SG  
 ‘Several years later, her father’s shepherd took the herd and led it to the Lion’s Meander to graze it.’ (folktale 6: 40)

##### 9.5.2. **-(y)Ir**

With two phonological forms *-(y)ir* and *-(y)ur*, this variant is less frequent in Qashqai, except in narratives told by the women who are the most competent speakers.

(351)  
*onnä      iñ-är      apar-ir      tek-är      bir      quyü-ya,      qizlär-i.*  
 then      collect-AOR3SG      take-AOR3SG      throw-AOR3SG      one      well-DAT      girls-ACC  
 ‘Then, he collected the girls, took them, and threw them in a well.’ (folktale 6: 87)

(352)  
*de-yär      be      ol-ur      ke      män      qiz-üm-ä      de-yäm      ged      div-ä?*  
 say-AOR3SG      BE      be-AOR3SG      KE      I      Daughter-POS1SG-DAT      say-SUBJ1SG      go.IMP2SG      demon-DAT  
 ‘He said: would it be possible that I tell my daughter, get married with the demon?’ (folktale 5: 20)

<sup>28</sup> This is different from what that is the rule in standard Turkish in which almost all fourteen so-called ‘odd’ monosyllabic verb roots ending in /l/ and /r/ accept only the variant *-(y)Ir* of the aorist suffix (see Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 80-81).

### 9.5.3. The variant *-D-*

The particularity of Qashqai regarding the aorist suffixes is the emergence of the variant *-D-*.<sup>29</sup> It might have resulted from the suffix *-(y)Ar*, apparently through a morphophonological process, probably to avoid three consecutive open syllables. Depending on the final consonant of the verb stem, it may become *-l-* or *-n-* via the process of consonant assimilation (see 3.3.1). Observe the following examples:

Forms with <i>Ar</i>	Forms with <i>D</i>	Meaning
<i>bax-ar-am</i>	<i>bax-d-am</i>	‘I may / will look’
<i>al-ir-aŋ</i>	<i>al-l-aŋ</i>	‘you may / will take’
<i>ye-yär-äg</i>	<i>ye-d-äg</i>	‘we may / will eat’
<i>vur-ar-aŋjž</i>	<i>vur-r-aŋjž</i>	‘you.PL may / will hit’

(353)

<i>berk-im</i>	<i>dolu-su</i>	<i>tela</i>	<i>ver-d-äm</i>	<i>beläŋ-ä</i>	<i>šulluy</i>	<i>ed-mä.</i>
hot-POS1SG	full-POS3SG	gold	give-AOR-1SG	ANPH2SG-DAT	noise	do-IMPNEG2SG

‘I will give you my hat full of gold; [so,] don’t make noise (from a folktale)

(354)

<i>män</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>eššäg</i>	<i>ol-l-am</i>	<i>šam</i>	<i>gäl-l-äm</i>	<i>tänäf-iŋ-ä</i>
I	one	white	donkey	become-AOR-1SG	night	come-AOR-1SG	rope-POS1SG-DAT
<i>sartin-n-äm.</i>							
be.rubbed.PASS-AOR-1SG							

‘He said, I will disguise myself in a white donkey and will come in the night to to rub myself to the rope [of your tent].’ (folktale 5: 22)

The variant *-D-* does not occur with the third person singular and plural:

Forms with <i>Ar</i>	Forms with <i>D</i>	Meaning
<i>bax-ar</i>	* <i>bax-d</i>	‘s/he may / will look’
<i>ye-yäl-lär</i>	* <i>ye-d-lär</i>	‘they may / will take’

Besides, it does not appear with the past form of the aorist (see 9.5.5).

### 9.5.4. Functional properties of the aorist

The aorist in Turkic languages has undergone a functional evolution, turning from a category expressing several aspects of the present tense such as simple, progressive and habitual aspects, into a modal category that indicates modal future with a sense of uncertainty (Johanson 2010: 231-232). The same development has been attested in Qashqai, too (see Romaskevich 1925; Bodrogligeti 1968; Shahbazi 1989). Currently, the aorist in this language is particularly used to express ‘irrealis modality’ as in (355), and modal future as in (356).

(355)

<i>män</i>	<i>fikr-im-ä</i>	<i>gäl-li</i>	<i>är-ä</i>	<i>ged-är-äm</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>oyul-um</i>	<i>ol-ur.</i>
I	thought-POS1SG-DAT	come-PST3SG	husband-DAT	go-AOR-1SG	a	boy-POS1SG	be-AOR3SG

‘It came to my mind [that] I would get married [and] would give birth to a baby boy.’ (folktale 2: 12)

(356)

<i>de-di</i>	<i>män</i>	<i>muniŋ</i>	<i>yer-in-ä</i>	<i>iš</i>	<i>ger-r-äm.</i>
say-PST3SG	I	this.GEN	place-POSS3SG-DAT	work	see-AOR-1SG

‘He said: I would work in place of this [man].’ (from a folktale)

The aorist is frequently, and sometimes as the only verb form, used in narrative texts to express an aspect which can be designated as a ‘narrative present’:

<sup>29</sup> This variant has existed in Qashqai from the earlier stages of its development, traces of which are attested, for example, in a glossary of the Turkic spoken in Esfahan of the late 17th century (Bodrogligeti 1968). It does not exist in other Turkic languages, except in some dialects of Azerbaijani, though rarely attested (*ibid.* 34 footnote).

(357)

*bir* *oyul-u* *ol-ur* *gäl-er* *bowa-si* *äv-in-ä* *germäglig-ä.*  
 a boy-POS3SG be-AOR3SG come-AOR3SG father-POS3SG home-POS3SG-DAT visit-DAT

‘She gave birth to a baby boy and came to her father’s home for a visit.’ (folktale 2: 3)

(358)

*bir* *qablama* *dä* *baylä-r* *qarn-in-ä* *yaniki* *uşayli-di.*  
 one pot DA attach-AOR belly-ACC-DAT means that pregnant-PST3SG

‘And she attached a pot to her belly to pretend that she was pregnant.’ (folktale 5: 123)

(359)

*ged-är* *bir* *arvad* *daha* *al-ir.*  
 go-AOR3SG a wife other take-AOR3SG

‘He managed to take another wife.’ (folktale 6: 2)

(360)

*birisi* *Tehran-na* *qal-ir,* *birisi* *ged-är* *Kerman-a.*  
 one.of.them Tehran-LOC stay-AOR3SG one.of.them go-AOR3SG Kerman-DAT

‘One of them stayed in Tehran, the other one went to Kerman.’ (from an interview)

### 9.5.5. Suffixes of the aorist + copulas

#### 9.5.5.1. $-(y)(A/I)rdI < -(y)(A/I)r IdI$

This is a combination of the aorist suffix  $-(y)Ar$  or  $-(y)Ir$  and the past copula *IdI*. This suffix has two usages:

i) As the suffix of past aorist to express the habitual aspect corresponding to ‘used to + infinitive’ or ‘would + infinitive’ in English:

(361)

*män* *eli-yäm,* *vägärnä* *älä* *bu* *ayaĵ-ınan* *qäläm-iñiz-i* *qerr-är-di-m.*  
 I dead-PRS.COP1SG unless EMPH this stick-INST leg-POS2PL-ACC break-PST.AOR-1SG

‘I am dead; otherwise, I’d have broken your legs with this very stick.’ (Molla Nasreddin 2: 10)

(362)

*towsan-lar* *da* *yayış* *yay-ar-(i)di.*  
 summer-PL also rain rain-AOR-PST.COP3SG

‘In summers, too, it used to rain.’

ii) To express irrealis in the result-clauses of conditional sentences:

(363)

*gäl-sä-ydi-η,* *män-i* *ger-är-(i)di-η.*  
 come-COND-PST.COP-2SG I-ACC see-AOR-PST.COP-2SG

‘Had you come, you would have seen me.’

#### 9.5.5.2. $-(y)(A/I)rmIš < -(y)(A/I)r ImIš$

This is composed of the aorist suffix and the copula *ImIš*. It serves to express a combination of habitual aspect and evidential mood, as in: *yay-ar-(i)mış* ‘it apparently used to rain’. Many occurrences of the negated form of this suffix can be found in the classical Qashqai poetry, as in ex. (364).

(364)

*män-e* *binäva* *bil-mäz-mış-äm...*  
 I-EZ poor know-NEG.AOR-PPF.COP-1SG

‘The poor person that I am, I would not be aware of...’ (A fragment of a poem of Mazun in Shahbazi 1989: 31).

## 9.6. *-(y)AsI*: the necessitative

The suffix *-(y)AsI* may convey temporal and / or modal meanings. In modal function, it expresses a deontic necessity varying from directive, ex. (365), to commissive mood, ex. (366).

(365)

*biz-i sän al-äsi-ŋ dal-iŋ-a gäč-ird-ä-ŋ!*  
we-ACC you.SG take-NECS-2SG back-POS2SG-DAT cross-CAUS-SUBJ-2SG

‘You ought to take us on your back and carry us across [the river].’ (folktale 6: 13)

(366)

*ušay-īm märe-z-di, apar-ası-m doktor-a.*  
child-POS1SG sick-PST3SG bring-NECS-1SG doctor-DAT

‘My child is sick; I should take it to the doctor.’

In temporal function, the suffix *-(y)AsI* may convey the necessity of an action to be done in a future time, ex. (367).

(367)

*saba ged-äsi-yäm širaz-a.*  
morning go-NECS-1SG Shiraz-DAT

‘Tomorrow, I should go to Shiraz.’

### 9.6.1. The suffix *-(y)Asi* + copulas

#### 9.6.1.1. *-(y)AsIydl*: past necessitative

The suffix *-(y)AsIydl* is a combination of the suffix *-(y)AsI* and the copula *Idl*:

(368)

*bu män-im-inän daniš-äsiydi, gil-äsiydi.*  
this I-GEN-INST talk-PST.NECS3SG laugh-PST.NECS3SG

‘This [man] should have been talking and laughing with me.’ (folktale 3: 18)

(369)

*On-när-i ki mowıyät var-läri-ydi pāxš ed-äsiydilär,*  
that-PL-INDEF KI situation existing-POS3PL-COP.IMPF3SG distribution do-PST.NECS3PL

‘Those who held positions should have distributed [this musical works]...’ (interview 1: 26)

#### 9.6.1.2. *-(y)AsIymIš*: past (indirective) necessitative

The suffix *-(y)AsIymIš* is a combination of the suffix *-(y)AsI* and the copula *ImIš*:

(370)

*čoban ged-äsiymiš yazzi-ya dowar otar-a.*  
shepherd go-PST.NECS3SG outside-DAT herd graze-SUBJ3SG

‘The shepherd should have gone out to graze the herd.’ (interview 3: 48)

This example is the unique occurrence of the suffix *-(y)AsIymIš* in all our corpus.

## 9.7. *-sA*: the conditional

The suffix *-sA* anchors the conditional mood on the verb stems in subordinate conditional clauses. Its place is determined by the type of the predicate. In nominal predicates it occupies the outermost position with regard to the copular complement:

(371)

*ağ-dır-sa*  
hungry-PRS.COP3SG-COND

‘If she/he is hungry’

(372)

*äv-dä-yāñiz-sä*  
home-LOC-PRS.COP2PL-COND

‘If you are at home’

(373)  
*yazzi-da-ymış-lar-sa*  
 outside-LOC-EPPF.COP-3PL-COND  
 ‘If they had been outside’

It also follows the present copula in existential predicates:

(374)  
*var-dır-sa*  
 existing-PRS.COP3SG-COND  
 ‘If there exists’

In verbal predicates with present time reference, the suffix *-sA* occurs after the verb stem and personal endings, that is in the outermost position:

(375)  
*gäl-ir-sä*  
 come-PRS3SG-COND  
 ‘If she/he comes’

(376)  
*gäl-lilär-sä*  
 come-PST3PL-COND  
 ‘If they come’

(377)  
*gal-miş-än-sä*  
 come-PF-2SG-COND  
 ‘If you (SG) have come’

With past tense reference established using copulas *IdI* and *ImIš*, the suffix *-sA* stays between verb stem and the copulas, which in turn are followed by personal endings:

(378)  
*gäl-sä-ydi-η*  
 come-COND-PST.COP-2SG  
 ‘If you (SG) had come’

(379)  
*xarab ol-sa-ymış*  
 broken become-COND-PST.COP  
 ‘If it was broken’

**Note:** Qashqai lacks the unbound forms of the suffix *-sA*, i.e. *ise*, *idiysä* and *imišsä*, which in Turkish have different syntactic functions (see Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 111 & 486).

### 9.7.1. The suffixe *-sA* + copulas

#### 9.7.1.1. *-sAydI* < *-sA IdI*: the unfactual conditional

*-sAydI* is the combination of the suffix *-sA* and the copula *IdI*. It serves to express the unfactual conditional mood:

(380)  
*iš ger-säydi-η, pul-uη ol-aridi.*  
 work see-COND.COP-2SG money-POS2SG become-AOR.COP.3SG  
 ‘Had you worked, you would have had money.’

(381)  
*äyä Qilič ol-mä-säydi iš xärab-idi.*  
 if Qilich be-NEG-COND.COP.3SG work ruined-COP.3SG  
 ‘If there were not Qilich, the task would be spoiled.’ (life story 2: 38)

### 9.7.1.2. *-sAymIš < sA ImIš*

*-sAymIš* is a combination of the suffix *-sA* and the copula *ImIš*. It denotes the same meaning as the suffix *-sAydl* does. Furthermore, it infers indirectivity. This suffix is used by the Qashqai; however, no example of it is seen in the corpus.

### 9.8. *-(y)Abil-*: the abilitative

The suffix *-(y)Abil-* consists of the converb in *-(y)A*, and the verb root *bil-* ‘to know’. It does not stand alone and must be inflected by other TAM suffixes. It denotes the potential ability of a grammatical subject to accomplish an action:

(382)

*farsi daniš-abil-ir-äm*  
 Persian speak-ABIL-PRS-1SG

‘I can speak Persian.’

(383)

*yat-abil-mä-di-lär*  
 sleep-ABIL-NEG-PST-3PL

‘They could not sleep.’

Sometimes, discursive particles, such as the affirmative *ho* and / or the adverbial *DA* can interpose between the two elements of the suffix *-(y)Abil-*:

(384)

*bu dä div, iz-ä dä ho bil-me-yrmış, saqqat ol-ur.*  
 this DA demon swim-ABIL DA HO ABIL-NEG-PPF3SG perished be-AOR3SG

‘This demon, it could not swim, [thus] it perished.’ (folktale 5: 58)





## 10. PREDICATION

### 10.0. Introduction

Predication consists of at least a predicate that structures a set of nominal constituents into a clausal unit (Creissels 1995: 42). Predicates are of two types: verbal predicates, discussed in (10.1), with a verb in the core expressing a certain valency, and Non-verbal predicates, addressed in (10.2.5), which have a copula as the core constituent. Negation of predicates is dealt with in (10.4).

### 10.1. Verbal predicates and valency

The core constituent of finite verbal predicates is a verb inflected for TAM and marked for the number of the subject:

(385)  
*ged-ir-äm.*  
go-PRS-1SG  
'I leave / am leaving.'

The expression of the third person singular on the verb is unmarked:

(386)  
*män-ä bax-ir.*  
I-DAT look-PRS3SG  
'She / he looks at me.'

Valency is the capacity of verb to take a specific number and type of arguments or 'valents'. Accordingly, a verb can be "avalent" (impersonal), "univalent" (intransitive), "divalent" (transitive), or "trivalent" (ditransitive). The valency of Qashqai verbs can be expanded or reduced by adding derivational suffixes to the stem.

#### 10.1.1. Avalent (impersonal) verbs

The "avalent" (impersonal) verbs take no argument or take an argument with no concrete referent. Like many other languages, Qashqai has a few verbs being considered as impersonal. The verb *yay-* 'to rain', also denoting 'to snow' if accompanied by the word *qar* 'snow', is a typical example:

(387)  
(*yayış*) *yay-ir.*  
rain rain-PRS  
'It is raining.'

(388)  
*dinän gejä qar yay-mış.*  
yester night snow rain-PF  
'It has snowed last night.'

The verb *ed-* 'to do' may also be understood as an impersonal verb in some predicates expressing weather:

(389)  
*çok sıjay ed-ir.*  
very warm do-PRS  
'It is too warm.'

The verb *gäl-* in the expression *mänä gälir* 'it seems to me' has also a dummy subject:

(390)  
*män-ä gäl-ir uşay-ımız mārız-di.*  
I-DAT come-PRS child-POS1PL sick-PRS.COP  
'It seems to me that our child is sick.'

### 10.1.2. Monovalent verbs

The monovalent verbs are those taking only an argument which can be agent or patient. Verbs denoting motions, such as *ged-* ‘to go’, *gäl-* ‘to come’, *qäč-* ‘to run, to flee’, or feelings such as *ayla-* ‘to cry’, *gil-* < *gül-* ‘to laugh’, or changes in the state of being such as *yat-* ‘to sleep’ and *el-* < *öl-* ‘to die’ can be considered as monovalent. However, some of them can take more valents in different situations. The unique argument of these verbs may be an agent or a patient.

#### 10.1.2.1. Agentive monovalent verbs

The argument of agentive monovalent verbs is an agent that acts on the verb:

Ali      *gäl-li*.  
Ali      come-PST3SG  
‘Ali came / has (just) come.’

(391)  
*dowar      qop-du*.  
herd      depart-PST3SG  
‘The herd departed.’

#### 10.1.2.2. Patientive monovalent verbs

The argument of patientive monovalent verbs is a patient that undertakes what the verb denotes:

(392)  
*bir      kiši-niñ      arvad-ï      el-mišimiš*.  
a      man-GEN      wife-POS3SG      die-EPPF3SG  
‘The wife of a man had died.’ (folktale 7: 1)

(393)  
*čenar      pušt-un-nä      bir      šer-di      yat-miš*.  
plane.tree      behind-POS3SG-LOC      a      lion-PRS.COP3SG      sleep-PF3SG  
‘Behind the plane-tree, there is a lion [that is] sleeping.’ (folktale 3: 71)

### 10.1.3. Divalent verbs

Divalent verbs have two arguments, usually an agent and a patient:

(394)  
*Ali      čeräy-i      ye-di*.  
Ali      bread-ACC      eat-PST  
‘Ali ate the bread.’

(395)  
*čärx-i      oyun-nur-ur*.  
wheel-ACC      turn-CAUS-AOR3SG  
‘He turned the spinning wheel.’ (folktale 7: 42)

(396)  
*sälmani      o-niñ      baš-ï-ni      qïrx-dï*.  
barber      3SG-GEN      head-POS3SG-ACC      shave-PST3SG  
‘The barber cut the hair of that [man].’ (funny story 1: 3)

### 10.1.4. Trivalent verbs

Trivalent verbs may take three arguments including an agent, a patient and an oblique argument. Following are the most frequent trivalent verb stems in Qashqai: *ver-* ‘to give’, *al-* ‘to take’, *de-* ‘to tell’, *täärifed-* ‘to recount’, *yolla-* ‘to send’:

(397)  
*qez-lär      kakasiah-a      mač      ver-dilər*.  
girl-PL      servant-DAT      kiss      give-PST3PL  
‘The girls gave kisses to the servant.’ (folktale 6: 79)

(398)  
*dasetan-in-ī*      *de-yār*      *bowa-sī*      *arvad-in-ä.*  
 story-POS3SG-ACC      say-AOR      father-POS3SG      wife-POS3SG-DAT  
 ‘She told her story to her stepmother.’ (folktale 7: 58)

(399)  
*nunvay-dan*      *bir*      *čeräk*      *al!*  
 bakery-ABL      a      bread      buy.IMP.2SG  
 ‘Buy a loaf of bread from the bakery!’

## 10.2. Valency / voice change

The valency of verbs can be expanded or reduced. In valency expansion the capacity of verbs to take arguments is increased; this may lead to transitive or causative verbs. In valency reduction the verbal capacity in taking arguments is reduced, resulting verbal forms of middle and passive voice. Thus, the valency expansion and reduction are in correlation with voice change. The default voice in Qashqai is active voice, which exhibits no grammatical marking:

(400)  
 (o)      *där-i*      *ač-dī.*  
 he/she      door-ACC      open-PST3SG  
 ‘He / she opened the door.’

### 10.2.1. Transitive / causative verbs

Causative and transitive verbs in Qashqai are formed through two types of causativization: a morphological one using Turkic causative suffixes, and an analytic one copied from Persian.

#### 10.2.1.1. Morphological causativization

In morphological causativization, suffixes of Turkic origin are used, of which the most frequent in Qashqai are: *-d-*, *-Ir-*, *-Ird-* and *-Dlr-*. (see Table 36).

Table 36. Causative / transitive suffixes

Suffixes	intransitive / anticausative	transitive / causative
<i>-Dlr-</i>	<i>el-</i> ‘to die’; <i>dol-</i> ‘to be filled’	<i>el-lir</i> ‘to kill’; <i>dol-lur</i> ‘to fill’
<i>-Ird-</i>	<i>yat-</i> ‘to sleep’; <i>keč-</i> ‘to move on’	<i>yat-ird</i> ‘to make sleep’; <i>keč-ird</i> ‘to make move on’
<i>-Id-</i>	<i>qorx-</i> ‘to be frighten’; <i>hirk-</i> ‘to be scared’	<i>qorx-ud-</i> ‘to frighten’; <i>hirk-id-</i> ‘to scare’
<i>-Ir-</i>	<i>biš-</i> ‘to be cooked’; <i>it-</i> ‘to be lost’	<i>biš-ir-</i> ‘to cook’; <i>it-ir-</i> ‘to lose’
<i>-Ard-</i>	<i>qop-</i> ‘to depart’; <i>čix-</i> ‘to exit’	<i>qop-ard-</i> ‘to make depart’; <i>čix-ard-</i> ‘to drive out’

They transform intransitive / anticausative verbs into transitive / causative verbs:

(401)  
*bir*      *adam*      *na*      *otur-d-dular*      *o*      *där*      *qapī-sī-nä.*  
 a      man      DA      seat-CAUS-PST3PL      that      door      before-ACC-DAT  
 ‘They had a person sit in front of that door.’ (life story 2: 25)

(402)  
*čeräy-i*      *saĵ*      *issin-nä*      *biš-ir-ir-äg.*  
 bread-ACC      iron.PLate      upon-LOC      cook-CAUS-PRS-1PL  
 ‘We bake bread on an iron plate.’

(403)  
*kaka*      *dä*      *onlär-i*      *su-dän*      *gäč-ird-di.*  
 servant      DA      they-ACC      water-ABL      cross-CAUS-PST3SG  
 ‘And Kaka made them cross the river.’ (folktale 6: 79)

(404)  
*arvad-ī*      *dä*      *bil-m-er-äm*      *el-ler-el-lär=0*      *yan-nir-il-lär.*  
 woman-ACC      DA      know-NEG-PRS-1SG      die-CAUS-AOR-3PL=or      burn-CAUS-AOR-3PL  
 ‘As for the woman, I don’t know if they killed her or burned her.’ (folktale 7: 91)

Taking the causative suffix *-Dlr*, the copular verb *ol-* ‘to be(come)’ in Qashqai denotes a special meaning *ol-lur-* < *ol-dur*, which means ‘to assist in giving birth’:

- (405)
- |             |               |                |                    |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|--------------------|
| <i>mama</i> | <i>uſayli</i> | <i>arvad-i</i> | <i>ol-lur-du.</i>  |
| midwife     | pregnant      | woman-ACC      | become-CAUS-PST3SG |
- ‘The midwife assisted in giving birth by the woman.’

The causative suffix *-Dlr* in Qashqai is not used the way it is used in standard Turkish. That is, Qashqai does not have causative (ditransitive) verbs formed out of transitive roots, such as: *yaſ-dir-* ‘make (someone) write (something)’, *ver-dir-* ‘make (someone) give (something) (to somebody)’. This lack of productivity is compensated by an analytic strategy of Persian origin.

### 10.2.1.2. Analytic causativization

In contact with Persian, Qashqai has adopted an analytic strategy of causativization that serves to increase the valency of divalent and trivalent verbs for which its own causative suffixes do not work. This strategy makes use of the following verbs:

i) The simple verb *ver-* ‘to give’:

- (406) a. Qashqai
- |                 |            |             |                   |            |                |
|-----------------|------------|-------------|-------------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>ver-di-m</i> | <i>bir</i> | <i>quyu</i> | <i>qaz-di-lär</i> | <i>čel</i> | <i>metr-i.</i> |
| give-PST-1SG    | a          | well        | dig-PST-3PL       | forty      | meter-DER      |
- ‘I had them dig a well of forty meters [depth].’ (from a folktale)

This example closely corresponds to its Persian counterpart:

- (402) b. Persian
- |               |           |              |            |               |                 |
|---------------|-----------|--------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <i>däd-am</i> | <i>ye</i> | <i>čäh-e</i> | <i>čel</i> | <i>metr-i</i> | <i>kand-an.</i> |
| give.PST-1SG  | a         | well-EZ      | forty      | meter-DER     | dig.PST-3PL     |
- ‘I had them dig a well of forty meters [depth].’

In the examples above, the causer (the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular), who is the agent of verbs meaning ‘to give’ in both examples, is directly involved in the action done by the causee (the third person plural).

ii) The compound verb *baas ol-* ‘to cause’<sup>30</sup> that entails the use of subjunctive mood in the subordinate clause:

- (403)
- |              |             |               |             |            |               |
|--------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>Häsän</i> | <i>baas</i> | <i>ol-lu</i>  | <i>(ki)</i> | <i>Ali</i> | <i>gäl-ä.</i> |
| Hassan       | cause       | become-PST3SG | (KI)        | Ali        | come-SUBJ3SG  |
- ‘Hassan caused Ali to come.’

### 10.2.2. Middle and passive verbs

Middle and passive verbs are the result of verbal valency reduction. Passive voice requires passivization of the default verb stem. Passivization in Qashqai can be morphological or analytic.

#### 10.2.2.1. Morphological passivization

Morphological passivization takes place by means of a number of suffixes of Turkic origin (see Table 37). They combine with transitive roots or stems turning them into intransitive, middle or passive verbs.

<sup>30</sup> The corresponding verb in Persian is *bâ'es šodan* ‘to cause’.

Table 37. Middle / passive voice suffixes in Qashqai

Suffixes	Transitive	Intransitive / middle / passive
-il-	<i>bik-</i> ‘to turn’; <i>yaṣ-</i> ‘to write’	<i>bik-il</i> ‘to be turned’; <i>yaṣ-il-</i> ‘to be written’
-In-	<i>bul-</i> ‘to find’	<i>bul-un-</i> ‘to be found’
-n-	<i>bayla-</i> ‘to tie, to attach’	<i>bayla-n-</i> ‘to be attached’
-ik-	<i>ger-</i> ‘to see’	<i>ger-ik-</i> ‘to be seen’

**-il-** is the default suffix of passivization and occurs with all stems ending in a consonant except the consonant /l/, ex. *tek-il-* ‘to be poured’, *äṣ-il-* ‘to dissolve’, *dävir il-* ‘to be turned’, *ač-il-* ‘to be opened’, *yos-ul-* ‘to be whittled’:

(404)

*där iz-imiz-ä ač-il-miš.*  
 door face-POS2PL-DAT open-PASS-PF3SG

‘The door is opened to us.’ (folktale 1: 65)

**-In-** occurs only with stems ending in /l/, ex. *bul-un-* ‘to be found’:

(405)

*adamizad bul-un-muš äv-im-i al-miš äl-im-nän.*  
 human find-PASS-PF3SG house-POS1SG-ACC take-PF3SG hand-POS1SG-ABL

‘A human being has appeared and has occupied my house.’ (folktale 1: 54)

**-n-** occurs only with stems ending in a vowel, ex. *bayla-n-* ‘to be attached’:

(406)

*qez bura bayla-n-miš.*  
 girl here.DAT attach-PASS-PF3SG

‘The girl was attached here.’ (folktale 6: 35)

**-ik-** occurs only with the verb *ger-* ‘to see’ > *ger-ik-* ‘to be seen’:

(407)

*Häsän äv-i biz-im pänjārā-miz-dän ger-ik-ir.*  
 Hassan house-ACC we-GEN window-POS1PL-ABL see-PASS-PRS3SG

‘The house of Hassan is seen through our window.’

Morphological passivization in Qashqai is not productive in the way it is in Turkish to form the so-called “impersonal passive constructions” (see Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 151). For instance, the verbal form \**ged-il-* for a Qashqai speaker is not acceptable.

**Note:** Sometimes, the verb *bul-* ‘to find’ is passivized taking the suffix *-uṣ-* instead of the suffix *-In-* to form the verb *buluṣ-* ‘to be found’.

In Qashqai, certain pro-forms provide transitive / causative verbs when they take the suffix *-Ad* and anticausative / middle / passive verbs when they take the suffix *-An* (see Table 38).

Table 38. Some verbs made from pro-forms

PROFORM	CAUS/TRANS		ANTI-CAUS/PASS	
* <i>oy</i>	<i>oyad-</i>	‘to awake’	<i>oyan-</i>	‘to wake up’
* <i>uṣ</i>	<i>uṣad-</i>	‘to stretch’	<i>uṣan-</i>	‘to lie down’, ‘to be lengthened’
* <i>qowṣ</i>	<i>qowṣad-</i>	‘to make rise’	<i>qowṣan-</i>	‘to get up’, ‘to be rised’
* <i>all</i>	<i>allad-</i>	‘to deceive’	<i>allan-</i>	‘to be cheated’
* <i>bäṣ</i>	<i>bäṣad-</i>	‘to embellish’	<i>bäṣan-</i>	‘to be embellished’
* <i>erg</i>	<i>ergad-</i>	‘to teach’	<i>ergan-</i>	‘to learn’

Middle voice, which also covers anticausative situations, indicates that the arguments of a clause act **upon** themselves:

(408)

*qez ged-är älä bu yazzī-dä ix-il-är.*

girl go-AOR3SG EMPH this outside-LOC fall.down-PASS-AOR3SG  
 ‘The girl went outside and fell down over there.’ (folktale 7: 47)

(409)

yay dārri-sin-in alt-in-nä bir zad tek-il-ir.  
 oil skin-POS-GEN under.POS-LOC a thing pour-PASS-PRS3SG  
 ‘Something is oozing under the oil skin.’ (from a folktale)

(410)

kiši qowzan-ar ged-är kemmäj-i tut-ä.  
 man stand.up-PASS-AOR3SG go-AOR3SG kemmaj-ACC catch-SUBJ3SG  
 ‘The man stood up to go catch the bread.’ (folktale 1: 4)

When there is more than one argument as agent of action, they may act collectively upon each other:

(411)

iy-il-in tä ged-ä-g!  
 gather-PASS-IMP-2PL in order go-SUBJ-1PL  
 ‘Let us be gathered together and go!’

The arguments of the clause may also be the agent of an action occurred for themselves, that is, they are the beneficiary of their action:

(412)

gey-in-ni ged-di iš-ä.  
 dress-PASS-PST3SG go-PST3SG work-DAT  
 ‘He / she got dressed and went to work.’

#### 10.2.2.2. Analytic passivization

Verbal predicates may consist of compound verbs, which comprise a nominal element (often of Arabic or Persian origin) and the auxiliary verb *ed-* ‘to do’:

(413)

sän dār-i ičär-dän qulf ed!  
 2SG door-ACC inside-ABL lock do.IMP2SG  
 ‘You, lock the door from inside!’ (folktale 1: 3)

The passivization of such compounds is achieved by using the auxiliary verb *ed-* ‘to do’ (or in some varieties *eylä*) instead of the verb *ol-* ‘to be(come)’. For instance, the passivized form of the compound verb *ehlan ed-* ‘to announce’ is *ehlan ol-* ‘to be announced’:

(414)

ehlan ol-ur, ger-el-lär, muštäri ol-ul-lär qiz-ä.  
 announce be-AOR3SG see-AOR-3PL customer be-AOR-PL girl-DAT  
 ‘[The news] was announced; they visited the girl and wanted her.’ (folktale 7: 52)

Sometimes, *ol-* ‘to be, become’ takes the passivizing suffix *-Im*:

(415)

daha mädräsä dävazdähonim-nä tä’til ol-un-ir.  
 DAHA school twelve.and.half-LOC closed become-PASS-PRS3SG  
 ‘Finally, the school closes at half past twelve.’ (interview 4)

Analytic passivization is mostly found in the speech of young speakers.

#### 10.2.3. Verbal plurality

The suffixes *-Iš* and *-Aš* can appear after some intransitive stems to express shared actions of two or more participants acting in cooperation.

gil-iš ‘to laugh together’  
 hirk-iš ‘to be scared together’  
 čap-iš ‘to gallop together’  
 oyn-aš ‘to dance together’

**Note:** The suffixes *-Iʃ* and *-Aʃ* in Qashqai does not express reciprocity. In this, they are different from their equivalents in Turkish which express actions of two or more participants toward each other (see Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 76-77).

#### 10.2.4. Double-verb predicates

Double-verb predicates are predicates consisting of the sequence of a lexical verb and a pre- or postverb, which have a common argument. Both segments constituting the double-verb predicates in Qashqai are always parallel forms of finite verbs (see below). At this, Qashqai is somewhat different from other Turkic languages such as Turkish in which the first element of double verbs is rather non-finite and the second is finite (see Csató 2001a & 2003).

There are two patterns of sequencing the verbs in Qashqai double-verb predicates:

i) PREVERB + LEXICAL VERB. This pattern is the most frequent one. A few verbs are grammaticalized as preverbs participating in this pattern, ex. *var-* ‘to go, existing’ in ex. (416) and (417), which has an emphatic effect on the lexical verb *ged-* ‘to go’; *duš-* ‘to fall’ in ex. (418) and *tut-* ‘to seize’ in ex. (419).

(416)  
*seyer-i*      *dä*      *getir-di=yo*      *var-di*      *ged-di.*  
 cow-ACC      also      take-PST3SG=and      PREV-PST3SG      go-PST3SG

‘He took also the cow and set off.’ (from a folktale)

(417)  
*berk-iŋ-i*      *getir*      *däräy-nän*      *var*      *ged!*  
 hat-POS2SG      take.IMP2SG      valley-INST      PREV.IMP2SG      go.IMP2SG

‘Take your hat and go through the valley!’ (folktale 1: 9)

(418)  
*Qilič*      *dä*      *ezezinä*      *duš-muš*      *öl-müş.*  
 Qilich      DA      on.his.own.DAT      PREV-PF3SG      die-PF3SG

‘And Qilich has died on his own all of a sudden.’ (life story 2: 47)

(419)  
*uşay,*      *tut*      *bura*      *otur!*  
 child      PREV.IMP2SG      here.DAT      sit.down.IMP2SG

‘Child, sit down here!’

ii) LEXICAL VERB + POSTVERB. This pattern is less frequent in Qashqai. The verb the most employed as postverb in this pattern is *ged-* ‘go’, ex. (420) and (421).

(420)  
*tilki*      *dä*      *daş-a*      *owlan-ni*      *dayıl-li*      *ged-di.*  
 Fox      DA      stone-DAT      encounter-PST3SG      shatter-PST3SG      POSTV-PST3SG

‘And the fox encountered the stones and completely shattered.’ (folktale 1: 59)

(421)  
*nänä-ŋ*      *bäddäx*      *älä*      *neččä*      *il-li*      *qurrud-du*      *ged-di.*  
 mother-POS2SG      miserable      EMPH      a.few      year-PRS.COP      dry.CAUS-PST3SG      POSTV-PST3SG

‘It is now a few years that your miserable mother has dried [the breasts].’ (from a folktale)

The pre- and postverbs in double-verb predicates may have various auxiliary functions denoting for example emphasis, intensity, completeness, or durativity of the action expressed by the lexical verb.

#### 10.2.5. Auxiliary verb constructions

The role of auxiliary verbs in forming compound verbs has been already discussed (see 4.8.3). Here is presented the auxiliary verb *ol-* ‘to be, to become’ which may make combination with a verbal form instead of a nominal item in the predicate core. This verbal form can be a participial such as *-miš*:

(422)  
*uşay-iŋ*      *säs-i*      *gäl-m-ir,*      *geräg*      *yat-miš*      *ol-a.*



child-GEN voice-POS3SG come-NEG-PRS3SG must come-MIS.PART be-SUBJ3SG

‘The kid makes no noise, it must have fallen sleep’.

The verbal form can also be the existential copula *var* ‘existing’ or its antonym *yox* ‘inexisting’:

(423)

*Män geyn-im ise-yr bir tribun var-ım ol-a*  
 I mind-POS1SG want-PRS3SG a tribune existing-POS1SG become-SUBJ3SG  
*qäşğay-lär-inän morättäb daniş-äm.*  
 Qashqai-PL-INST regularly talk-SUBJ-1SG

‘I would like to have a forum for me to talk regularly with the Qashqai.’ (interview 3: 66)

### 10.3. Non-verbal predicates

Non-verbal predicates consist of a non-verbal item, primarily a noun or an adjective attached to a copula. The non-verbal predication may denote identity, profession, nationality, tribal affiliation, with a noun being the predicate core. It is descriptive and qualifying with adjectives instead of nouns. With adverbs, it serves to localize something or someone in time and space. The person and number of subject in non-verbal predicates are marked on the copula.

#### 10.3.1. The copular forms

Copular forms in Qashqai can be classified into two groups: the copula of present tense, and the copula of non-present tense. The copulas of present tense, which are enclitic, are illustrated in Table 39.

Table 39. The copulas of present

	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup> person	-(y)Am	-(y)Ag
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	-(y)Aη	-(y)AηIz
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	-DI(r)	-DI(r)LAr

The copulas of present tense correspond to the group 2 of person agreement markers. The exceptions are the third person singular and the third person plural, which are differently marked on verbs (see Table 26).

The copula *-DI(r)*, pronounced without the consonant /r/ in spoken Qashqai, serves as the copula of present tense of the third person (singular and plural):<sup>31</sup>

(424)

*bu bir kitab-di(r).*  
 this a book-PRS.COP3SG

‘This is a book.’

(425)

*uşay-lar äv-dä-dilär.*  
 child-PL home-LOC-PRS.COP.3PL

‘The children are at home.’

In this, Qashqai clearly differs from Turkish, in which the copula *-DIr* is a “generalizing modality marker” which may occur with all persons (Göksel & Kerslake 2004: 86-87).

The copulas of non-present tense in Qashqai are displayed in Table 40.

<sup>31</sup> Note that in spoken Qashqai the present copula *DIr* always occurs without the final /r/, that is in the shape *DI*, especially in the corpus of folktales presented in this book. This can be misleading in that in standard Turkish *DI* is a past copula, ex. *vardı* ‘there was’ vs. *vardı* meaning ‘there is’ in spoken Qashqai.

Table 40. The copulas of non-present tense

-(y/I)dI-	‘to be’	past tense (imperfective) copula
-(y/I)mIš-	‘to be’	past tense (evidential) copula
ol-	‘to be(come)’	imperative mood; future tense; is conjugated as a lexical verb

**Note:** The copula in the Qashqai non-verbal predicates is mandatory; the exceptions are some exclamatory sentences (11.4.1) and the predicates whose object is in the locative case, ex. (426) and (427).

(426)

Mirza Määzun      qabr-i      širaz-da.  
Mirza Maazun      tomb-POS3SG      Shiraz-LOC

‘The tomb of Mirza Ma’zun is in Shiraz.’

(427)

de-di      ad-īm      lättä      ičin-nä.  
say-PST3SG      name-POS3SG      farm      inside.POS-LOC

‘He said: my name is in the farm.’ (folktale 1: 25)

### 10.3.1.1. The copula -(y/I)dI-

-(y/I)dI is a past copula denoting imperfective aspect. It is suffixed to nominals as a clitic followed by person agreement endings of group 1:

	Singular	Plural
‘to be a shepherd’	čoban-idi-m	čoban-idi-g
‘to be beautiful’	qäšän-idi-η	qäšän-idi-ηiž
‘to be warm’	sijay-idi	sijay-idi-lar

-(y/I)dI also serves to form complex TAM suffixes. In this, it follows the simple suffixes of TAM except the suffix of perfective past -DI (see also chapter 9). Its initial vowel /i/ is dropped when attached to TAM suffixes ending in a consonant:

bax-ir-di	‘s/he was looking’
bax-ar-di	‘s/he used to look’

With vowel-final suffixes, the initial vowel of this copula changes to the glide /y/:

bax-asi-ydi	‘s/he should have looked’
bax-sa-ydi	‘if s/he has looked’

### 10.3.1.2. The copula -(y/I)mIš-

-(y/I)mIš- is a past copula which conveys the evidential aspect. It is suffixed to nominals as a clitic followed by person agreement endings of group 2:

	Singular	Plural
‘to be free’	ažad-imiš-am	ažad-imiš-ag
‘to be nice’	xub-umuš-aη	xub-umuš-aηiž
‘to be cold’	sowuy-umuš	sowuy-umuš-lar

To form complex TAM suffixes, -(y/I)mIš- can attach to all TAM suffixes except the suffixes of perfective past -DI and subjunctive -(y/I)A (see also chapter 9). With regard to the initial vowel, this copula behaves like the copula -(y/I)dI-, as in:

bax-ir-miš	‘s/he was (apparently) looking’
bax-ar-miš	‘s/he (apparently) used to look’
bax-asi-ymiş	‘apparently, s/he should have looked’
bax-sa-ymiş	‘apparently, if s/he had looked’

### 10.3.1.3. The copula *ol-* ‘to be(come)’

The copula / verb *ol-* ‘to be(come)’ takes the same TAM suffixes as the lexical verbs may do:

(428)

*diš-i tāābir ol-muš.*  
dream-ACC interpretation be-PF3SG

‘His dream was realized.’ (folktale 3: 94)

(429)

*onnä xälx täh muräxäs ol-ur.*  
then people all released be-AOR3SG

‘Then, the people all were released.’ (folktale 4: 23)

(430)

*ger-di belä ruzegar-i xub ol-ir.*  
see-PST3SG such life-POS3SG Good be-PRS3SG

‘He noticed that his life has favorably changed.’ (folktale 1: 61)

When inflected for the aorist, the copular verb *ol-* serves to express the modal meaning of possibility, both in affirmative and negative statements:

(431)

*ol-ur bu su-yu ič-ä-η.*  
be-AOR3SG this water-ACC drink-SUBJ-2SG

‘It is possible to drink this water’

(432)

*be ol-ur ki män qiz-im-ä de-yä-m ged div-äl*  
BE be-AOR3SG KI I Daughter-POS1SG-DAT say-SUBJ-1SG go.IMP2SG demon-DAT

‘It is out of the question that I tell my daughter marry the demon!’ (folktale 5: 20)

(433)

*be ol-ur dä sän gäč-me-yä-η ged-ä-η!*  
BE be-AOR3SG DA you.SG cross-NEG-SUBJ-2SG go-SUBJ-2SG

‘It is out of the question that you go without crossing [the river]!’ (folktale 6: 18)

In the negated form of the subjunctive, the verb *ol-* may express the prohibition:

(434)

*gez-i gey säqqäl-i sarī-yä karkon ol-me-yä-η!*  
eye-POS3SG blue beard-POS3SG yellow-DAT worker be-NEG-SUBJ-2SG

‘Take care that you do not work for the green-eyed and yellow-beard!’ (from a folktale)

On the occurrence of the copula / verb *ol-* ‘to be(come)’ along with the existential copulas see 10.3.2.2.

Non-verbal predicates are used to give information about one’s identity and profession:

(435)

*män ad-im Äsädolla-dir.*  
I name-POS1SG Asadollâh-PRS.COP

‘My name is Asadollâh.’ (interview 2: 1)

(436)

*div-lär-in biri dä dār dām-in-nä gezči-ymiš.*  
demon-PL-GEN one.POS3SG and door before-POS3SG-DAT watchman-COP.EPPF

‘And one of demons had been guraḍ at the door.’ (folktale 1: 32)

(437)

*män dovvom-e riyazi-yām.*  
I second-EZ math-PRS.COP.1SG

‘I am at second grade of math.’ (interview 4)

Non-verbal predicates are also used to express the tribal, local or national affiliation:

(438)  
*biz Qashqai-ag.*  
 we Qashqai-COP.1PL  
 ‘We are Qashqai.’

(439)  
*moällem-läriñ birisi jāhrum-lu-du.*  
 teacher-GEN3PL one.of Jahrom-DER-PRS.COP  
 ‘One of the teachers is from Jahrom.’ (interview 4)

(440)  
*bu kămančä saxt-e xurrämabad-dî(r).*  
 this Kamancheh make.PST-EZ Khoramabad-PRS.COP  
 ‘This kamancheh is made in Khorramâbâd.’ (interview 1: 87)

Non-verbal predicates with adjectival core impart information about the quality, state or the attribute of the subject:

(441)  
*biz-im musiyi-miz ersi-dir.*  
 we-GEN music-POS2PL inherited-PRS.COP  
 ‘Our music is inherited.’ (interview 1: 95)

(442)  
*suyiz-îmişlär.*  
 thirsty-EPPF.3PL  
 ‘They were thirsty.’ (folktale 5: 61)

(443)  
*kăččäl ne yayış-tä räxt-iñ qurru-dur?*  
 bald why rain-LOC clothes-POS2SG dry-PRS.COP  
 ‘Bald, why are your clothes dry in the rain?’ (folktale 4: 2)

(444)  
*kişi-niñ birisi bičarä-ymiş.*  
 man-GEN one.POSS3SG poor-COP.EPPF  
 ‘[There was] A man [who] was poor.’ (folktale 1: 1)

The climate may be expressed by non-verbal clauses:

(445)  
*beyin hava siñay-dir.*  
 today weather warm-PRS.COP3SG  
 ‘Today is warm.’

### 10.3.2. Existential predicates

Existential predicates state the existence or non-existence of the referent of the grammatical subject. In Qashqai, there are two types of existential predicates: i) those that have *var* ‘existing’ or *yox* ‘non-existing’ as the predicate core, and ii) those that use one of copulas =*DI(r)*, =*(y/I)Di*, =*(y/I)mİš*, and the copula / verb *olmak* ‘to be(come)’.

#### 10.3.2.1. Existential predicates comprising *var* / *yox*

The core element of existential predicates in Qashqai is *var* ‘existing’. Its negative counterpart is *yox* ‘non-existing’. Both are adjectival forms which occur alone or along with other copulas.<sup>32</sup> With present time reference, the existential predicate consists of *var* or *yox*, to which the present copula -*DI(r)* can be optionally added:

<sup>32</sup> In most of other Turkic languages, *var-* is also a non-existential verb meaning ‘to go, to leave, to depart’; however, in Qashqai this meaning is obsolete (see also the footnote 37).

(446)  
 bu day-da čox šikal var(dir).  
 This mountain-LOC many game existing(PRS.COP3SG)  
 ‘There are many games in this mountain.’

(447)  
 čay-da heş su yox.  
 well-LOC nothing water inexistent  
 ‘There is no water in the well.’

To form existential predicates with past time reference, one of the copulas *-(y/I)dI-*, ex. (448), and *-(y/I)mIş-*, ex. (449), is obligatory.

(448)  
 onnä älbätä mädräsä yox-udu.  
 that-LOC of.course school inexistent-PPF.EVD.COP  
 ‘In that time, of course, there was not any school.’ (interview 2: 9)

(449)  
 qäşqay-dä honärmän var-imiş.  
 Qashqai-LOC artist existing-EPPF.COP  
 ‘Among the Qashqai, there had been artists.’ (interview 1: 29)

*Var* and *yox* may also serve as the core of possessive predicates (see section 10.3.3).

#### 10.1.1.1 Emphatic use of *var-* as a lexical verb

*Var* can be conjugated as a lexical verb putting emphasis on the verb *gedmäk* ‘to go, to depart’. In this usage, it does not mean ‘existing’. It denotes nothing except stressing the verb *ged-*.<sup>33</sup>

(450)  
 at-iñ bir baş-in-ä vur-du bir  
 horse-GEN a head-POS3SG-DAT strike-PST3SG a  
 quyruğ-un-ä çap-di var-di ged-di äv-in-ä.  
 tail-POS3SG-DAT gallop-PST3SG go-PST3SG go-PST3SG home-POS3SG-DAT  
 ‘He hit the horse sometimes on its head sometimes on its tail and galloped and went away.’ (folktale 2: 31)

(451)  
 bowa-nänä keçmiş varmiş gedmiş.  
 father-mother move-PF3SG go-PF3SG go-PF3SG  
 ‘The parents apparently moved and went away.’ (folktale 5: 40)

#### 10.3.2.2 Existential predicates using a copula

The other way of expressing the existence or non-existence is using one of copulas *-DI(r)*, *-(y/I)dI-*, *-(y/I)mIş-*, and the verb / copula *olmak* ‘to be(come)’. The copula *-DI(r)* serves in existential predicates with present time reference:

(452)  
 ged-di ger-di bir div mänzel-i-dir.  
 go-PST3SG see-PST3SG one demon house-POS3SG-PRS.COP  
 ‘He went (and) saw (that) there was a demon’s house.’ (folktale 1: 31)

(453)  
 de-yär o yal-lär-dän oyüz-ä bir çeşmä-di(r).  
 say-AOR3SG that hill-PL-ABL that.face-DAT one spring-PST  
 ‘He said: behind those hills there is a spring.’ (folktale 5: 62)

The copulas *-(y/I)dI-* and *-(y/I)mIş-* occur in existential predicates with past time reference:

<sup>33</sup> This may be a recall of the occurrence of phonetic equivalents of *var* in some of eastern Turkic languages such as Turkmen and Uzbek in which *bar-* and *bor-* respectively mean ‘to go, to depart’.

(454)  
*tä genä qeşlay-da daha qeş-idi...*  
 TA again winter.zone-LOC DAHA winter-IMPF.COP3SG  
 ‘And then again in the winter zone [where] it was already winter...’ (Life story 1: 20)

(455)  
*biri dä dār dām-in-nä gezçi-ymiş.*  
 one.of.them DA door before-POS3SG-LOC watchman-COP.EPPF3SG  
 ‘One of them had been guard at the door.’ (folkale 1: 32)

The verb / copula *olmak* ‘to be(come)’ occurs in the existential predicates along with *var* ‘existing’ or *yox* ‘non-existing’ to express irrealis modality in certain expressions to invoke a favor upon, ex. (456) or a curse against someone, ex. (457).

(456)  
*var ol-añ!*  
 existing become-SUBJ2SG  
 ‘May you exist [forever]!’

(457)  
*Allah ed-ä yox ol-a-lar!*  
 Allah do-SUBJ3SG inexistent become-SUBJ-3PL  
 ‘May Allah make you vanish!’

The copula / verb *ol-* can also occur as the lexical verb in the abilitative verbal predicate, both in affirmative, ex. (458) and negative, ex. (459).

(458)  
*munu sän isse-yä-ñ ol-a bil-är.*  
 this.ACC you.SG want-SUBJ-2SG become-ABIL-AOR3SG  
 ‘If you want, this could happen.’

(459)  
*beläyi zad ol-abil-māz*  
 such thing become-ABIL-AOR.NEG.3SG  
 ‘Such a thing cannot *happen*.’

### 10.3.3. Possessive predicates

Possessive clauses consist of a predicate using one of existential copulas *var* ‘existing’ or *yox* ‘not existing’. The Qashqai possessive predicates may be classified into the following types:

#### 10.3.3.1. Possessive predicates with genitive-marked possessor

In these predicates, the possessive suffix moves from the possessed nominal to the existential copula, leaving the possessed item in the nominative. This possessive-marked predication is a feature apparently copied from Persian, in which the personal ending is suffixed to the verb *dâstan* ‘to have’. Compare the following examples with their Persian equivalents:

(460) a. Qashqai  
*neččä now daha räqs-lär var-imiz-dir.*  
 some type other Dance-PL existing-POS1PL-PRS.COP  
 ‘We have some other types of dances.’ (interview 3: 62)

(458) b. Persian  
*čand no-‘e dige räqs dâr-im.*  
 some type other Dance have.PRS-1PL

(459) a. Qashqai  
*bir belä-ki jüjä män-im var-im.*  
 a such-KI chicken I-GEN existing-POS1SG  
 ‘I have such a chicken.’ (from a folktale)

(459) b. Persian  
*ye hmači juže-i man dar-am.*  
 a such chicken-EZ I have.PRS-1SG

Also, note the following example whose subject is a third person:

(460)  
*bir kiši-ydi bir oyl var-i-ydi.*  
 a man-IMPF.COP3SG a son existing-POS3SG-IMPF.COP3SG

‘There was a man [who] had a son.’ (folktale 2: 1)

If the subject is not explicit, the indicator of the possessive predicate is only the possessive marker anchored on the copula.

(461)  
*de-dilär: bak=i yox-umuz.*  
 say-PST3PL worry=INDEF inexistent-POS1PL

‘They said: we don’t have any worry.’ (from a folktale)

Sometimes, especially in the speech of old speakers, it is the possessed nominal that takes the possessive marker:

(462)  
*män-im bir bowa-m var bir nänä-m.*  
 I-GEN one father-POS1SG existing one mother-POS1SG

‘I have a father and a mother.’ (from a folktale)

(463)  
*väzer-iñ nä hämnä ay o qızıl-i var ver-räm beläñ-ä.*  
 vizier-GEN DA whatever white and golden-POS3SG existing give-AOR1SG ANPH.2SG-DAT

‘And I will give you whatever the vizier has got from silver and gold.’ (folktale 3: 88)

In the two recent examples, which are relatively rare in the spoken Qashqai, the possessive predication is the same as in the standard Turkish.

### 10.3.3.2. Possessive predicates with locative-marked possessor

The locative case can mark pronouns, nouns or noun phrases whose referents are in the possession of a thing or a quality. The referent may be inanimate or animate, including human being, as the following examples indicate:

(464)  
*daha biz-dä owlad yox.*  
 DAHA we-LOC children inexistent

‘We do not have children anymore.’ (folktale 5: 147)

(465)  
*män-nä bir uşay artiy yox.*  
 I-LOC one child more inexistent

‘I do not have but one child.’ (interview 2: 29)

(466)  
*qoyun-lar-imiz-da çox sid var.*  
 sheep-PL-POS1PL-LOC much milk existing

‘Our sheep have so much milk.’

(467)  
*şah oyl-un-nä bir dädä var-imış.*  
 king son-POS3SG-LOC one mammy existing-COP.EPPF3SG

‘The son of the king had a nanny.’ (folktale 5: 144)

(468)  
*aşıq-dä bay=o mulk=o yer-i yox-umuş.*

asheq-LOC      orchard=and      real.estate=and      land-INDEF      inexisiting-COP.EPPF3S  
 ‘The asheqs did not own orchards, real estate, or land.’ (interview 1: 11)

#### 10.4. Negation of predicates

The negation in Qashqai depends on the type of predicates, whether they are verbal or non-verbal.

##### 10.4.1. Negation of verbal predicates

The marker of negation in verbal predicates is *-mA* (or sometimes *-mE*), an unstressable suffix which occurs directly after verb stems and before TAM suffixes:

(469)  
*ged-än      il      heč      yayış      yay-ma-dï.*  
 go-PART      year      nothing      rain      rain-NEG-PST3SG  
 ‘Last year there was no rain.’

(470)  
*şikäl      ed-mä-miş-äm.*  
 game      do-NEG-PF-1SG  
 ‘I have not hunted any game.’ (folktale 6: 68)

(471)  
*älä      bura      otur-ir,      iş      ger-me-yr.*  
 EMPH      hier.DAT      sit-PRS3SG      work      see-NEG-PRS3SG  
 ‘He stays hier (at home) and does not (go after) work.’ (folktale 1: 2)

The only instance in which the negation marker is not directly attached to the main verb stem is in the occurrence of the abilitative TAM category *-ä bil-*:

(472)  
*billir      äkin      äk-ä bil-mä-di-g.*  
 last.year      crop      cultivate-ABIL-NEG-PST-1PL  
 ‘Last year, we could not cultivate [the land].’

The negation of the aorist is an exception, in which the marker of negation *-mA* replaces the suffix of aorist with the first and the second persons, ex. *yat-mam* ‘I would not sleep’, *de-män* ‘you would not say’:

(473)  
*män      käsif      su      iç-mäm.*  
 I      dirty      water      drink-AORNEG1SG  
 ‘I would not drink dirty water.’

The third person aorist is negated with *-mAž*, ex. *edäbil-maž* ‘he would not do’:

(474)  
*oşul      gäz-är      o      bir      şikal      lä      ed-ä bil-mäž.*  
 son      search-AOR3SG      and      a      game      DA      do-ABIL-AOR.NEG3SG  
 ‘The son searched for the game (but) did not hunt any.’ (folktale 6: 65)

##### 10.4.2. Negation of non-verbal predicates

Contrary to verbal predicates, non-verbal predicates have special negated forms. *däyil* [dɛil] serves to negate all present and non-present copulas. It occurs between the copular complement and the copula.

###### 10.4.2.1. Negation of present copulas

To negate the present tense copulas, *däyil* is followed by group 2 personal suffixes except in case the subject is the third person singular. See the following examples.

(475)  
*män      moällem      däyil-äm.*  
 I      teacher      NEG-COP1SG  
 ‘I am not a teacher.’



(476)

<i>siz</i>	<i>suyuz</i>	<i>däyil-äñiz.</i>
you.PL	thirsty	NEG-COP2PL

‘You are not thirsty.’

(477)

<i>bu</i>	<i>ketab</i>	<i>xub</i>	<i>däyil.</i>
this	book	good	NEG

‘This book is not good.’

With the third person plural and in the present tense, *däyil* occurs before the marker of plurality *-lär*:

(478)

<i>uşaylar</i>	<i>aǵ</i>	<i>däyil-lär.</i>
children	hungry	NEG-PL

‘The children are not hungry.’

#### 10.4.2.2. Negation of non-present copulas

The particle *däyil* is also used to negate non-present copulas *-(y/I)DI* and *-(y/I)mİş* whose initial vowel is dropped when they attach to *däyil*:

(479)

<i>män</i>	<i>äv-dä</i>	<i>däyil-li-m.</i>
I	home-LOC	NEG-COP.PST-1SG

‘I was not at home.’

(480)

<i>sän</i>	<i>čoban</i>	<i>däyil-miş-äñ.</i>
you.SG	shepherd	NEG-COP.EPPF-2SG

‘You had not been a shepherd.’

(481)

<i>aşıy</i>	<i>arvad-ı</i>	<i>çal-än</i>	<i>däyil-miş.</i>
asheq	woman-POS3SG	play-PART	NEG-COP.EPPF3SG

‘The asheqs’ women would not play music.’ (interview 1: 98)

## 11. SIMPLE CLAUSE SYNTAX

### 11.0. Introduction

This chapter deals with the clause structure discussing constituent order (11.1) and four clause types, i.e. declarative (11.2), interrogative (11.3), imperative (11.4), and exclamative (11.5).

### 11.1. Clause constituent order

Qashqai is a SOV language, i.e. the basic constituent order is subject-object-verb:

(482)

*Ahmäd bazar-dan gäl-li.*  
Ahmad market-ABL come-PST3SG

‘Ahmad came from the market.’

(483)

*Ahmäd čeräg gätir-di.*  
Ahmad bread bring-PST3SG

‘Ahmad brought bread.’

(484)

*biz kaka-yä mač ver-di-g.*  
we servant-DAT kiss give-PST-1PL

‘We gave kisses to the servant.’ (folktale 6: 22)

With intransitive verbs, where there is no place for the object, the clause structure is reduced to SV:

(485)

*gül-ür. gül-ännä, beyig ärväd de-yär: be nämänä-yä güy-län?*  
laugh-AOR3SG laugh-CONV elder woman say-AOR3SG BE what-DAT laugh-PRS2SG

‘He laughed. When he laughed, the elder woman said: why are you laughing then?’ (folktale 3: 91)

As the example above illustrates, Qashqai is pro-drop, i.e. the subject pronoun is omitted; it is marked on the verb as a personal ending.

If a subject pronoun occurs, it is generally in the beginning of the clause, ex. (486), though it can freely move, depending on discourse requirements, ex. (487) and (488).

(486)

*Män namä yaz-ir-äm.*  
I letter write-PRS-1SG

‘I write / am writing (a) letter.’

(487)

*namä, män yaz-ir-äm.*  
Letter I write-PRS-1SG

‘I write / am writing (a) letter.’

(488)

*namä yaz-ir-äm, män.*  
letter write-PRS-1SG I

‘A letter, I write / am writing.’

With divalent (ditransitive) verbs, the constituent order can be SVO when one of arguments requires the use of dative / directive case:

(489)

*O kitab-ï lotfän ver män-ä!*  
that book-ACC please give.IMP2SG I-DAT

‘Give me that book, please!’

Time adverbials always precedes, and place adverbials often follow the verb:

(490)  
*sähär ged-äsi-yäm Shiraz-a.*  
 tomorrow go-NECS-1SG Shiraz-DAT  
 ‘Tomorrow, I must go to Shiraz?’

## 11.2. Declarative clauses

Declarative sentences indicate that the speakers’ utterance contains a statement of fact on which they have no judgment:

(491)  
*Ali-dä beš uşay var.*  
 Ali-LOC five children existing  
 ‘Ali has got five children.’

(492)  
*qez bu yärib yer-iñ adam-iñ-nän qorx-irmiş.*  
 girl this strange place-GEN human-POS3SG-ABL fear-PPF3SG  
 ‘The girl was afraid of the people of this strange place.’ (folktale 5: 92)

(493)  
*onna dowläti mädräsä qaşqay-lar içimä az var-idi.*  
 then governmental school Qashqai-PL inside.DAT few existing-PST.COP  
 ‘At that time, there were a few public schools in the Qashqai [tribe].’ (interview 2: 4)

## 11.3. Interrogative clauses

Interrogative clauses or questions express the speakers’ wishes to elicit information on the veracity of the content of their utterance (yes-no questions), or to obtain a piece of information lacking in their speech (question-word questions).

### 11.3.1. Yes-no (global) questions

Qashqai lacks the interrogation particle *mI* of standard versions of related languages like Turkish. The global questions are distinct from declarative clauses in that they have a rising clausal intonation which falls on the very last syllable:

(494)  
*bu män-im baş-ım-iñ jannar var-i?*  
 this 1SG-GEN head-POS1SG-GEN beast existing-POS3SG  
 ‘Is there any beast on my head?’ (folktale 7: 31)

(495)  
*oyuru-yäñ sän? kow kow ed-ir-äñ dower-dän oyurlä-yä-ñ?*  
 thief-COP2SG you.SG pussyfoot do-PRS-2SG herd-ABL steal-SUBJ-2SG  
 ‘Are you a thief? Are you walking on pussyfoot to abduct from the herd?’ (folktale 1: 13)

(496)  
*Iran-na hečkäs bu dil-i bil-ir?*  
 Iran-LOC anybody this language-ACC know-PRS  
 ‘In Iran, does anybody know this language?’

The lack of *mI* particle seems to be compensated in Qashqai by sporadic use of Persian *âyâ* or the development of the particle *be* (see the following subsections).

#### 11.3.1.1. Question particle *âyâ*

Typically, in the speech of educated people the Persian interrogative particle *âyâ* is sometimes used in addition to the clause-final rising intonation. *âyâ* is usually clause-initial:

(497)  
*âyâ siz äv-iñiz-dä turki daniş-ir-äñiz?*

AYA you.PL home-POS2PL-LOC Turkic speak-PRS-2PL  
 ‘Do you speak Turkic at home?’

### 11.3.1.2. Question particle *be*

Specific to Qashqai is there the particle *be* which occurs at the beginning of global questions to inquire the validity of the sentence, implicitly suggesting the opposite reply to either one of positive, ex. (498) or negative interrogation, ex. (499):

(498)

*be ol-ur ke män qiz-ım-ä de-yä-m ged div-ä?*  
 BE be-AOR3SG KI I Daughter-POS-DAT say-SUBJ-1SG go.IMP demon-DAT

‘Would it be possible that I tell my daughter to get married with a demon?’ (folktale 5: 20). (The intention is to imply that such a thing is not possible).

(499)

*de-yär: be ol-ur dä sän gäč-mä-yä-η ged-ä-η?!*  
 say-AOR3SG BE be-AOR3SG DA you cross-NEG-SUBJ-2SG go-SUBJ-2SG

‘He said: would it be possible that you do not cross [the river] and not go [to the other side]?’ (folktale 6: 18) (The aim is to infer that the addressee should cross the river.)

The particle *be* is used almost in the same way as the Persian particle *magar* (colloquial: *mage*), which can be translated ‘is it that’, ex. (500), or ‘isn’t it that’, ex. (501):

(500)

*mage yād-et raft-e man ki-yam?*  
 MAGAR memory-POS2SG go.RADI-PF3SG I who-COP1SG

‘Is it that you have forgot who I am?’

(501)

*magar emruz be madrase na-mi-rav-i?*  
 MAGAR today to school NEG-PRS-go.RADII-2SG

‘Isn’t it that you go to the school today?’

### 11.3.1.3. Words used in answers to global questions

To answer global questions, Qashqai uses three sets of words in affirmation, negation, and opposite affirmation, as follows.

#### *häyā / bāāle / häyā bāāle* ‘yes’

The word *häyā* ‘yes’ is commonly used in affirmative answer to a global question:

(502)

A. *Bu kitab sän-in-ni?*  
 This book you-GEN-PRS.COP.3SG  
 ‘Is this book yours?’

B. *häyā, (män-im-ni).*  
 Yes (I-GEN-GEN-PRS.COP.3SG)  
 ‘Yes, (it is mine).

The word *bāāle* < *balā* of Arabic origin is also used, but rather in formal speech and when the addressee is a respected person. The word *häyā bāāle* serves in an affirmative answer of everyday speech with a derogatory tone.

Besides its affirmative function, the word *häyā* can be used as a discourse structuring element (for this function, see chapter 13).

#### *yow / xeyr* ‘no’; *yoxeyr* ‘no, not at all’

The particle *yow* ‘no’ is commonly used in negative answer to a global question:

(503)

A. *ad-in nä-di? Soyan dāyil? Kälām dāyil? Turub dāyil?*

name-      what-      onion      is.not      cabbage      is.not      radish      is.not  
 POS2SG      PRS.COP3SG

‘What is your name? Isn’t it onion? Isn’t it cabbage? Isn’t it radish?’

B.    *de-di:      yow,      heč      birisi      dāyil.*  
       say-PST3SG    no      nothing    one.of    is.not

‘He said: No, it is none of them.’

(folktale 1: 25-27).

The Arabic word *xeyr* meaning ‘good, well’ is also used in negative answer, but rather in a formal speech and followed by words of politesse such as *aya* ‘mister’, *qorban* ‘lit. sacrificed’, etc.

The word *yoxeyr* ‘no, not at all’, which is a combination of *yow* and *xeyr*, is also used in everyday speech where the speaker stresses on the negation and sometimes with severe opposition to the position of his / her interlocutor.

### ***ne* ‘why’**

The question word *ne* ‘why’ is also used in a short answer in opposite reply to a negative question, in the way the Persian particle *čērā* or the French *si* is used. The answer can be completed by repeating the predicate in affirmative:

(504)

A.    *nahar      ye-mā-miš-ān?*  
       lunch      eat-NEG-PF-2SG

‘Haven’t you had lunch?’

B.    *ne,      ye-miš-ām.*  
       NE      eat-PF-1SG

‘Yes, I have.’

*nāyči*, a synonym to the question word *ne*, can also be used as the opposite affirmation particle:

(505)

A.    *de-di      karkon      ol-m-ir-ān?*  
       say-PST3SG    worker    become-NEG-PRS-2SG

‘He asked: don’t you want to work [for me]?’

B.    *de-di      nāyči.*  
       say-PST3SG    NĀYČI

‘He said: yes, I do.’

(from a folktale)

### **11.3.1.4. Tag Questions**

Tag questions are short grammatical structures that occur in the end of declarative clauses turning them into yes / no questions. In Qashqai, they may be produced in one of the following ways:

i) The repetition of the verbal predicate of the uttered statement in negative form, as in (506), and in affirmative form, as in (507):

(506)

*Ahmad      bir      mašin      al-miš,      al-ma-miš?*  
   Ahmad    a      car      buy-PF3SG    buy-NEG-PF3SG

‘Ahmad has bought a car, hasn’t he?’

(507)

*iš-i      bašar-ma-dī-η      tamam      ed-ä-η,      bašar-dī-η?*  
   work-ACC    can-NEG-PST-2SG    complete    do-SUBJ-2SG    can-PST-2SG

‘You failed to finish the work, did you?’

ii) The use of an opposite copula in existential clauses:

(508)

*siz-dä      televizion      var,      yox?*  
   you.PL-LOC    TV      existing    inexistent

‘You have got a television, haven’t you?’

(509)  
*bu kən-nä dāyerman yox, var?*  
 this village-LOC mill inexistent existing  
 ‘There is no mill in this village, is there?’

iii) The use of the negation particle *däyil* as tag question for the positive copular clauses:

(510)  
*bal bir xub zad-dir, däyil?*  
 honey A good food-PST.COP NEG  
 ‘Honey is a good food, isn’t it?’

(511)  
*sən mo’ällem-ən, däyil-ən?*  
 you.SG teacher-PRS.COP.2SG NEG-PRS.COP.2SG  
 ‘You are a teacher, aren’t you?’

### 11.3.2. Question-word questions

Question-word questions always include one of question words *kim* ‘who’, *nä* ‘what’, *ne* / *neyä* / *näyč* ‘why, for what’, *näyin* ‘how’, *hani* ‘which’, *bačan* ‘when’ *hara* ‘where’, or one of their derived forms.

#### 11.3.2.1. *kim* ‘who’

*kim* ‘who’ is a question word replacing the subject—thus treated as an interrogative pronoun, too (see 6.7).

(512)  
*čayir-är: burdä kim var?*  
 cry-AOR.3SG here.LOC who existing  
 ‘S/he cried: who is here?’ (folktale 5: 139)

(513)  
*čeräy-i kim ye-miš?*  
 bread-ACC who eat-PF.3SG  
 ‘Who has eaten / ate the bread?’

#### 11.3.2.2. *nä* ‘what’

The question word *nä* ‘what’ is the basis for several complex question words such as *nayarza*, *nayad* ‘how much, how many’ < *nä qadr vä ändažä* (lit. what amount and measure), *nä tähr* ‘how’ < *tawr A.* (manner), *näjur*, *näyin* ‘how’ (for these complex forms see other subsections of this section).

In simple shape, *nä* ‘what’ can question both non-verbal and verbal predicates:

(514)  
*de-di ad-iñ nä-di?*  
 say-PST.3SG name-POS.2SG what-PRS.COP  
 ‘S/he asked: what is your name?’ (folktale 1: 5)

(515)  
*nä iš ese-r-än ger-ä-ñ?*  
 what work want-PRS-2SG see-SUBJ-2SG  
 ‘What do you want to do?’ (folktale 4: 5)

*nä-män-ä* [what-I-DAT] is a phrasal form of *nä*, which is sometimes used, especially in familiar conversations:

(516)  
*sən nämänä de-yir-än?*  
 you what say-PRS-2SG  
 ‘What [the nonsense] are you saying?’

*nä* drops its vowel when it is followed by the verb *ol-* ‘be, become’ resulting in the contracted form *nol-*

which is commonly used to denote ‘what has happened to...?’:

(517)

*gäl-ännä de-yäl-lär pas qiz-akî n-ol-muş?*  
 come-CONV say-AOR-3PL then girl-DEF what-become-PF3SG

‘Once arrived, they asked: what has happened to the girl, then?’ (folktale 6: 32)

(518)

*män-im kitab-im n-ol-muş?*  
 I-GEN book-POS1SG what-become-PF3SG

‘What’s happened to my book?’ [intended meaning: where is that book of mine (which was right here)?]

*nässi* < *nä issi* < *nä üstü* [what-upon.POS3SG] is another special form of *nä*, which takes the possessive suffix of relevant grammatical subject of the clause. It may or may not occur with an explicit nominal or pronominal subject. It is always a part of a non-verbal predicate featuring a copula:

(519)

*qez sän-in nä-ssin-ni ayle-yr-äñ?*  
 girl you-GEN what-POS2SG-PRS.COP cry-PRS-2SG

‘Girl, you are crying, what has happened?’ (folktale 2: 11)

### 11.3.2.3. *ne* / *neyä* ‘why’

*ne* and its derived form *neyä* [ne-y-DAT] have the same semantic value. Either one can be used to question the reasons of a given action or state of affairs:

(520)

*de-di oyl ne aylä-di-ñ?*  
 say-PST boy why cry-PST-2SG

‘S/he said: boy, why did you cry?’ (folktale 2: 10)

(521)

*uşay-a de-di: neyä baba-ñ gäl-m-ir?*  
 child-DAT say-PST3SG why father-POS2SG come-NEG-PRS3SG

‘He asked the child: why does your father not come [back]?’ (Funny story 1: 6)

For the use of *ne* as a particle of opposite affirmation, see 0.

### 11.3.2.4. *näyçi* < *nä için* ‘for what’

*näyçi* ‘for what’ is a synonym to *ne* / *neyä*; but it rather infers concrete answers:

(522)

*bu Su bura näyçi qoyulmuş?*  
 this water here.DAT for.what put-PASS-PF3SG

‘For what reason (why) has this water been put here?’

### 11.3.2.5. *näyin*, *nä tähr* ‘how’

*näyin* and *nä tähr*, which are derived from *nä* ‘what’, question the manner, or the method of occurrence of an action:

(523)

*kampiyuter näyin dizäl-miş?*  
 Computer how make.ANTIC-PF3SG

‘How has the computer been made?’

(524)

*iş-i näyin tamam ed-di-ñ?*  
 work-ACC how finished to-PST-2SG

‘How did you finish the work?’

### 11.3.2.6. *hani* ‘which’

*hani* ‘which’ may occur as an interrogative determiner preceding both human and non-human:

(525)

*beyin hani kelas-a ged-ir-än?*  
today which class-DAT go-PRS-2SG

‘To which class are you going to attend today?’

*hani* can occur in certain interrogative clauses which lack predicate of any type. In these clauses, *hani* precedes a substantive questioning its immediate location with reference to the place of utterance. It thus denotes the English word ‘where’:

(526)

*Ali burda, Väli dä burda; hani Häsän?*  
Ali here.LOC Väli DA here.LOC which Hassan

‘Ali is here, Vali too; where is Hassan?’

(527)

*de-di xob tilki kaka,*  
say-PST3SG well fox brother  
*sän-in bowa-η män-im bowa-m-ä yeddi*  
you-GEN father-POS3SG I-GEN father-POS-DAT seven  
*alabärzäni ver-äsi, bu birisi hani alti-si daha?*  
Alabarzangi give-NECS3SG this one.of.them which six-POS3SG other

‘He said: Well, my brother fox, your father owes my father seven Alabärzäni<sup>34</sup>, here is one of them, where are the six others?’ (folktale 1: 57)

In the aforesaid usage, *hani* seems to correspond the question word *ku* ‘where’ in Persian which occurs in predicate-less clauses questioning the whereabouts of an absent item, both human and non-human. See the following example extracted from a poem of Sohrab Sepehri, a contemporary Iranian poet:

(528)

*yek nafar bâz sedâ zad: Sohrab!*  
one person again voice strike.PST3SG Sohrab  
*kafş-hâ-yam ku?*  
shoes-POS1SG where

‘Someone again called: Sohrab! Where are my shoes?’

### 11.3.2.7. *haçan* ‘when’

*haçan* ‘when’ questions the time of occurrence of an action. Its synonyms are *nä zäman*, *nä växt*.

(529)

*uşay-lar mädräsä-dän haçan bikil-il-lär?*  
child-PL school-ABL when return-PRS-3PL

‘When do the children return from the school?’

(530)

*haçan-nän burdä-yän kaka-m?*  
when-ABL here-PRS.COP.2SG brother-POS2SG

‘Since when are you here, my brother?’ (folktale 2)

### 11.3.2.8. *hara* ‘where’

*hara* ‘where’ questions the location of occurrence of an action, ex. (531), the provenance, ex. (532), and the location of a person, ex. (533) or a thing (534):

(531)

*kaka-m hardän gäy-il-än?*

<sup>34</sup>Alabärzäni, in the Qashqai folklore, is a demon with white and black striped skin.



bother-POS1SG from.where come-PRS-2SG  
 ‘Where do you come from, my brother?’ (folktale 2)

(532)  
*bu mašin harda dizäl-miš?*  
 this Car where.LOC make.ANTIC-PF3SG  
 ‘Where has been made this car?’

(533)  
*Ali hardadır?*  
 Ali where.LOC-PRS.COP3SG  
 ‘Where is Ali?’

(534)  
*de-yäl-lär: su bil-ir-äniz hardä var?*  
 say-AOR-3PL water know-PRS-2PL where.LOC existing  
 ‘They asked: do you know where the water is?’ (folktale 5: 61)

### 11.3.2.9. *neččä* ‘how many’

*neččä* is apparently derived from *nä* ‘what’ to which the equative suffixe *-čä* is attached (for this suffix see 7.8). It questions the number of countable items:

(535)  
*här äl-lä neččä burmay var?*  
 each hand-LOC how.many finger existing  
 ‘How many fingers are there in each hand?’

It also serves to question the age of persons (and that of all living phenomena):

(536)  
*sän neččä yaš-ïñ-nä Ähmädreza?*  
 you how.many year-POS2SG-LOC Ahmadreza  
 ‘How old are you, Ahmadreza?’ (interview 4)

*Neččä* is also an indefinite quantifier that precedes nouns (see 4.6.2).

### 11.3.2.10. *nayarza* ‘how much’

A contraction of the phrase *nä qädr vä ändažä* ‘what amount and measure’, the question word *nayarza* ‘how much’ questions the number of uncountable nouns:

(537)  
*Nayarza bal var-i-ydi?*  
 how.much honey existing-POS3SG-PST.COP3SG  
 ‘How much honey did it contain?’ (interview 4)

### 11.3.3. Reported questions

Reported questions are finite complement clauses (see 12.1.2.2) whose predicate may be in subjunctive or indicative. They follow the main clause without the conjunction *kei*. They may be classified as follows:

i) Reported questions with the alternating particle *ya* ‘or’, to which the answer can be *häyä* ‘yes’ or *yow* ‘no’:

(538)  
*heškäs-ä de-mä-di [gäl-ir ya yow].*  
 no.body-DAT say-NEG-PST3SG come-PRS.3SG or not  
 ‘She/he said nobody if she/he would come or not’.

ii) Reported questions with interrogative pronouns, such as *nä* ‘what’, ex. (539), interrogative determiners, such as *hanî* ‘which’, ex. (540), or adverbials, such as *näyin* ‘how’, ex. (541).

(539)  
*Xäbär yox-um [o nä ger-miš].*

News      inexisting-POS1SG      s/he      what      see-PF3SG  
 ‘I am not aware of what she/he has seen.’

(540)  
*Häsän      bil-m-irdi      [hanī      šähr-dä      dārs      oxu-ya].*  
 Hassan      know-NEG-IMP3SG      which      town-LOC      lesson      read-SUBJ.3SG  
 ‘Hassan did not know in which town he should study.’

(541)  
*mosafer      xəbār      al-lī      [nāyin      ged-ābil-ār      šähr-ā].*  
 Traveller      news      take-PST.3SG      how      go-ABIL-AOR.3SG      city-DAT  
 ‘The traveller asked how s/he could get to the town.’

#### 11.4. Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses express ‘directive modality’, especially in orders. The imperative form in Qashqai consists of the bare verb stem. The person agreement is unmarked for the second person singular and expressed by the personal ending *-Iŋ* for the second person plural, ex. (542) and ex. (543), respectively.

(542)  
*de-yār      arvad      dār-i      aç!*  
 say-AOR3SG      wife      door-ACC      open.IMP2SG  
 ‘Wife, open the door!’ (folktale 1: 4)

(543)  
*ged-iŋ      bir      däs      räxt      dukan-nan      al-iŋ!*  
 go-IMP2PL      a      set      clothes      shop-ABL      take-IMP2PL  
 ‘Go and buy a set of fabric from the shop!’ (folktale 6: 74)

##### 11.4.1. Prohibitive (negative-imperative)

The prohibitive or negative-imperative predicates consist of the bare verb stem and the marker of negation *-mA*:

(544)  
*män      nezam-äm,      vur-ma!*  
 I      Nezam.-PRS.COP.1SG      shoot-PROH.2SG  
 ‘I am Nezam, don’t shoot!’ (interview 5)

(545)  
*de-yār:      qorx-mä,      gäl      iläri.*  
 say-AOR3SG      fear-NEG      come.IMP2SG      before  
 ‘S/he said: do not fear, come here!’ (folktale 7: 27)

The prohibitive sentences may vary in the degree of prohibition. For example, a complex clausal construction formed of the prohibitive of the verb *ol-* ‘to be, to become’ has rather an inhortative function as follow:

(546)  
*ol-me-yä      bu      iş-i      ger-äŋ!*  
 be-NEG-SUBJ3SG      this      work-ACC      see-SUBJ-2SG  
 ‘You really don’t want to do that thing!’

For more details and examples, see 9.4.2.7.

#### 11.5. Exclamative clauses

Exclamative clauses express strong feelings by making an exclamation. In Qashqai, they use finite predicates and one of the particles *ki*, *belä*, *älä*, or *nä* ‘what’:

(547)  
*älä      suyuz-udu-m      ki!*

EMP     thirsty-PST.COP-1SG     KI  
H

‘I was so thirsty!’

(548)

*belä     bir     zereŋ     adam-ni!*  
BELÄ     A     skillful     man-COP.PST

‘He is such a skillful man!’ (from a folktale)

(549)

*nä     xub     oyne-r-äŋ!*  
what     good     DAnse-PRS-2SG

‘How well you dance!’

The copula is optional in the phrases including the question word *nä* ‘what’:

(550)

*nä     qašäŋ!*  
what     beautiful

‘How beautiful!’

(551)

*nä     xub     adam-ni!*  
what     good     person-PST3SG

‘What a nice person [she/he is]!’

## 12. COMPLEX CLAUSES SYNTAX

### 12.0. Introduction

In this chapter, clauses are studied in sentence level, where they are morphosyntactically related to each other through different strategies of subordination (12.1) or by means of coordination (12.2).

### 12.1. Subordination

A sentence may consist of a main (matrix) clause and one or more subordinate (dependent) clauses. The main clause may be linked to subordinate clauses by subordinating conjunctions (12.1.1). Subordinate clauses can be classified into four functional types: complement clauses (12.1.2), adverbial clauses (12.1.3), relative clauses (12.1.3), and conditional clauses (12.1.5). Subordinate clauses may be formed through finite or non-finite strategies. In Qashqai, finite strategies—typical of Indo-European languages—are dominant. This is due to contact with Iranian languages especially Persian.

#### 12.1.1. Subordinating conjunctions

A subordinating conjunction (also called subordinator) occurs at the beginning of the subordinate clause linking it to the main clause. The most used subordinator in Qashqai is the particle *ki* / *ke* < *ke* *P.* > *kē* *M.P.* There exist composed subordinators consisting of *ki* (as an optional element) and some adverbial items. The particle *ta* (*tā*) < *P.* also serves as subordinator. It may replace *ki* in some types of subordinate clauses. Table 41 includes the subordinators in Qashqai and their main functions.

Table 41. Qashqai subordinators

Subordinator	Meaning	Functions as the connector in
<i>ki</i> or <i>ke</i>	‘that’	relative clause
<i>ta</i> or <i>tā</i>	‘that’, ‘in order that’, ‘until’	relative and adverbial clause
<i>ün</i> ( <i>ki</i> )	‘because’	adverbial clause
<i>mägär</i> ( <i>bu ki</i> )	‘unless’	adverbial clause
<i>ägär</i> or <i>äyär</i> ( <i>ki</i> )	‘if’	conditional clause
<i>bätta ägär</i>	‘even if’	adverbial clause
<i>ägärče</i>	‘though’	adverbial clause
<i>här väx</i> ( <i>ki</i> )	‘when(ever)’	adverbial clause
<i>här yer</i> ( <i>ki</i> )	‘where(ver)’	adverbial clause

All subordinators in Qashqai are of Persian origin or a combination of Persian and Turkic elements. However, they usually undergo the Turkic phonetic rules.

#### 12.1.2. Complement clauses

A complement clause is a subordinate clause that serves as a complement of the verb of a main clause. Complement clauses may be structurally finite or non-finite. Most Qashqai complement clauses are finite and right-branching. Left-branching non-finite complement clauses of Turkic type are rare.

##### 12.1.2.1. Non-finite complement clauses (action clauses)

Non-finite complement clauses or “action clauses” in Turkic have an “action noun” as their core constituent. Action nouns consist of a verbal root and a nominalizing suffix, as in Turkish: *-mAK*, *-DIK*, *-(y)AcAK*, *-(y)Iş* and *-mA*. They constitute a genitive-possessive complex in relation with their subject (Johanson 1998b: 46, 60), ex. *Ali-nin gäl-dig-i* ‘the Ali’s coming’. From several action noun suffixes existing in Turkic, only the suffix *-DIK* in Qashqai is still productive to some extent. That is why the occurrence of non-finite complement clauses in Qashqai are rare; however, most speakers have no problem in understanding if they encounter them. Here are two instances of these clauses found in the corpus:

(552)  
*qiliŋ      älä      nayafel      [yat-dig-i      yer]-dä      öl-lü.*

Qilich EMPH suddenly sleep-PART-POS3SG place-LOC die-PST3SG  
 ‘Qilich died suddenly where he was sleeping.’ (life story 2: 48)

(553)  
 Män hätta kitab-lär-im-i çap ed-dig içi payiz-dän mašin-īm-ī sad-dī-m  
 I even book-PL-POS1SG-ACC publication do-PART for fall-ABL car-POS1SG-ACC sell-PST-1sg  
 ‘I even sold my car this autumn for the publication of my books.’ (interview 2: 25)

(554)  
 [Shiraz-a ged-dig-in]-nān xəbār yox-u-m.  
 Sh.-DAT go-PART-POS3SG-ABL news inexistent-POS-1SG  
 ‘I am not aware of her/his departure to Shiraz.’

The finite variant of the example above is however more in use (see more below):

(553)  
 xəbār yox-u-m (ki) [ged-miş Shiraz-a].  
 news inexistent-POS-1SG KI go-PF3SG Shiraz-DAT

Non-finite complement clauses with nominal predicates are even rarer in Qashqai; no a single instance of these clauses is encountered in the corpus. However, a middle-aged or an old-aged Qashqai is likely to produce an example like the following:

(554)  
 sän-in xoşhal- lig-in-i is-ir-ām.  
 you-GEN happy-DIK-POS2SG-ACC want-PRS-1SG

‘I want that you be happy.’

Another observation is that Qashqai have only factive action clauses—thanks to relative productivity of *-DIK* suffix. It seems that non-factive action clauses including suffixes such as *-mA*, *-(I)ʃ* are totally absent in the speech of the Qashqai.

### 12.1.2.2. Finite complement clauses

Finite complement clauses in Qashqai follow the main clause and are linked to it by an optional conjunction *ki*. They are characterized by subordinating use of subjunctive or indicative mood on the predicate, depending whether the verb in the main clause is volitional, mental or another semantic type. These criteria served us as a base to classify the Qashqai finite complement clauses as follows.

#### i) Complement clauses with subjunctive mood on the predicate

When the predicate in the main clause has a volitional verb, the predicate in the complement clause is marked with subjunctive mood:

(555)  
 is-ir-ām (ki) [sän gäl-ä-η biz-im äv-ä].  
 want-PRS-1SG KI you.2SG come-SUBJ-2SG we-GEN home-DAT  
 ‘I want (that) you come to our home.’

(556)  
 Allah-a yalvar-dī (ki) [doşmān-i yer-dän getir-ä].  
 God-DAT beg-PST3SG KI enemy-ACC earth-ABL remove-SUBJ3SG  
 ‘S/he begged God to remove the enemy from the earth.’

#### ii) Complement clauses with indicative mood on the predicate

When the predicate in the main clause is a mental or perception verb, the predicate in the complement clauses is marked for indicative mood as illustrated below.

##### i) Mental verb in the main clause:

(557)  
 Häs vur-ir-ām (ki) [Häsän äv-dä-(dir)].

Guess hit-PRS1SG KI Hassan home-LOC-PRS.COP  
 ‘I guess that Hassan is at home.’

(558)  
*Män bil-ir-äm (ki) [sän-nä pul var].*  
 I know-PRS-1SG KI you-LOC money existing  
 ‘I know that you have got some money.’

(559)  
*biz fikr ed-dig (ki) [siz gäl-ir-äniz biz-im äv-ä].*  
 we thought do-PST1PL KI you come-PRS-2PL we-GEN home-DAT  
 ‘We thought that you were coming to our home.’

ii) Perception verb in the main clause:

(560)  
*ešid-di-m (ki) [ged-miš-än Shiraz-a].*  
 hear-PST-1SG KI go-PFT-2SG Shiraz-DAT  
 ‘I heard (that) you have travelled to Shiraz.’

(561)  
*Sähär ger-el-lär (ki) [häyä qez-akî-dî]...*  
 tomorrow see-AOR-3PL KI yes girl-DEF-PST.COP  
 ‘The next day, they noticed that it was the girl...’ (folktale 6: 76)

### 12.1.3. Relative clauses

Relative clauses describe the referent of “participant entities to which actions are ascribed” (Johanson 1998b: 61). They can render the participant entities restricted and often definite. Structurally, the relative clauses can be finite or non-finite. In Qashqai, they are mostly finite—on the model of the Persian strategy using the relativizer *ki* (12.1.3.1). Non-finite relative clauses, a typical feature of Turkic languages, also exist in Qashqai; however, they occur to a limited extent (12.1.3.2).

#### 12.1.3.1. Finite relative clauses

In finite relative clauses the relativized noun phrase is linked to a post-posed finite predicate by the relativizer [REL] *ki* or *=i ki* (*<=i ke* P.). The use of *ki* alone is less frequent than the use of *=i ki* which marks the restrictive relative clauses—the *i* component being the marker of indefiniteness.

The nominal head in relative clauses can be co-referenced with subject (first actant), direct object, or oblique arguments.

#### Subject co-reference

Some examples of subject co-reference are as follows:

(562)  
*[äz jumlä kitab-lär=i ki var-idi] Mehr-e Xavär kitab-i-ydi.*  
 amongst book-PL=REL existing-PST.COP3SG Mehr-EZ Khavar book-POSS-PST.COP3SG  
 ‘Amongst the books which existed was the book of Mehr-e Khavar.’ (interview 2: 8)

(563)  
*munnar bästä-ymiş xan-lär-ä, [kassib-lär=i ki mähruḫ ol-mušlär ašiy].*  
 this.PL attached-PST.COP3SG han-PL-DAT craftsman-PL=REL known become-PF3PL asheq  
 ‘They had been attached to khans; these craftsmen who have been known as asheqs.’ (interview 1: 6)

A discursive *DA* particle can split the relativizer *-i ki*, as in:

(564)  
*Bääd o färhän o gäp-lär-i dä ki biz çay-ilmiş-äg*  
 then that culture and word-PL-INDEF DA KI we play-EVIMPF-1PL  
*inni yox-du.*

The co-referenced subject can be an indefinite pronoun such as *härnä* ‘whatever’, ex. (565) and *härkä(s)* ‘whoever’, ex. (566). In these cases, the relativizer *ki* is omitted:

(565)  
[*härnä ol-ir ol-sun!*  
whatever become-PRS3SG become-IMP3SG  
‘Come what may!’

(566)  
[*härkäs daš sîx-di su ol-lu, o apar-miš.*  
whoever stone press-PST3SG water become-PST3SG she/he win-PF3SG  
‘Whoever pressed [and turned] a stone into water, she/he has won.’ (Folktale 1: 36)

The relativized subject may be a personal pronoun, ex. *o ki* ‘what that’ or ‘she/he who’:

(567)  
[*o ki sän de-yr-än gärcäg-di.*  
that REL you.SG say-PRS-2SG truth-PRS.COP3SG  
‘What that you say / are saying is truth.’

### Direct object co-reference

The co-referenced direct object can be marked by *=i ki*, ex. (568) in variation with *ki* alone, ex. (569) or *-aki ki*, ex. (570). (For the suffix *-aki* refer to 5.1.1 and 8.2.1.2).

(568)  
[*o qez=i ki män ese-r-äm bu däyil.*  
that girl=REL I want-PRS-1SG this NEG.COP  
‘This is not the girl whom I want.’ (folktale 7: 85)

(569)  
*ger-er tä älä [gilikčä ki geter-miš] duš-du.*  
see-AOR3SG TA EMPH yarn.ball REL take-PF3SG fall-PST3SG  
‘He noticed that the very yarn ball she had taken fell down.’ (folktale 7: 42)

(570)  
[*čeräg-aki ki nunvay-dän al-lin butun yanïy-dir.*  
bread-DEF REL bakery-ABL buy-PST2SG totally burnt-PRS.COP3SG  
‘The bread that you bought from the bakery is totally burnt.’

As the co-referenced subject, the co-referenced direct object can also be an indefinite pronoun such as *härnä* ‘whatever’, ex. (571).

(571)  
[*härnä ver-ä-η ye-yär-äm.*  
whatever give-SUBJ-2SG eat-AOR-1SG  
‘Whatever you give to me I will eat.’

### Oblique argument co-references

The relative clauses in which an oblique argument is co-referenced require a pronoun that is usually the anaphoric *belä*-marked by the appropriate form of possessive suffix, ex. *belä-si* [belä-POS3SG], *belä-läri* [belä-POS3PL]:

(572)  
[*ušaylar=i ki beläläri-nä bästäni ver-di-m daha ayla-ma-dilar.*  
child-PL=REL ANPH.3PL-DAT ice.cream give-PST-1SG any.more cry-NEG-PST3PL  
‘The children to whom I gave ice creams did not cry any more.’

(573)  
[*nunva-yakï ki beläsin-nän čeräg al-lim burä-nin däyil.*  
aker-DEF REL ANPH.3SG-ABL bread buy-PST3SG this-GEN NEG.COP  
‘The baker from whom I bought the bread is not from here.’

*O(n)-* [3.SG-] and *onlar-* [3.PL-] can be used as resumptive pronoun (instead of *beläsi* and its inflected forms), ex. (576) and (574), respectively:

- (574)  
 [qoyunlar=i ki onlar-a arpä ver-dim] çay ol-muşlar.  
 sheep=REL 3PL-DAT barley give-PST1SG fat become-PF3PL  
 ‘The sheep to which I gave barley have become fat.’

The relative clauses with instrumental and comitative oblique arguments, ex. (575) and ex. (576) respectively, require a resumptive pronoun, as well:

- (575)  
 [at=i ki beläsi-ynän gälin gätir-dig] aγ-idi.  
 horse=REL ANPH.3SG-INST bride bring-PST1PL white-PST.COP  
 ‘The horse with which we brought the bride was white.’

- (576)  
 [uşay=i on-iñ-nän mädräsä-yä ged-di-m] qonşu-muz-du  
 child=REL 3SG-GEN-INST school-DAT go-PST-1SG neighbour-POS1PL-PRS.COP  
 ‘The child with whom I went to the school is our neighbour.’

### 12.1.3.2. Non-finite relative clauses

Non-finite relative clauses have a non-finite predicate based on a “participle” (see Johanson 1998b: 61). They can be used as the head of noun phrases, ex. *yalan deyän* ‘the one who lies /is lying/ has lied’, *gälligün gejä* ‘the night when you had come /came/ have come’. In Qashqai, the most productive participle is *-(y)An*. As in other Oghuz languages namely Turkish and Azerbaijani, it has a “general terminal use” (*ibid*) and relativizes the subject:

- (577)  
 iñer jahal oyul [tazzä girdäg-dän çıx-än kişi]-ydi...  
 as.if young boy new nuptial.tent-ABL exit-PART man-PST.COP3SG  
 ‘As if he was a young man who had just came out of nuptial tent...’ (life story 2: 41)

- (578)  
 [gey-dä ged-än quş]-a bax!  
 sky-LOC go-PART bird-DAT look.IMP2SG  
 ‘Look at the bird which is flying in the sky!’ (folkpoem 3)

When the subject is relativized by the participle *-(y)An*, the referent head noun can be omitted. In such instances, the relative clause includes only the predicate, ex. (579) and ex. (580).

- (579)  
 kişi-lär täärif ed-irdi, [o ged-än-lär ger-än-lär].  
 man-PL definition do-IMPF that go-PART-PL see-PART-PL  
 ‘The men were telling us [that], those who had gone and seen.’ (life story 2: 30)

- (580)  
 mu-nu [o su-yä gäl-än-lär] ger-el-lär.  
 this-ACC that water-DAT come-PART-PL see-AOR-3PL  
 ‘Those who had come to fetch water saw her.’ (folktale 5: 90)

The participle *-(y)An* can also be used to relativize an oblique argument expressing time, ex. (581) or place, ex. (582).

- (581)  
 [sän donya-ya gäl-än gin] yayış-idi.  
 you.SG world-DAT come-PART day rain-PST.COP3SG  
 ‘The day when you were born, it was raining.’

- (582)  
 orä [kil tek-il-än yer-ä] bir lälä ol-ur.  
 there [kil tek-il-än yer-ä] one lälä be-3PL



there.DAT ashes shed-PASS-PART place-DAT a herb become-AOR3SG  
 ‘A plant of watermelon grew where the ashes were shed.’ (folktale 6: 61)

The participle *-DIK* is also still productive in Qashqai but much less used. The corpus does not display it as a relativizer. However, most Qashqai have no problem in understanding and even uttering a sentence like this:

(583)

[sän de-dig-in gäp]-i färamuš ed-m-äm.  
 you.SG say-PART-POS2SG word-ACC forgotten do-AOR.NEG-1SG  
 ‘I will not forget the word that you said.’

The participles *-mIš* and *-mäš* are not productive anymore but can be seen in fixed lexical items, ex. *bilmäš* ‘(the) ignorant’. The participle *-(y)AĴAK* has only one instance of fixed lexical occurrence: *gäläjäk gin* ‘the day after tomorrow’.

#### 12.1.4. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses have an adverb-like function in modifying another clause. In a sentence they may indicate time, place, manner, contrast, reason, purpose, result, or condition. In Qashqai, the adverbial clauses are non-finite (12.1.4.1) using a converb, or finite (12.1.4.2) featuring a subordinating conjunction akin to *if*, *when*, *because*, *although*, *in order to*, *as soon as*, *as a result*, etc. in English.

##### 12.1.4.1. Non-finite adverbial clauses

Non-finite adverbial clauses or “converb clauses” in Qashqai comprise a converb marker. The two converb markers used in Qashqai are *-(y)A* *-(y)A* and *-(y)AnnA* which form adverbial clauses of manner and time respectively.<sup>35</sup>

##### *Non-finite adverbial clauses of manner*

This type of adverbial clauses in Qashqai consist of doubled converb markers *-(y)A* *-(y)A* (the repetition of the converb *-(y)A*) that attaches to the verb, ex. *qäč-ä qäč-ä* ‘running’. It is placed immediately before the verb of the main clause:

(584)

Häsän [qäč-ä qäč-ä] ged-di äv-ä.  
 Hassan run-CONV run-CONV go-PST3SG home -DAT  
 ‘Hassan went home running.’

(585)

ĵavan omr-um čurru-du, gün-lär-i [say-a say-a].  
 young life-POS1SG shrink-PST3SG day-PL-ACC count-CONV count-CONV  
 ‘Oh young [beloved], my life shortened counting the days and nights.’ (folkpoem 12)

##### *Non-finite adverbial clauses of time*

In these adverbial clauses the verb stem is suffixed by the converb marker *-(y)AnnA* (a combination of the participle *-(y)An* and the locative case *-DA*), ex. *etiš-ännä* [arrive-CONV] ‘once arrived’. This converb denotes an action in immediate succession with the action expressed in the main clause:

(586)

[qärä il gäl-ännä] artiy oba täxtäqapı ol-lu.  
 black year come-CONV more household sedentarized become-PST3SG  
 ‘When the great famine came, most households became sedentarized.’ (interview 1: 47)

(587)

[gäl-ännä] de-yäl-lär: pas qez-akı n-ol-muš?

<sup>35</sup> In general, the use of converbs in Qashqai is very limited, comparing to its affiliated Turkic languages such as Turkish and Azerbaijani. For instance, Qashqai lacks non-finite causal and purpose clauses.

come-CONV say-AOR-3PL then girl-DEF what-become-PF3SG  
 ‘Once arrived, they asked: what has happened to the girl then?’ (folktale 6: 32)

A subordinator such as *vaxti(ke)* ‘when’ can optionally occur before these clauses:

(588)  
 [munär      vaxti      attilä-yännä]      čay      genä      qowza-n-är.  
 these      when      jump-CONV      river      again      lift-PASS-AOR3SG  
 ‘As soon as they jumped [crossed the river] it started to flow again.’ (folktale 5: 49)

Sometimes, in addition to the notion of immediacy, there is a cause-result relationship between the actions expressed in these adverbial clauses and main clauses:

(589)  
 [täpig-inän      vur-ännä]      där-i      qer-r-är.  
 kick-INST      hit-CONV      door-ACC      break-AOR-3SG  
 ‘Giving it a kick, he smashed the door.’ (folktale 1: 48)

(590)  
 [Kurdulu      vur-ännä]      boyn-u      qaz-ıl-lı,      el-li.  
 Kurdulu      hit-CONV      neck-POS3SG      dig-PASS-PST3SG      die-PST3SG  
 ‘As soon as Kurdulu hit [the dervish] his neck [was cut and he died.]’ (from a folktale)

This way of forming non-finite adverbial clauses of time gives more and more ground to a finite strategy using the Persian particle *ta* (see below), especially by the young generations living in urban zones.

#### 12.1.4.2. Finite adverbial clauses

Finite adverbial clauses in Qashqai are structurally like Persian adverbial clauses. They are linked to the main clause by one of the subordinating conjunctions *ke*, *tä* / *ta*, and expressions including *ke*. In these clauses the subordinating conjunctions are obligatory. Some conjunctions are employed with different meanings. In addition to the choice of a conjunction, the type of mood marking the predicate of adverbial clauses is important. In fact, the meaning in adverbial clauses is conveyed by both conjunction and mood. For example, with the conjunction *tä* a subjunctive-marked predicate will have a purposive meaning, but with an indicative-marked predicate, the meaning will be temporal. For the sake of simplicity, the classification of finite adverbial clauses is based on the conjunction employed.

##### Adverbial clauses using *ki*

The conjunction *ke* is obligatory in finite adverbial clauses. These clauses may convey different meanings, depending on the type of mood marked on the predicate. Based on this criterion, the following subclassification can be made:

i) *ke* + subjunctive-marked predicate

- *ke* alone serves to form an adverbial clause of purpose denoting the English expression ‘in order to’:

(591)  
 irle-yrimiš      [ke      bu      baji-si      bil-ä].  
 sing-EVIMPF3SG      KI      this      sister-POS3SG      know-SUBJ3SG  
 ‘He sang in order that his sister could notice [him].’ (folktale 5: 134)

This function of *ke* in forming adverbial clauses of purpose is also shared by the conjunction *tä* / *ta*.

- *ke* in the adverbials of time such as *qäbl äz bu ke*, which is a mixed copying from Persian *qabl az in ke* ‘before that’:

(592)  
 [qäbl      äz      bu      ke      mädräsä-yä      ged-ä-m],      čoban-idi-m  
 before      ABL      this      KI      school-DAT      go-SUBJ-1SG      shepherd-PST.COP-1SG  
 ‘Before going to school, I was a shepherd.’

ii) *ke* + indicative-marked predicate

- **ki** alone can express the question word ‘when’ in the subordinate clause. This usage of *ki* gives a nuance of immediacy to the action expressed by the verb in the main clause:

(593)

[*šah ki munu ger-er*] *de-yār beläyin adam lazim-ümüz-dir.*  
king KI this.ACC see-AOR3SG say-AOR3SG such person necessary-POS1PL-PRS.COP  
‘When the king saw that, he said: we need such a man.’ (folktale 3: 85)

- **ki** alone links two independent clauses being semantically related (see also 12.1.4.1):

(594)

*čätr-iñ getir ki yayış-dir.*  
umbrella-POS2SG-ACC take.IMP2SG KI rain-PRS.COP  
‘Take your umbrella, for it is raining’.

**ki** in the adverbial of time *bääd äz bu ki* is a mixed copying of the Persian adverbial *ba’d az in ke*:

(595)

[*bääd äz bu ki dars-im tikän-ni*] *doktor ol-lu-m.*  
after ABL this KI lesson-POS1SG finish-PST3SG doctor become-PST-1SG  
‘After my studies had been finished, I became a doctor.’

### Adverbial clauses using *tä / ta*

The conjunction *tä / ta*, of Persian origin, has several adverbial functions. The meanings conveyed by *tä* also depend on the mood that marks the predicate in adverbial clauses. Based on this criterion, the following subclassification can be made:

#### i) *tä* + subjunctive-marked predicate

With subjunctive-marked predicates, *tä* serves to form adverbial clauses of purpose; i.e. it conveys the English adverbial ‘in order to’. These purposive clauses always occur after the main clause:

(596)

*de-di: arvad, dār-i aç [tä gäl-ä-m]!*  
say-PST3SG woman door-ACC open.IMP.2SG TA come-SUBJ-1SG  
‘He said: wife, open the door in order that I enter!’ (folktale 1: 62)

(597)

*män-i burdän čaxad-iñ [tä de-yä-m kim-äm].*  
I-ACC from.here bring.out.IMP-2PL TA say-SUBJ-1SG who-COP.1SG  
‘Bring out me from [the well] here, in order that I tell who I am.’ (folktale 5: 140)

#### ii) *tä* + indicative-marked predicate

With indicative-marked predicates, *tä* serves to form adverbial clauses of time. These time adverbials always precede the main clause. They express immediate succession of the actions expressed in the subordinate and main clause and render the English adverbial ‘as soon as’:

(598)

[*tä uzan-nim*] *yoxu-ya ged-di-m.*  
TA lie.down-PST1SG sleep-DAT go-PST-1SG  
‘As soon as I laid down, I fell asleep.’

This type of adverbials corresponds to the non-finite adverbial clauses of tiuem discussed in 0.

### Adverbial clauses using *čun (ki)* ‘since, because’

**čun (ki)** ‘since, because’ links two clauses whose predicates are both marked by indicative mood. It occurs in the beginning of adverbial clauses. The place of the adverbial clause containing *čun (ki)* can be before or after the main clause, as in (599) and (600) respectively.

(599)

[*čun iş var-im*] *qonayli-y-a gäl-m-ir-äm.*

Since work existing-POS1SG reception-DAT come-NEG-PRS-1SG  
 ‘Since I have something to do, I do not come to the reception.’

(600)

*Dinän işä gäl-mä-dim, [čün ki мәrez-idim].*  
 yesterday work-DAT come-NEG-PST1SG because KI sick-PST.COP1SG

‘I did not come to work yesterday, because I was sick.’

### **Adverbial clauses using the clitic =i ki**

The clitic =i ki [INDEFKI] attached to adverbs of time, place and manner forms conjunctions serving in restrictive adverbial clauses in indefinite forms, ex. *vāxti ki*, *zāmani ki* ‘when’, *yeri ki* ‘where’, *beläyin ki* and *bu tähr ki* ‘in the way that’. These conjunctions are global or mixed copying of similar items in Persian. The predicate in these clauses is in the indicative mood.

i) the conjunction *vaxt=i ki* [time=I KI] ‘when’:

(601)

[*vaxt=i ki dahva duş-är*] *bir torbä var-i-ymiş dollur-ur fişān-nän.*  
 time=I KI battle fall-AOR3SG a Sac existing-POS3SG-PF.COP fill-PRS3SG cartridge-ABL

‘When the battle started, he had a sac, he filled it with the cartridges.’ (life story 2: 15)

ii) The conjunction *yer=i ki* [place=I KI] ‘(the place) where’:

(602)

[*yer=i ki yat-dılar*] *nämli-ydi.*  
 place=I KI sleep-PST3PL humid-PST.COP

‘The place where they slept was humid.’

iii) The conjunction *beläyin ki* ‘in the way that’:

(603)

*biz-im nāsl [beläyin ki män eşid-miş-äm] Azärbayjan-nän gäl-miş.*  
 we-GEN generation in.the.way.that.KI I hear-PF-1SG Azerbaijan-ABL come-PF3SG

‘Our generation, as I have heard, has come from Azerbaijan.’ (interview 1: 38)

Another shape of this conjunction is *bu (tahr) towr ki* which is a selective copying of the Persian conjunction *in towr ke*:

(604)

[*bu-towr ki sän iş gey-ir-än*] *heşvāxt tāmam ed-mä-η.*  
 this-way KI you.SG work see-PRS-2SG never finished do-NEG.AOR-2SG

‘The way you work you will never finish it.’

### **12.1.5. Conditional clauses**

Conditional clauses are dependent or independent clauses expressing factual implications or hypothetical situations and their results. Most conditional clauses in Qashqai exhibit the features of Persian conditional clauses, in which the use of subjunctive mood is prevalent. In these clauses, the conjunction *ägär* (other forms: *äyär*, *ägä*, *äyä*) ‘if’ is obligatory, as the following example illustrates.

(605)

*äyä tez gäl-ä-η, män-i ger-är-än.*  
 if early come-SUBJ-2SG I-ACC see-AOR-2SG

‘If you come early, you will see me.’

There are also conditional clauses in which the predicate contains the Turkic suffix *-sA*. The conjunction *ägär* ‘if’ in these clauses is always optional:

(606)

(*äyä*) *zereη ol-sa-η, iş-i tamam ed-är-än.*  
 (if) agile be-COND-2SG work-ACC finished do-AOR-2SG

‘If you are agile, you will finish the work.’

From the semantic point of view, conditional clauses can be classified as factual and counterfactual.

The distinction between them may be made by the tense and the mood occurring on the predicate of the conditional clause.

### 12.1.5.1. *Factual conditional clauses*

In factual conditionals, the conditional clause expresses a condition whose truth is unproven. Structurally, the factual conditionals are of both Persian and Turkic style. They can fall into one of the following subdivisions, depending on the tense / mood of the predicate of *if clauses* and *result clauses*:

i) Subjunctive mood in *if clause* + aorist in *result clause*:

(607)

[äyä bu ik-i getir-ä-η], bel-in ayir-ar.  
if this load-ACC take-SUBJ-2SG back-POS2SG ache-AOR.3SG

‘If you take this load, you will have backache.’

**Note:** Conditional clauses with a subjunctive-marked predicate occur only in non-past tense.

ii) Present tense in *if clause* + present tense in *result clause*:

(608)

[ägä siz gäl-ir-äηiz], biz dä gäl-ir-äg.  
if you.PL come-PRS-2PL we also come-PRS-1PL

‘If you come, we come, too.’

iii) Past tense in *if clause* + irrealis (aorist) in *result clause*:

(609)

[äyä tez oyan-ni-m], belän-ä zäh vur-r-am.  
if early wake.up-PST-1SG ANPH.2SG-DAT ring hit-AOR-1SG

‘If I wake up early, I will give you a call.’

iv) The suffix *-sA* in *if clause* + irrealis (aorist) in *result clause*:

(610)

[bu daru-yu ye-sä-η], xub ol-l-aη.  
this medicine-ACC eat-COND-2SG good become-AOR-2SG

‘If you take this medicine, you will be healed.’

(611)

‘eyne doyanay täyin-ni, [adam beläyin bax-sä].  
identically tornado like-COP3SG human in.this.way look-COND3SG

‘This [dance] looks like a tornado, if one looks [at it] this way.’ (interview 3: 61)

### 12.1.5.2. *Counterfactual conditional clauses*

In counterfactual conditionals, the conditional clause expresses a condition that is apparently false or unlikely. To form counterfactual conditionals, Qashqai makes only use of the Turkic strategy, with the suffix *-sA* in the predicate followed by a past tense copula.

(612)

[(äyä) ged-säydi-η day-a], bal bul-ardī-η.  
(if) go-IMPF.COND -2SG mountain-DAT honey find-PST.AOR-2SG

‘Had you gone to the mountain you would have found some honey.’

(613)

[labas xub gey-säymiš], sowuy ye-mäz-imış.  
clothes well dress-PF.COND3SG cold eat-NEG.PST.AOR3SG

‘If s/he had been well dressed, s/he would not have caught cold.’

As seen in the examples above, the TAM category in the predicate of counterfactual if clauses is always imperfective, ex. (612), or perfect, ex. (613); while in the result clauses, the predicate is always aorist.

## 12.2. Coordination

Phrases and clauses in Qashqai can be coordinated by means of simple or correlative coordinating conjunctions or juxtaposition.<sup>36</sup>

### 12.2.1. Coordinating conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions connect phrases or clauses without making them subordinate to each other, that is, they connect independent constituents in clause and sentence level. The Qashqai coordinating conjunctions can be classified into simple and correlative ones.

#### 12.2.1.1. Simple coordinating conjunctions

Simple coordinating conjunctions in Qashqai are listed in Table 42 and described thereafter.

Table 42. Simple coordinating conjunctions

Conjunction	Meaning	Functions	Remarks
=(y)o	‘and’	addition	from Persian <i>o</i> < M.P. <i>ud</i>
vä	‘and’	addition	from Arabic (via Persian) <i>wa</i>
-(y/I)nAn	‘and’	addition	instrumental case marker
DA	‘and, also, as if’	addition, topic-shifting	phonetic variants <i>dä, da, nä, nã</i>
ya	‘or’	alternation	Persian origin
väli, ama	‘but’	contrast	Arabic origin

=(y)o is an enclitic conjunction which is a global copying of the Persian *o* (*u*) of middle Persian *ud*. It is widely used both in formal and non-formal speech especially in fast delivery, ex. *daš=o dämir* ‘stone and iron’, *bir kiši=yo ikeki arvad* ‘one man and two women’. It can link two or more clauses, too:

(614)  
 čox rahat män de-m-ir-äm=o yaz-m-ir-äm.  
 very easy I say-NEG-PRS-1SG=and write-NEG-PRS-1SG  
 ‘I do not talk and write so easily...’ (interview 3: 64)

#### vä ‘and’

vä ‘and’ is also copied form Persian (of Arabic *wa*); it is rather used in formal speech to link phrases or clauses of the same grammatical rank:

(615)  
 kiši vä arvad  
 ‘man and woman’.

(616)  
 kälas-e čarom, päñjom vä šešom...  
 class-EZ fourth fifth and sixth  
 ‘The fourth, fifth and sixth classes...’ (interview 2: 10)

(617)  
 kiši äv-dän čix-di vä iš-ä ged-di.  
 man home-ABL exit-PST3SG and work-DAT go-PST3SG  
 ‘The man left the home and went to work’.

#### -(I/y)nAn

-(I/y)nAn is a case suffix (see 7.9). In its function of coordinating conjunction, it links two phrases of the same rank (it does not link clauses).

(618)  
 Häsan-inän Ahmäd

<sup>36</sup> Historically, some tribes of the Qashqai confederation such as the *Näfür*, featured the converbial suffix *-(y)Ip* which used to serve as a coordinator of non-finite clauses.

‘Hassan and Ahmad’

(619)

*mān-inān sān*  
‘you and I’

A change in the position of  $-(I/y)nAn$  leads to a change in its syntactic role and affects the predicate:

(620) a.

*Hāsān-inān Ahmād gāl-li-lār.*  
Hassan-and Ahmad come-PST-3PL.  
‘Hassan and Ahmad came.’

(619) b.

*Hāsān Ahmād-inān gāl-li.*  
Hassan Ahmad-with come-PST-3SG  
‘Hassan came with Ahmad.’

In example *a*,  $-(I/y)nAn$  is a coordinating conjunction, while in example *b* it is a case suffix having a comitative function.

$-(I/y)nAn$  is sometimes employed along with the conjunction  $=(y)o$ :

(620)

*qal-li kossä-ynān=o arvad-ī.*  
remain-PST3SG beardless-INST-and woman-POS3SG  
‘There were left The Beardless and his wife.’

## DA

*DA* is a particle that corresponds to ‘and’, ‘also / too’, ‘as for’. It is a conjunction and discourse connector with “continuative / topic-shifting” functions. (see also chapter 13). It follows noun phrases of the same rank in the clause:

(621)

*qez var-īm, oyul la var-īm*  
girl existing-POS1SG son and existing-POS1SG  
‘I have daughters, and I have sons.’

(622)

*bowa-m iş-dä, nänä-m nä bazar-da.*  
father-POS1SG work-LOC mother-POS1SG as.for bazaar-LOC  
‘My father is at work; as for my mother, she is in bazaar’.

With a determined nominal head, *DA* may be interposed between the determiner and the head:

(623)

*bir qez var-īm, bir dä oyul.*  
one girl existing-POS1SG one and son  
‘I have got a daughter and (also) a son’.

*DA* may occur along with the conjunction *vä* to link two noun phrases having the same syntactic role in two independent clauses; compare ex. (624) *a* and *b*.

(624) a.

*uşaylar-dan biri moällem-ni, birisi dä doktor-du.*  
children-ABL one teacher-PRS.COP one and doctor-PRS.COP  
‘Of the children, one is a teacher, and one is a doctor.’

(624) b.

*uşaylar-dan biri moällem-ni, vä birisi dä doktor-du.*  
children-ABL one teacher-PRS.COP and one and doctor-PRS.COP  
‘One of the children is a teacher and one is a doctor.’

*DA* can also coordinate two predicates with the same subject:

(625)

*oʻyul, ged käläš-iŋ-i gey dä ged dower-a!*  
 son go.IMP2SG shoe-POS-ACC put.on.IMP2SG and go.IMP2SG herd-DAT

‘Son, go put on your shoes and go [tending] the herd!’ (from a folktale)

*DA* may also split the predicates containing the modal suffix of possibility *-(y)Abil-*:

(626)

*gäl-ä dä bil-mäz.*  
 come-PSB and PSB-NEG.AOR3SG

‘And she/he could not come’.

### ***ya* ‘or’**

*ya* ‘or’ may alternate a phrase with one or more other phrases:

(627)

*Ahmäd, Häsän ya Mähmud, hanï-si-nï çayïr-a-m?*  
 Ahmad Hassan or Mahmud which-POS3SG-ACC call-SUBJ-1SG

‘Ahmad, Hassan or Mahmud, which one should I call?’

(628)

*bir kiši-ymiş bil-m-er-äm kädxoda ya šah-imiš.*  
 a man-COP.EPPF3SG know-NEG-PRS-1SG headman or king-EPPF.COP

‘There was a man; I do not know whether he was a headman or a king.’ (folktale 6: 1)

*ya* can also express mutual exclusion between two clauses:

(629)

*bil-m-er-äm el-ler-el-lär ya yan-nir-il-lär.*  
 know-NEG-PRS-1SG die-CAUS-AOR-3PL or burn-CAUS-AOR-3PL

‘I do not know if they killed her or burnt her.’ (folktale 7: 91)

(630)

*ya beläm-ä šer sid-i gäti ya arvad-iŋ-i al-l-äm.*  
 or ANPH.1SG-DAT lion milk-POS3SG bring.IMP2SG or wife-POS2SG-ACC take-AOR-1SG

‘Either you bring me the milk of lion or I will take your wife.’ (folktale 3: 66)

### ***väli (ama)* ‘but’**

*väli* ‘but’, which is mutable with *ama*, links two independent clauses to suggest a contrast:

(631)

*div-dä ki de-yir giŋ-i čox-du väli kehrälig yox-u.*  
 demon=DA KI say-PRS3SG force-POS3SG much-PRS.COP but cleverness inexistent-POS3SG

‘As for the demon, they say [that] it has much force but no cleverness.’ (folktale 5: 55)

(632)

*ädäbiyat-e farsî dârs ver-miş-äm, väli turki-yi yey-târ danîš-ir-äm.*  
 literature-EZ Persian course give-PF-1SG but Turkic-ACC good-COMP speak-PRS-1SG

‘I have taught Persian literature, but I speak Turkic better.’ (interview 3: 69)

*ama* sometimes serves as a topic-shifting element in the beginning of sentences:

(633)

*ama äyär älä bu ki de-di-m ed-me-yä-ŋ...*  
 but if EMPH this KI say-PST-1SG do-NEG-SUBJ-2SG

‘But, if you do not do what I just said...’ (from a folktale)

#### **12.2.1.2. Correlative conjunctions**

Some conjunctions come together with other words to form correlative conjunctions (Table 43). They always occur in pairs, joining various sentence elements to emphasize their equal grammatical status.



Table 43. Correlative conjunctions

Conjunction	Meaning	Function	Remarks
<i>häm(e)... häm(e) (dä)</i>	‘both... and’	addition	mixed copying of Persian
<i>ya... ya... ya da</i>	‘either... or’	alternation	mixed copying of Persian
<i>nä... nä (dä)</i>	‘neither... nor’	negative alternation	mixed copying of Persian
<i>čē... čē</i>	‘whether... or’	opposition	global copying of Persian

All correlative conjunctions in Qashqai are copyings from Persian. They often undergo phonetic variations. In mixed copyings, the Turkic element *DA* can be optionally added to Persian expressions, ex. *ya... ya da* ‘either... or’, *häm(e)... häm(e) dä* ‘both... and’, *nä... nä dä* ‘neither... nor’. These conjunctions can correlate more than two syntactic elements. The *DA* particle always occurs after the last element.

### ***häm(e)... häm(e) (dä)* ‘both... and’**

In the following examples, two items are correlated:

*häm anä-m-i çox ise-yirmiř-äm häm dayä-m-i.*  
 both mother-POS1SG-ACC much love-IMPF.EDV-1SG and nurse-POS1SG-ACC

‘I loved both my mother and my wet nurse.’ (interview 3: 5)

(634)

*arvad häme yol gedir häme kerman äl-in-nä ägirir*  
 woman HAM road go-PRS3SG HAM Kerman hand-POS3SG-LOC spin-PRS3SG

‘The woman walks spinning Kerman at her hand.’ (life story 1: 2)

In the following example, more than two items are coordinated:

(635)

*mäktäbxanä-dä häm farsi därs ver-illärdi häme ‘äräbi, häme dä turki.*  
 Quranic.school-LOC HAM Persian lesson give-IMPF3PL HAM Arabic HAM DA Turkic

‘In the Quranic school, they used to teach Persian, Arabic, and Turkic.’ (interview 2: 6)

### ***nä... nä (dä)* ‘neither... nor’**

In the following example, two items are correlated:

(636)

*män nä mač ver-ir-äm nä dä is-ir-äm gäč-ird-än.*  
 I neither kiss give-PRS-1SG nor DA want-PRS-1SG cross-CAUS-2SG

‘Neither will I give you a kiss, nor do I want that you carry me across.’ (folktale 6: 17)

In the following example, three items are correlated:

(637)

*äv-dä nä čeräg var, nä mivä, nä dä säbzi.*  
 home-LOC no bread existing no fruits no DA vegetables

‘There are no breads, no fruits, no vegetables at home.’

### ***ya... ya (da)* ‘either... or’**

This conjunction may alternate two or more syntactic elements, the last one can be followed by the particle *DA*:

(638)

*ya Ahmad ya Häsän*  
 or Ahmad or Hassan

‘Either Ahmad or Hassan’

(639)

*sän ya suyuz-aŋ ya (da) aŋ!*  
 you.PL or thirsty-PRS.COP.2SG or DA hungry

‘You are either thirsty or hungry!’

### če...če ‘whether ... or’

This conjunction is rather used in formal speech and by educated Qashqai. In the following example, it is defectively used instead of the conjunction *nä...nä* (*dä*).

(640)

*män-ä bu mowred-dä kemäg ed-mä-miš-dir,*  
I-DAT this issue-LOC help do-NEG-PF3SG-PRS.COP  
*če äz lähaz-e mali, če daha lähaz-dän...*  
what from viewpoint-EZ financial what other viewpoint-ABL

‘[Nobody] has helped me in this, either financially or from other points of view’ (interview 2: 24)

### 12.2.2. Juxtaposition

By juxtaposition, phrases or clauses with equal semantic status may be linked to each other. A pause, which is showed by a coma in the transcription, occurs between the two elements:

(641)

*Mehran, Ahmäd, Morteza, gäl-in bura!*  
Mehran Ahmad Morteza come-IMP2PL here.DAT

‘Mehran, Ahmad, Morteza, come here!’

(642)

*pänjārä-yi aç-dī-m, küčä-yä bax-dī-m.*  
window-ACC open-PST-1SG alley-DAT look-PST-1SG

‘I opened the window [and] looked at the alley.’

Where there are more than two phrases or clauses juxtaposed, the conjunction =(*y*)o ‘and’ (the enclitic form of *vä*) may be used to link the two last ones:

(643)

*naštaliy ye-di-m, käfš-im-i gey-di-m,*  
breakfast eat-PST-1SG shoes-POS1SG-ACC put.on-PST-1SG  
*kif-im-i getir-di-m=o ged-di-m mädräsä-yä.*  
bag-POS1SG-ACC take-PST1SG=AND go-PST1SG school-DAT

‘I had my breakfast, put on my shoes, took my schoolbag, and went to the school.’



## 13. DISCOURSE STRUCTURE

### 13.0. Introduction

Discourse structure or information structure concerns the linguistic means by which the inter-sentence connectivity, cohesion, anaphora, and information flow in the speech are realized (see Crystal 2008: 148). The study of discourse structure in a given language requires analysis of a vast corpus of oral and written texts which usually is the matter of a monograph apart. The aim of this chapter is to present a suffix, a few particles and grammatical words which may serve as discourse markers in Qashqai. Note that a better understanding of discourse structure in Qashqai is possible in the light of studying the Persian discourse structure (see Roberts *et al*, 2009). This is an unexplored research area which deserves more investigation in the framework of Irano-Turkic contact.

### 13.1. *-(y)akī*

The limited use of the morpheme *-(y)akī* as a marker of familiarity/definiteness is already mentioned in 4.6.1, 5.1.1 and 8.2.1.2. This morpheme in Qashqai is suffixed on the noun phrases which are aforementioned in a given speech or are contextually identifiable. At discourse level, it may be examined with the notions of “track marking” and “recognitional reference” as stated by Heine & Kuteva (2006: 101). Also, it can be considered as a marker of topicalization (Dolatkah 2007) to introduce a “continuing topic” in the sense of Givón (1983).

(644)

<i>gäl-ännä</i>	<i>de-yäl-lär</i>	<i>pas</i>	<i>qiz-akī</i>	<i>n-ol-muš?</i>
come-CONV	say-AOR-3PL	then	girl-DEF	what-become-PF3SG

‘Once arrived, they asked: what happened to the girl, then?’ (folktale 6: 32); see also example (651).

(645)

<i>qārri-yakī-na</i>	<i>de-yäl-lär:</i>					
old.woman-DEF-DAT	say-AOR-3PL					
<i>qārri,</i>	<i>sän</i>	<i>bašar-d-än</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>qiz-i</i>	<i>gäter-ä-η</i>	<i>kottä?</i>
old.woman	you	can-AOR-2SG	this	girl-ACC	bring-SUBJ-2SG	down

‘They said to the (aforesaid) old woman: Granny, can you bring down this girl?’ (folktale 5: 94).

(646)

<i>ger-el-lär</i>	<i>häyä,</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>älä</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>qez-akī-dī</i>
see-AOR-3PL	yes,	this	EMPH	that	girl-DEF-COP.PST.3SG

‘They realized that this was that very girl’ (folktale 5: 142).

The function of *-(y)akī* in discourse structure of Qashqai would be better understood in comparison with equivalent markers in discourse structure of contact languages such as Persian, especially Shirazi dialect of Fars, and the Lori of Kohgiluyeh-va-Boyer-Ahmad.

### 13.2. *älä*

The particle *älä* that may occur with a gesture of speaker, has primarily a deictic function. It emphasizes on the immediate availability of the referent of a noun phrase determined by the demonstrative *bu* ‘this’:

(647)

<i>de-di,</i>	<i>älä</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>owsar-i</i>	<i>ver-di</i>	<i>äl-in-ä,</i>
say-PST3SG	EMPH	this	bridle-ACC	give-PST3SG	hand-POS3SG-DAT
<i>de-di:</i>	<i>munu</i>	<i>saxlad</i>	<i>tä</i>	<i>män</i>	<i>gäl-ä-m.</i>
say-PST3SG	this.ACC	keep.IMP2SG	until	I	come-SUBJ-1SG

‘He said, giving him this very bridle, he said: keep this until I am back.’ (folktale 2: 30)

### 13.3. *ama* ‘but’

*ama* ‘but’ of Arabic origin, can serve as a topic-shifting element in the beginning of sentences:

(648)

**ama** xub qulay-lär-iñ-i aç,  
 but well ear-PL-POS2SG-ACC open.IMP2SG  
**äyär** älä bu ki de-di-m ed-me-yä-η...  
 if EMPH this KI say-PST-1SG do-NEG-SUBJ-2SG

‘But, open up your ears! If you do not do what I just said...’ (folktale 5: 23)

### 13.4. *ki*

The particle *ki*, of Persian origin, may serve to insert a reported sentence in the stream of speech:

(649)

xanım-e Bähmani bänne-y xoda billir iläri il gäl-li de-di **ki**  
 madam-EZ Bahmani servant-EZ God last.year before.year come-PST3SG say-PST3SG KI  
**biz** is-ir-äg siz-dän bir nevar-i bir gäp-i var-ümüz ol-a.  
 we want-PRS-1PL you.PL-ABL a tape-INDEF a word-INDEF existing-POS1PL be-SUBJ3SG

‘Ms. Bahmani, the servant of God, came last year or the year before and said: we want to have a tape or something from you.’ (interview 1: 25)

The particle *ki* may also occur in the very beginning of a sentence as an anaphoric item with reference to a piece of omitted information concerning a situation retrievable from the context; the consequences of this situation are uttered in the sentence that follows *ki*:

(650)

multäfet-än? **ki** daha kämančä dä biz-dä yox-idi;  
 attentive-PRS.COP2SG KI DAHA Kamancheh DA we-LOC inexistent-IMP.F.COP3SG  
**ki** xalis o moxles qaşqay-niñ nävazändä-si-ymiş-äg.  
 KI pure and sincere Qashqai-GEN instrumentist-POS3SG-EVIMPF-1PL

‘Do you understand? [The situation was so bad that] we did not even have a Kamanche; [we] who were the devoted musicians of the Qashqai.’ (interview 1: 91)

### 13.5. *DA, DA ki, DA ho*

The Turkic particle *DA* is a topic-shifting element:

(651)

bu su-dan iç-är älä orda ki iç-är  
 this water-ABL drink-AOR3SG EMPH there.ABL KI drink-AOR3SG  
 ol-ur aysay jeyran, qez-akı **da** orda  
 become-AOR3SG lame gazelle girl-DEF DA there.ABL  
 yol gezle-yir ki kaka gäl-ä.  
 road watch-PRS3SG KI brother come-SUBJ3SG

‘He drank of this water. As soon as he drank, he became a lame gazelle. As for the girl, she was watching the road for her brother to come back.’ (folktale 5: 70, 71).

The particle *DA* can be combined with the Persian particle *ki* or the interjection *ho*, in the form of *DA ki* (653) or *DA ho* (652) which serve to introduce the topicalized subject:

(652)

dähä, yol-ä duş-äl-lär, harä ged-ä-lär, biyaban-imiş; baş qoy-äl-lär biyaban-ä.  
 DAHA road-DAT fall-AOR-3PL where go-SUBJ-3PL desert-PF.COP3SG head put-AOR-3PL desert-DAT

‘So, they set off. Where did they go? There was a desert, they headed towards the desert.’

div **dä ho** onlar-iñ iss-in-nän geri-dän gäl-irmiş.  
 demon DA ITJ they-GEN smell-ABL backwards-ABL come-EVIMPF3SG

‘As for the demon, it was following them after their smell. (folktale 5: 44-45)

(653)

div **dä ki** de-yir tez allan-ir;  
 demon DA KI say-PRS3SG soon be.fooled.PRS3SG  
 giş-i çox-du väli kehrälig yox-u.

force-POS3SG much-PRS.COP3SG but ingenuity inexising-POS3SG

‘And the demon, as they say, can be easily duped; it has a lot of force but no ingenuity.’ (folktale 5: 55).

The particle *DA* may sometimes occur where the particle *ki* is expected:

(654)

*de-yär: be ol-ur dā sän gäč-mä-yä-η ged-ä-η?!*  
say-AOR3SG BE be-AOR3SG DA you cross-NEG-SUBJ-2SG go-SUBJ-2SG

‘He said: would it be possible that you do not cross [the river] and not go [to the other side]?’ (folktale 6: 18) (The intention of speaker is to infer that the addressee should cross the river.)

### 13.6. *daha* ‘other’

The word *daha* in Qashqai may function as a determinant, as in *bir daha arvad* ‘another wife’:

(655)

*bowa-läri bir daha arvad al-mišimiš,*  
father-POS3PL a other wife take-PPF3SG

‘Their ather had taken another wife.’ (folktale 5: 27)

A change in the order of *daha* with regard to the indefinite article *bir* leads to a change in its function; it becomes an adverbial item being only used in negative sentences:

(656)

*daha bir zad de-mä-di.*  
other a thing say-NEG-PST3SG

‘S/he said nothing any more’.

The discursive function of *daha* is established in two situations: first, when it occurs along with an adverbial item, as in the two following examples.

(657)

*qez dā ki inni daha bir uşaq dā qujāy-ī-nnā,*  
girl DA KI now DAHA one child DA lap-POS3SG-LOC  
*otur-ur şah oyul-u-ynän qäsr içi-nä, zendeganlig ed-är.*  
sit-AOR3SG king son-POS3SG-INST palace indie.POS3SG-DAT life do-AOR3SG

And the girl, who had then [now] a baby in her arms, rejoined the son of the king in the palace and they lived long.’ (folktale 5: 148)

(658)

*Bääd gül-li-m Däbbaxi-yä, orda daha säränjam*  
then come-PST-1SG Dabbaxi-DAT there.LOC DAHA finally  
*bir muddät qällänešin ol-lu-m.*

‘Then I moved to Dabbâkhi, where I finally became a tenant for some time.’ (interview 1: 61)

Second, *daha* has a discursive function when it is used alone, usually introducing a new piece of information resulted from the context or to switch to another action in the speech line:

(659)

*daha bil-li ki çoban-ni. daha burdän ged-di.*  
DAHA know-PST3SG KI shepherd-PST3SG DAHA this.place.ABL go-PST3SG

‘Finally, she knew that he was a shepherd. Then they left that place. (folktale 3: 35-36)

All above-mentioned functions of *daha* have parallels in (especially colloquial) Persian. This is obviously a good example of global copying with regard to all lexical and functional properties of the Persian word *digar* ‘other’. Note that the word *daha* in other Turkic languages namely Turkish is used to form comparative adjectival constructions, where it translates the item *more* in English, ex. *bu ondan daha önemli* ‘this one is more important than that one’. Qashqai does not make use of *daha* for this purpose.

### 13.7. *häyâ* ‘yes’

The word *häyâ*, which usually serves as a positive answer to a global question, is sometimes used as a discursive item to introduce a more detailed information to the main statement:

(660)

*bax-är bax-är birdän ger-er tä bir jeyran gäl-ir,*  
 look-AOR3SG look-AOR3SG suddenly see-AOR3SG TA one gazelle come-PRS3SG  
*häyä bir qeč-i-nnän nä aqse-yr.*  
 yes one foot-POS3SG-ABL DA limp-PRS3SG

‘She kept watching, and suddenly, she saw a gazelle who was limping with one leg.’ (folktale 5: 72)

(661)

*säs čix-är ki, häyä bir jahal arvad säs-i,*  
 sound exit-AOR3SG KI yes one young woman voice-POS3SG  
*de-yär: män-i burdän čax-ad-iñ tä de-yä-m kim-äm.*  
 say-AOR3SG I-ACC here.ABL exit-CAUS-IMP2PL TA say-SUBJ-1SG who-PRS.COP1SG

‘A voice came out, actually the voice of a young woman, she said: get me out of here and I will tell you who I am. (folktale 5: 140)

### 13.8. *tä*

The particle *tä* < *ta*, of Persian origin, can occur in the beginning of a sentence to introduce a new storyline in a narrative text. In this usage, *tä* can be translated ‘and’:

(662)

*tä bir şah qiz-i bir väzir oyuluynän hämmahdä olmuš*  
 TA a king.daughter-POS3SG a vizier son.POS3.INST agreed become.PF3SG  
*ki qäčälär, vähdäläri bu kohnä hamam içiymiş.*  
 ki run.SUBJ3PL promis.POS3PL this old hammam inside.COP3SG

‘And the daughter of a king and the son of a vizier had agreed to run away together; the meeting point was in the old hammam. (folktale 3: 5)

Note that *tä* is frequently used as a linker between two clauses of completive sentences, where it can substitute *ki* particle, see example (660).

### 13.9. *xob (xub)* ‘well’

*xob (xub)* is an adjective-adverb of Persian origin meaning ‘good, well, fine, nice’. In Qashqai, it may occur in the very beginning of a narration just as a starting point:

(663)

*xob, kiši-niñ bir-i-si bečarä-yimiš, äv-dän čix-me-yirmiš; tämmäl-imiš.*  
 well man-GEN one-POS3-POS3SG poor-.PF.COP3SG house-ABL exit-NEG-IMP3SG lazy- PF.COP3SG

‘Well, there was a man who was poor; he would not leave home, he was lazy.’ (folktale 1: 1)

*xob* is also used along with vocative items such as *kaka* ‘brother’, *aya* ‘mister’, *arvad* ‘wife’ to call the attention of an addressee:

(664)

*bowa-si gal-li de-di: xob arvad, nämänä-yä ayle-yir-äñ?*  
 fathr-POS3SG come-PST3SG say-PST3SG well woman what-DAT cry-PRS-2SG

‘His father came and said: well, wife, why are you crying?’ (folktale 2: 7)

Another instance is the use of *xub* or *xob* to connect two parts of the same story line which the speaker would consider to be logically codependent, the second one justifying the utterance of the first one:

(665)

*män buyad dil issin-ä tääsüp var-im;*  
 I this.much language on.POS3SG-DAT zealous existing-POS1SG  
*xub, dil-im-nir.*  
 well language-POS1SG-PRS.COP3SG

‘I am very zealous in [the Qashqai] language; it is my language after all.’ (interview 3: 68)

## 14. CORPUS

### 14.0. Introduction

The corpus, selected from a large amount of data that I collected during my field trips, consists of specimens of the Qashqai oral literature including folktales, funny stories, life stories, asheq narratives, interviews, and folk poems. I collected the folktales from several people, most of them elderly, only in the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe. These texts are similar in linguistic features. However, there may exhibit variations, especially in word usage, from one tale-teller to another one. As with other texts, I collected them from diverse sources mostly the informants of other subtribes of the Amaleh tribe. The funny stories and the asheq narrative are retrieved from the Internet. One of the life stories is the transcription of a life story told by a Qashqai man and broadcast on a local radio station.

The texts presented in the corpus reflect the Qashqai spoken in different subtribes of the Amaleh tribe. This tribe, as it is discussed in the Introduction, has been politically dominant. The so-called Amaleh variety is spread in almost all other Qashqai tribes. Thus, this corpus can roughly represent the Qashqai spoken in the whole confederation. The transcription is phonologic, based on the Turcological notation. One of the folktales is given with morphemic glosses that appear in the Appendix. The translations, which follow the texts, are meant to be close to the original and are therefore not always very natural English. After the translation is provided a numbered grammatical annotation for each text; the only exception is Interview 4 which is not annotated. A relatively long funny folktale entitled “Kurdulu vâ Mähmädäli” was removed from the corpus to reduce the page count. The examples in the grammar which are referenced “from a folktale” are extracted from this folktale. It has been already published along with 10 other folktales in the book *Qashqay Folktales* (Dolatkhah 2015).

The following list represents the informants from whom I have collected texts.

Belqeys Jahângiri, about 90-years-old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, illiterate, interviewed in the village Khordeh-Dareh in January 2007 and April 2008.

Imamqulu Haddâdi, 60-years-old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, primary school, interviewed in the village Khordeh-Dareh in January 2007.

Katâyun Parhun, about 80-years-old when interviewed (she passed away in 2009) from the Jamabozorgi subtribe the Amaleh tribe, illiterate, interviewed in the village Khordeh-Dareh in January 2007.

Roqayyeh Moxtarxanlu, 77-years-old, from the Moxtarxanlu subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, illiterate, interviewed in Shiraz in April 2008.

Parvin Bahmani, 59-years-old, from the Bähmännbâyli subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, former teacher, folk music researcher and singer, interviewed in Tehran in April 2008.

Assadollâh Rahimi Mardâni, 60-years-old, from the Râhimli subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, retired teacher, self-made researcher, interviewed in Shiraz in April 2008.

Malak-Simâ Dolatkhâh, 60-years-old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, interviewed in the mostly Persian-speaking village Mobârak-Âbâd on the 7th January 2007.

Sa‘id Dolatkhâh, 16 years-old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, a high school student, interviewed in Jahrom in April 2008.

Ahmad-Rezâ Jahângiri, 14-years-old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, a high school student, interviewed in the village Khordeh-Dareh in April 2008.

Âshiq Amir-Hosseini, 58-years-old, from the Ašiqlâr subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, illiterate, interviewed in the village Katasbess in the vicinity of Shiraz in April 2008



## 14.1. Folktales

### 14.1.1. Folktale 1: Čoyännär Bäy<sup>37</sup> ‘Mister Beetroot’

*This folktale was told by Belqays Jahângiri, 90 year old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, in the Qashqai-speaking village of Khordeh-dareh, on the 6<sup>th</sup> of January 2007.*

(1-4). Xob, kişiniñ birisi biçaräymiş, ävdän čixmeyrmiş, tämmälimiş, häyä tämmäl. Arvad gedär bir qonşu ävinä, deyär män niñ edäm, belä odun-modun sännän onnän aliräm čeräg ediräm yeyir, älä bura oturir, iş germeyr. Deyär : gedärän, älä bu unu apar kemmäñ ed, gäti<sup>38</sup> dār dāminä, yanı serkäleyrən ki kili tekilä, towala dārdän oyzä de äviñ yannı, ruzumuz geddi tut gäti, kişi ki čixdi yazziya kemmäñ qulunjunä, sän däri içärdän qulf ed, daha däri açmä tä varä gedä ziriñ olä, älä o tappı dä tuşäsi, gedä gumm olä». Kişi qowzanär gedär kemmäñi tutä, tutär o gäler dār dāminä, deyär arvad däri aç.

(5-9). Dedi: adıñ nädi ? dedi: bilmiräm, dedi: ged här väx adıñi bullıñ gäl. Geddi gerdi tä bir yerdä ikki Imamqulu<sup>39</sup> läyin tefän älinnä şikal vāräyinnä. Hay huy eddi, şikallär qāşdi. Geddi tutdu beläsinı hereft vurdu. Dedi: xob, bir beläyi zad gerdiñ berkiñi geti<sup>40</sup> dāräynän dāräynän dāräynän var ged.

(10-14). Sän mänim şikalimı hırkıddıñ. Geddi gerdi bir dowardı, berkini getirdi dāräynän dāräynän dāräynän... Tutdulär beläsinı hereft vurdulär. Deyär: oyuruyän sän, kow kow edirän dowardän oyurläyän? Sän beläyi zad gerdiñ de: ow! ginnä bir ginnä ikki, bāräkät gätirä işä, čox olä.

(15-19). Geddi oyantär, gerdi bir mänim täyin qārri elmiş, şivänjädı, äzadarligdi, dedi: ow! ginnä bir, ginnä ikki. Burdä dä tox vurdulär. Deyär: bir beläki zad gerdiñ de: germäyäniz ävväl axır älä bu ossun. Geddi gerdi bir toydı(r), dedi: germäyäniz ävväl axır älä bu ossun. Ordä dä ketäyi yedi.

(20-24). Geddi geddi geddi gerdi tä... bir äşräfi itirmişlär gäzillär, bāččämādräsä gäzir. Birisi, bu bāččämādräsäniñ dedi: bax bax, iñer čoyännärdi! Häräkät eddi, dedi: äy bullum! Gäzdilär, tekişdirdilär, dedi: xub, sän äşräfiyi bulmuşän ver! Ddi: yow, adimı bullum.

(25-29). Adıñ nädi? dedi: adım lätä içinnä. Soyan dāyıl, kälām dāyıl, turub dāyıl? čoyonnäri demellärdi. Dedi: yow, heč birisi dāyıl. Inni burdä dä vill eddilär. Vardi geddi geddi, daha inni burdä bāxti gätirir.

(30-34). Geddi gerdi bir ävli kečmiş bir erkäni qalmış, bir ävli kečmiş uş-derd yumurtäsi qalmış, birisiniñ bir yayuy ayranı qalmış, birisiniñ bir saz-o-nayaräsi qalmış, xob, biri torbäsi qalmış. İydi içinä o allı dalinä o geddi. Geddi geddi gerdi bir div mänzelidir, bilmerdi divdi, gerer bir kohnä qāhlädi; häyä, qāhlädi. Gedär qāhläyä gerer yeddi qazan qātar qomuşlär, altısiniñ altiniñ odlär, altı div gäler baş qoyär içär altısı dä saqqat olur, biri dä dār dāminnä gezčiymiş bahisab. Deyär: adam madam issi gälir, yaylı badam issi gälir, mänim şährimnä iñer adamizad issi gälir. Deyär: bu mänim bowam şähridir.

(35-39). Deyär: yow, mänim bowam şähridir. Deyär: gä<sup>41</sup> şärt vuräg, gäl burä, härkäs daş qoydu älinä sixdi su ollu o aparmış. Div daş qoydu älinä sixdi un ollu, o qirmizi kişi yumurtäyi ukaladi su ollu. Dedi: gäl tıfıräg. O tıfirdi yarım ärşin yol geddi, bu yayıyın ayzini açanna ikki ärşin geddi, ayranı vill eddi.

<sup>37</sup> Čoyännär (< Persian. čoqondär) means red beet. The man of the folktale is called čoyännär, for he has a red face.

<sup>38</sup> The /r/ of the imperative form of *gätir*- ‘to bring’ is omitted especially in fast speech.

<sup>39</sup> *Imamqulu* is the name of elder son of tale-teller, and this folktale was told at his home and in his presence.

<sup>40</sup> The /r/ of the imperative form of *getir*- ‘to take’ is omitted especially in fast speech (see also footnote 43)

<sup>41</sup> The final consonant /l/ of the verb *gäl*- ‘to come’ drops in the imperative mood (see also footnotes 43 and 46).

(40-44). Dedi: inni də ki apardıñ. Dedi: xob, gäl başımız tikini atag. O bir çäräk baş tiki addı, bu erkäni vill eddi. Dedi: xob, daha niñ edäg? Här käsän yel çıxdı säsi çoxtar ollu, älä o aparmış.

(45-49). Geddi bir äv içinä, bu div bir şaqquladännä... divdän bir yel çıxdı munu getirdi o dälüg bu dälügä, atar ottay buttaya. Deyär: sän ordä çoyännär nä iş geyirän? Deyär: män bu dälüg-duşugu tutiräm yel verännä sänä yel aparmeyä. Täpiginän vurännä däri qerrär. Bu dä gedär nayaräyi qoyär bun issinä, här nä vurä.

(50-54). Älä geri qäçirmış deyirmış: ävi yanmışın ossurayı säslänir belä! Gedär gerir bir tilki jülowunnän gälir. Deyär: hara gedirän? İner çox owqatın tälxdı! Deyär: qurbanın ollum, adamızad bulunmuş ävimi almiş älimnän.

(55-59). Deyär: gäl bir talä tikiñnän qaz baylä boynumä, baylä quyruquñä tä gedäm alam veräm. Baxdı gerdi gälir. Dedi: xob, tilki kaka, sänin bowan mänim bowamä yeddi alabärzäni veräsi, bu birisi hanı altısı daha? Dedi: axkey, bu mäni apayır verä bowası bedehinä. Qäşdi ipinän tilkiyi çäkdı, tilki dä onın qulunjunän burä owlannı orä owlannı, daşa owlannı dayıllı geddi.

(60-64). Kişi geddi oturdu ämlakın issinä. Gerdi belä ruzegarı xub olir. Gälli etişdi ävinä, dedi: arvad, däri aç tä gäläm. Dedi: adın nädi(r)? Dedi: adım çoyännär.

(65-67). Arvad, där izimizä açılmış. Gälli arvadı getirdi geddi orä oturdu, yedi, işdi, xoş eddi. Tämam ollu, bu dä Qirmızı ämi qessäsi, çoyännär bāy.

#### **14.1.1.1. Folktale 1: translation**

(1-4). Well, there was a man who was poor, he would not leave home [to go after work], he was lazy, yes lazy, [his] wife went to a neighbour and said: what can I do [with him]? I borrow wood and things from you and others to bake bread, he eats, sits right here [and] does not work. [The neighbour] said: you will go, you take this flour, make a kemmäj<sup>42</sup>, take it before the door, [and] shake it as if you want to clean off the ashes, [over there] you roll it away, tell [him] may your house be burnt, call our daily food is gone away, take it back! As soon as the man went outside after the kemmäj, lock the door from inside, don't open the door anymore so that he go [and] make efforts; [and let] that very bread [be] his provision; [so that] he go away. The man stood up to go catch the bread, caught it and came back before the door [and] said: wife, open the door!

(5-9). [The wife] said: what's your name? h said I don't know, she said: go! [and] come back whenever you have found your name. He went away, eventually somewhere he met two men like Imamqulu [who] rifles at hand were lying in wait of a game. He made a noise and the game fled. [They] caught him and beat him terribly. They said: well, if you see such a thing, take your hat off and take the valley and go away.

(10-14). You startled [our] quarry. He went [and] saw a herd [of sheep and goats], took his hat off and moved away [crawling through the valleys]. They caught [and] beat him horribly. They said: you are a thief, you walk on pussyfoot to abduct from the herd? if you see this kind of thing, say oh! everyday one, everyday two! [May God give you abundance!]. In order that this [benediction] could bless our business and make it thrive.

(15-19). He went a little further where he saw that an old woman like me<sup>43</sup> had died and there were mourning and they were moaning, he said: everyday one, everyday two! [may God give you abundance!]. They beat him severely. They said: if you see this kind of thing you must say: may you not face (this) any more, may this be the first and last [sorrow] you ever have. He went on after this [and] saw a wedding, he said: may you not face it any more, may it be the first and the last [you ever have]. There again, he was thrashed.

(20-24). He went went went [much far] and saw that... they had lost a gold coin and they were looking for it; the schoolchildren, are looking for it. One of them, one of the schoolchildren said: look! look! he looks like a beetroot. He ran and shouted: I found it! They examined him, they said: right, you've found the gold coin, give it! He said: No, I found my name.

(25-29). What's your name? my name has to do with farming. Isn't it onion, isn't it cabbage, isn't it radish? they did not mention 'beetroot'. He said: It is none of them. Then, they released him. He then went further, and his luck turned...

<sup>42</sup> *Kemmäj*, is a kind of thick bread, often made from barley flour and is reputed as the food of poor people.

<sup>43</sup> Here, the tale teller refers to herself.

(30-34). He went [and at another place] saw a a rope left from a family who had moved, some eggs left from another family who had moved, a butter-churn full of buttermilk from another one, a kettle-drum and a trumpet from another one, and a bag left from another one; he collected [all these things] in the bag, took it on the back and went away. He went went and saw [that] there was a house of demon; he did not know that it was a demon; he noticed only that it was an old castle; err, yes, a castle. He entered the castle and saw that there were seven cauldrons; he set fire under six of them, six demons arrived and started to drink; all of them perished, one of them keeping watch over the door. [The demon] said: it smells of human being, it smells oily almonds; in my town, it smells of a human being. It said: This is the town of my father.

(35-39). [The demon] said: no, it is the town of my father! He said: so, come wager; come here, he who is able to turn a stone into water by force of his hands will win. The demon pressed a stone into flour in his hands; as for the red man, he rubbed an egg in his hands and broke it, [showing that he converted it to water]. Now, let's spit. That one spit about a half meter, and this one opened his churn-skin and squirted buttermilk over two meters.

(40-44). The demon said: this time too, you won. He said: Well, let's throw our hair. That one threw around a kilogram of his hair, this one threw the rope. The demon said: well, what else can we do? He who can break wind most strongly will win.

(45-49). They went into a room, the demon broke wind noisily; and the wind blew the man here and there; threw him in all directions. The demon said: Beetroot, what are you doing up there? He said: I am sealing off all these holes so that the wind does not take you when I fart. The demon kicked down the door [and fled]. The man put the kettle-drum on the roof striking it forcefully.

(50-54). The demon ran away saying: may his house be burned, he who farts so noisily! The demon faced a fox coming from the opposite side. The fox asked: where are you going? You seem to be in a very bad mood. The demon said: may I die for you, the son of Man has come and taken my house.

(55-59). The fox said: come take a hair of yours and attach it to my neck and to your tail, [we will return and] I will retake your house. The man saw them coming. He said: OK, brother fox, your father owes my father seven Alabärzäni<sup>44</sup>, here is one of them, where are the six others? The demon said: alas! this fox takes me to exchange me against the debts of its father. It fled towing the fox [who was attached to its tail], following the demon, the fox was struck by stones everywhere and perished.

(60-64). The man settled in the property. He noticed that his life had favourably changed. He returned home and said: wife, open the door, I want to return. She asked: what's your name? He said: My name is Beetroot.

(65-67). Wife, the door has opened to us. Then, he took his wife and led her over there [in the castle]; they sat down, they ate, they drank and enjoyed the life. It is finished, that was the story of uncle Beetroot, Mr. Beetroot.

#### 14.1.1.2. Folktale 1: glossed text

(1) (1-4)

Xob,	kiši-niñ	bir-i-si	beçarä-yimiš.	äv-dän	čix-me-yirmiş;	tämmäl-imiš,
well	man-GEN	one-POS3-POS3SG	poor-.PF.COP3SG	house-ABL	exit-NEG-IMP3SG	lazy- PF.COP3SG
mänzur	tämmäl-imiš,	hâyä	tämmäl.			
it.means	lazy-PF.COP3SG	yes	lazy			

(2)

arvad	ged-är	bir-in-nän	bir...	de-yär	män	niñ	ed-ä-m?
woman	go-AOR3SG	one-POS3-ABL	one	say-AOR3SG	I	what	do-SUBJ-1SG
belä	odun-modun	sän-nän	onnän	alir-äm	čeräg	ed-ir-äm	ye-yir,
thus	wood.and.things	you-ABL	he/she.ABL	take-PRS1SG	bread	do-PRS-1SG	eat-PRS3SG
älä	burä	otur-ir	iş	ger-me-yir.			
EMPH	this.DAT	sit-PRS3SG	work	do-NEG-PRS3SG			

(3)

de-yär:	ged-är-än,	älä	bu	un-u	apar	kemmäj	ed,
say-AOR3SG	go-AOR-2SG	EMPH	this	flour-ACC	take.IMP2SG	thick.bread	do.IMP2SG
gäti	där	däm-i-nä,	yani	serkäle-yr-än,	towalä	där-dän	öyz-ä
bring.IMP2SG	door	front-POS3-DAT	mean	shake-PRS-2SG	roll.IMP2SG	door-ABL	other.side-DAT
de	äv-iñ	yan-ni	ruzu-muz	ged-di	tut	gäti.	
say.IMP2SG	house-POS2SG	burn-PST3SG	subsistence-POS1PL	go-PST3SG	catch.IMP2SG	bring.IMP2SG	
kisi	ki	čix-di	yazi-yä	kemmäj	qulunj-u-nä,	sän	där-i

<sup>44</sup>Alabärzäni is an imaginary creature in the Qashqay folklore—a demon with white and black striped skin.

man KI exit-PST3SG outside-DAT a.type.of.bread after-POS3-DAT you door-ACC  
*ičär-dän qolf ed. daha dār-i ač-mä tā vār-ä ged-ä zereŋ ol-ä.*  
 inside-ABL lock do.IMP2SG any.more door-ACC open-NEG.IMP2SG TA existing-SUBJ3SG go-SUBJ3SG adroit be-SUBJ3SG  
 älä o tappi dä tušä-si ged-ä gumm ol-ä.  
 EMPH that thick.bread DA provision-POS3SG go-SUBJ3SG lost be-SUBJ3SG

(4)

*kiši qowza-n-är ged-är kemmäj-i tut-ä; tut-är o*  
 man lift-PASS-AOR3SG go-AOR3SG bread-ACC catch-SUBJ3SG catch-AOR3SG and  
*gäl-er dār dām-i-nä de-yär arvad dār-i ač!*  
 come-AOR3SG door front-POS3SG-DAT say-AOR3SG woman door-ACC open.IMP2SG

(5) (5-9)

*de-di: ad-iŋ nā-di? de-di: bil-m-ir-äm. de-di:*  
 say-PST name-POS2SG what-PST3SG say-PST3SG know-NEG-PRS-1SG say-PST3SG  
*ged härväx ad-iŋ-i bul-li-ŋ gäl!*  
 go.IMP2SG whenever name-POS2SG-ACC find-PST-2SG come.IMP2SG

(6)

*ged-di ger-di tā bir yer-dä ikki Imamqulu läyin tefäŋ äl-i-nnä*  
 go-PST3SG see-PST3SG TA one earth-loc two Imamqulu like gun hand-POS3sg-loc  
*şikäl vāräy-e-nnä.*  
 game look.out-POS3SG-LOC

(7)

*häy huy ed-di šikal-lär qäč-di.*  
 HAY HUY do-PST3SG game-PL run-PST3SG

(8)

*ged-di tut-du beläsin-i hereft vur-du.*  
 go-PST3SG catch-PST3SG ANPH.3SG-ACC terribly beat-PST3SG

(9)

*de-di: xob, bir beläyi zad ger-di-ŋ*  
 say-PST3SG well one such thing see-PST2SG  
*berk-iŋ-i geti dārä-ynän dārä-ynän var ged!*  
 hat-POS2SG-ACC take.IMP2SG valley-INST valley-INST existing.IMP2SG go.IMP2SG

(10) (10-14)

*sän män-im šikal-im-i hirk-id-di-ŋ!”*  
 you I-GEN game-POS1SG-ACC scare.away-CAUS-PST-2SG

(11)

*ged-di ger-di bir dower-di,*  
 go-PST3SG see-PST3SG one herd-PST3SG  
*berk-i-ni getir-di dārä-ynän dārä-ynän dārä-ynän...*  
 hat-POS3SG-ACC take-PST3SG valley-INST valley-INST valley-INST

(12)

*tut-du-lär; tut-du, beläsin-i hereft vur-du-lär.*  
 catch-PST3SG-3PL catch-PST3SG ANPH.3SG-ACC terribly beat-PST3SG-PL

(13)

*de-yär oyuru-yän sän? kow kow ed-ir-än dower-dän oyurlä-yä-ŋ?*  
 say-AOR rubber-COP you crawling do-PRS-2SG herd-ABL steal-SUBJ-2SG

(14)

*sän, beläye zad ger-di-ŋ de: ow, gin-nä bir gin-nä ikki;*  
 you such thing see-PST-2SG say.IMP2SG oh day-LOC one day-LOC two  
*bäräkät gäter-ä iŝ-ä, čox ol-ä.*  
 abundance bring-SUBJ3SG work-DAT very become-SUBJ3SG

(15) (15-19)

*ged-di owan-tär ger-di bir män-im täyin qärri el-miš; šivän-jä-di,*  
 go-PST that.side-COMP see-PST one I-GEN like old.woman die-PF3SG whine-EQU-COP  
*äzadärlig-di. de-di: ö, gin-nä bir gin-nä ikki.*  
 mourning-PRS.COP3SG say-PST3SG o day-LOC one day-LOC two

(16)

*burdä dä tox vur-du-lär.*  
 here.LOC DA sated beat-PST-3PL

(17)

*de-yär: ged-di-ŋ bir belä-ki zad ger-di-ŋ, de ger-mä-yä-ŋiz*  
 say-AOR3SG go-PST-2SG one such-KI thing see-PST-2SG say see-NEG-SUBJ2PL

ävväl axir älä bu os-sun.  
first last EMPH this become-IMP3SG

(18)

ged-di ger-di bir toy-du, de-di: ger-mä-yä-ñiz  
go-PST3SG see-PST3SG one wedding-PST3SG say-PST3SG see-NEG-SUBJ-2PL

ävväl axir älä bu os-sun.  
first last EMPH this become-IMP3SG

(19)

ordä dä kitäy-i ye-di.  
there.LOC DA beating-ACC eat-PST3SG

(20) (20-24)

ged-di ged-di ged-di ger-di tä bir dower al-an-ni,  
go-PST3SG go-PST3SG go-PST3SG see-PST3SG TA one herd take-PART-PRS.COP  
bir äşräfi itir-miş-lär gäz-il-lär, bächämädräsä gäz-ir;  
one golden.coin lose-PF3PL search-PRS3PL schoolboys search-PRS3SG

(21)

bir-i-si de-di: bu bächämädräsä-niñ birisi:  
one-POS3-POS3 say-PST3SG this schoolboys-GEN one.of.them  
bax bax iñer çoyonnär-di.  
look.IMP2SG look.IMP2SG as.if beet-PRS.COP

(22)

häräkät ed-di, de-di äy bul-lum!  
movement do-PST3SG say-PST3SG ITRJ find-PST3SG

(23)

gäz-di-lär, tekişdir-di-lär, de-di xub sän äşräfi-yi bul-muş-ñ ver!  
search-PST-3PL look.over-PST-3PL say-PST3SG well you Ashrafi-ACC find-PF-2SG give.IMP2SG

(24)

de-di yow, ad-ım-i bul-lum.  
say-PST3SG no name-POS1SG-ACC find-PST3SG

(25) (25-29)

ad-iñ nä-di? de-di ad-ım lättä içi-mnä.  
name-POS2SG what-PRS.COP say-PST3SG name-POS1SG farm in.POS3-LOC

(26)

soyän däyil, käläm däyil, turub däyil,  
onion NEG.PRS.COP3SG cabbage NEG.PRS.COP3SG radish NEG.PRS.COP3SG  
çoyonnär-i de-me-llärdi,  
beet-ACC say-NEG-IMPF.3PL

(27)

de-di: yo, heç bir-i-si däyil.  
say-PST3SG no nothing one-POS1SG-POS1SG NEG.PRS.COP3SG

(28)

inni burdä dä vill ed-di-lär.  
now here.LOC DA free do-PRS-3PL

(29)

var-di ged-di ger-di bir... daha inni burdä bāxt-i gätir-ir,  
existing-PST3SG go-PST3SG see-PST3SG one DAHA now here.LOC destiny-POS3SG bring-PRS3SG

(30) (30-34)

ged-di ger-di bir ävli kiç-miş bir erkän-i qal-miş bir ävli  
go-PST3SG see-PST3SG one family move.on-PF3SG a rope-POS3SG remain-PF3SG one family  
keç-miş üç-derd yumurtä-si qal-miş, bir-i-si-niñ bir yayuy  
move.on-PF3SG three.four egg-POS3SG remain-PF3SG one-POS3-POS3-GEN one churnskin  
ayran-i qal-miş, bir-i-si-niñ bir saz-o-nayarä-si qal-miş.  
sour.milk-POS3SG remain-PF3SG one-POS3-POS3-GEN one (trumpet.and.drum)-POS3SG remain-PF3SG  
xob, bir-i torbä-si qal-miş, iy-di içi-nä  
well one-POS3SG backpack-POS3SG remain-PF3SG collect-PST3SG in.POS-DAT  
o al-li dal-i-nä o ged-di.  
and take-PST3SG back-POS3SG-DAT and go-PST3SG

(31)

ged-di ged-di ger-di bir div mänzel-i-dir, bil-me-rdi div-di,  
go-PST3SG go-PST3SG see-PST3SG one demon house-POS3-PRS.COP know-NEG-IMPF3SG demon-PRS.COP

ger-er bir kohnä qählä-di, häyä, qählä-di.  
see-AOR3SG one old castle-PRS.COP yes castle-PRS.COP

(32)

ged-är qählä-yä ger-er yeddi qazan qätar qo-muš-lär,  
go-AOR3SG castle-DAT see-AOR3SG seven cauldron row put-PF3PL  
altï-si-niñ alt-i-ni odlä-r, altï div gäl-er  
six-POS3-GEN under-POS3-ACC set.fire-AOR3SG six demon come-AOR3SG  
baş qoy-är iç-är, altï-si dä säqqät ol-ur  
head put-AOR3SG drink-AOR3SG six-POS3SG DA perish be-AOR3SG  
bir-i dä där däm-in-nä gözçi-yimiş bahissab.  
one-POS3SG DA door front-POS3SG-LOC watchdog-COP.PF3SG with.count

(33)

de-yär: adammadam is-si gäl-ir, yayli badam is-si gäl-ir,  
say-AOR3SG human.being scent-POS3SG come-PRS3SG oily almond scent-POS3SG come-PRS3SG  
män-im šähr-im-nä inşer adamizad is-si gäl-ir.  
I-GEN city-POS1SG-DAT as.if human scent-POS3SG come-PRS3SG

(34)

de-yär: bu män-im bowa-m šähr-i-dir.  
say-AOR3SG this I-GEN father-POS1SG city-POS3SG-PRS.COP

(35) (35-39)

de-yär: yow, män-im bowa-m šähr-i-dir.  
say-AOR3SG no I-GEN father-POS1SG city-POS3SG-PRS.COP

(36)

de-yär gä šärt vur-ä-g, gäl burä,  
say-AOR3SG come.IMP2SG bet beat-SUBJ-1PL come.IMP2SG this.DAT  
härkäs daş qoy-du äl-i-nä sex-di su ol-lu, o apar-miş.  
everybody stone put-PST3SG hand-POS3SG-DAT press-PST3SG water be-PST3SG that take-PF3SG

(37)

div daş qoy-du äl-i-nä sex-di un ol-lu,  
demon stone put-PST3SG hand-POS3SG-DAT press-PST3SG flour become-PST3SG  
o qirmizi kişi yumurtä-yi ukälä-di su ol-lu.  
that red man egg-ACC rub-PST3SG water become-PST3SG

(38)

de-di: gäl tifer-ä-g.  
say-PST3SG come.IMP2SG spit-SUBJ-1PL

(39)

o tifer-di yarim ärşen yol ged-di, bu yayuy-iñ ayz-i-ni  
that spit-PST3SG half meter road go-PST3SG this churnskin-GEN mouth-POS3SG-ACC  
aç-ännä ikki ärşen ged-di, ayran-i vill ed-di.  
open-CONV two meter go-PST3SG ayran-ACC free do-PST3SG

(40) (40-44)

de-di inni dä ki apar-di-ñ!  
say-PST3SG now DA KI take-PST-2SG

(41)

de-di xob, gäl baş-imiz tik-i-ni at-ä-k!  
say-PST3SG well come.IMP2SG head-POS1PL hair-POS3SG-ACC throw-SUBJ-1PL

(42)

o bir čäräk baş tik-i äd-di, bu erkän-i vill ed-di (43)  
that a quarter head hair-POS3SG throw-PST3SG this rope-ACC free do-PST3SG  
de-di xob, gäl daha niñ ed-ä-g?  
say-PST3SG well come.IMP2SG other what do-SUBJ-1PL

(44)

härkäs-dän yel čix-di, säs-i čox-tär ol-lu, älä o apar-miş.  
everybody-ABL wind exit-PST3SG sound-POS3SG very-COMP become-PST3SG EMPH that take-PF3SG

(45) (45-49)

ged-di bir äv içinä, bu div bir şaqqulad-ännä  
go-PST3SG one house inside this demon one burst-CONV  
div-dän bir yel čix-di munu getir-irdi o dälilig bu dälilig-ä,  
demon-ABL one wind exit-PST3SG this.ACC take-IMP3SG that hole this hole-DAT  
at-ar ottay buttay-ä.

throw-AOR3SG that.side this.side-DAT

(46)

de-yär sän ordä čoyonnär nä iş gey-ir-äñ?

say-AOR3SG you there.LOC čoqonnar what work do-PRS-2SG

(47)

de-yär män bu дәligduşig-i tut-ir-äm yel ver-ännä

say-AOR3SG I this hole-ACC catch-PRS-1SG wind give-CONV

sän-i yel apar-mä-yä.

you-ACC wind take-NEG-SUBJ3SG

(48)

täpig-inän vur-ännä där-i qerr-är.

kick-INST beat-CONV door-ACC break-AOR3SG

(49)

bu дә ged-är nayarä-ye qoy-är bun issi-nä, här nä vur-ä.

this DA go-AOR3SG timpani-ACC put-AOR3SG roof on-DAT every what hit-SUBJ3SG

(50) (50-54)

älä geri qäč-irmiş de-yirmiş äv-i yan-müş-iñ ossuray-i säslän-ir belä.

EMPH backwards flee-EVIMPF3SG say-IMP3SG house-ACC burn-PART-GEN fart-POS3SG sound-PRS3SG so

(51)

ged-är ger-er bir telki ĵulow-u-nnän gäl-ir.

go-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG one fox forward-POS3SG-ABL come-PRS3SG

(52)

de-yär hara ged-ir-äñ?

say-AOR3SG where go-PRS-2SG

(53)

iñer çox owyat-iñ tälx-di,

seem very times-POS2SG bitter-PRS.COP

(54)

de-yär qurban-iñ ol-lu-m adämizad bul-un-muş

say-AOR3SG sacrificed-POS2SG become-PST-1SG human.being find-MP-PF3SG

äv-im-i al-miş äl-im-nän.

house-POS1SG-ACC take-PF3SG hand-POS1SG-ABL

(55) (55-59)

de-yär gäl bir talä tik-iñ-nän qaz baylä boyn-um-ä

say-AOR3SG come.IMP2SG one lock hair-POS2SG-ABL tear.off.IMP2SG tie.IMP.2SG neck-POS1SG-DAT

baylä quyruy-uñ-ä tä ged-ä-m al-a-m ver-ä-m.

tie.IMP2SG tail-POS2SG-DAT TA go-SUBJ-1SG take-SUBJ-1SG give-SUBJ-1SG

(56)

bax-dä ger-di gäl-ir.

look-PST3SG see-PST3SG come-PRS3SG

(57)

de-di: xob, telki kaka, sän-iñ bowa-ñ män-im bowa-m-ä

say-PST3SG well fox brother you-GEN father-POS2 I-GEN father-POS1SG-DAT

yeddi alabärzäñi ver-äsi bu bir-i-si hanı altı-si daha?

seven Alabarzanı give-NECS3SG this one-POS3-POS3SG which six-POS3SG other

(58)

de-di axxey, bu män-i apay-ir ver-ä bowa-si bedeh-i-nä

say-PST3SG alas this I-ACC lead-PRS3SG give-SUBJ3SG father-POS3SG debt-POS3-DAT

(59)

qäş-di, ip-inän tilki-yi čak-di tilki дә burä owlan-ni

flee-PST3SG cord-INST fox-ACC pull-PST3SG fox DA here.DAT collide-PST3SG

orä owlän-ni daş-ä owlän-ni dayıl-li ged-di.

there.DAT collide-PST3SG stone-DAT collide-PST3SG be.shattered-PST3SG go-PST3SG

(60) (60-64)

kişi ged-di otur-du ämlak-iñ issi-nä

man go-PST3SG sit-PST3SG properties-GEN on.POS3SG-DAT

(61)

ger-di belä ruzegar-i xub ol-ir

see-PST3SG so time-POS3SG good become-PRS3SG

- (62)  
 gäl-li      etiš-di      de-di      arvad,      dār-i      aç      tä      gäl-ä-m.  
 come-PST3SG    arrive-PST3SG    say-PST3SG    wife    door-ACC    open.IMP2SG    TA    come-SUBJ-1SG
- (63)  
 de-di      ad-iñ      nã-di?  
 say-PST3SG    name-POS2SG    what-PRS.COP3G
- (64)  
 de-di      ad-im      çoyännär.  
 say-PST3SG    name-POS1SG    çoqannar
- (65) (65-67)  
 arvad,      dār      iz-imiz-ä      aç-il-miš.  
 wife      door    face-POS1PL-DAT    open-MP-PF3SG
- (66)  
 gäl-li      arvad-i      getir-di      ged-di      orä      ye-di      iş-di,  
 come-PST3SG    wife-ACC    take-PST3SG    go-PST3SG    that.DAT    eat-PST3SG    drink-PST3SG  
 xoş      ed-di.  
 nice    do-PST3SG
- (67)  
 tāmam      ol-lu;      bu      dā      çoyännär      bāy      qessä-si.  
 complete    be-PST3SG    this    DA    çoqannar    Mister    story-POS3SG

#### 14.1.2. Folktale 2: Dälilär

*This folktale was told by Belqeys Jahângiri, around 90 year old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, in the Qashqai-speaking village Khordeh-dareh, on the 6<sup>th</sup> January 2007.*

(1-4). Bir kişiydi bir oyl varıydı bir qez. Qez geddi oturdu howz issinä, baxdı baxdı baxdı gerdi bu naränj ki geydädi şooläsi duşmuş bu howzä. Qez fikr eddi ken gedär ärä, bir oyulu olur gäler bowası ävinä germägligä, oyulu kow kow gäler deyär şayäd bunaränjdi äl edär getirä duşär howzä ölür. Oturdu qez bāna eddi şivän eddigä.

(5-9). Kakası gälli gerdi başısı ayleyir o dā oturdu ayladı. Nānəsi gälli gerdi uşayläri ayleyir o dā ayladı. Bowası galli, dedi: xob arvad, nāmānāyā ayleyirän? Dedi uşaylärim ayleyirdi män nā aylādim. Dedi oyul ne aylādiñ?

(10-14). Dedi başım ayleyirdi män nā aylādim. Qez sāniñ nāssiniñni ayleyirän? Dedi: män fikrimä gälli ärä gedäräm, bir oyulum olur gälläm sāniñ äviñä germägligä, oyulum deyär şayäd bu naränj şooläsi howz içinnä naränjdi, kow gedär äl edär getirä duşär eler, onıñ içi ayleyiräm. Kişi turur äyyä, deyär felan felan olmuşın mähälli pesdi, varısı dälidi. Vardı geddi.

(15-19). Geddi geddi geddi, burdän Ähmäd-mahmudučä yol yornay ornay geddi. Orä gedännä, häyä, bir arvad su dalinnä gälirdi. Dedi kakam hardän gäyilän? Äz bäs ki yornayıdı dedi gordän gäyiläm. Dedi sän bilän allah, mānim bir qizim uç gin munnän iläri, gälin qizim elmiş, germädiñ? Demiş bānney xoda, lat o lüt bidehkar älä ordä dar o derrä çäkirdi.

(20-24). Dedi qurbanıñ ollum kakam, tur tä bu mäski qoyām yerä, räxtini o pul ävimizdä var veräm aparän. Geddi räxti getirdi yo ävdäyi pulu getirdi yo, kişi dā burdä yox, apardı verdi kişi baylädi belinä yo row eddi<sup>45</sup>, geddi. Päsini kişi gälli arvad xəbär verdi kişi gordän gäyilli uşayimın räxtini yo ävimizdäyi pulu verdim apardı. Dedi äviñ yanni haynä apardı? dedi burdän belä apardı. Bir bānney xodanıñ atı bayliydı, dedi atıñı ver tä män pulu kişi apayır alam gätiräm.

(25-29). Atı verdi minni dalinā geddi. Gerdi kişi adlı geridän gayil, geddi çixdı bir yal issinä owladdı, yarı dāvā yāinnä. Dedi hačannän burdäyän kakam? dedi män sähärgahdän älä burdäyäm. Dedi birisi gälli geddi burdän belä germädiñ? Dedi bānney xoda, dubba dubba o ikki qičliydi, dubba bu qiči getiyirdi onıñ yerinä vardı geddi, sāniñ atıñnä derd qič var, tä munu getirä onu qoyä yerinä onu getirä munu qoyä yerinä o vardı geddi.

(30-32). Dedi, älä bu owsarı verdi älinä, dedi munu saxlad tä män gäläm. Kişi owana geddi minni atıñ dalinā, atıñ bir başınā vurdu bir quyruyunā çapdı vardı geddi ävinä. Dedi geddim bir mähälä, burdän dälitär.

<sup>45</sup> row ed- > Persian: row kardan, a colloquial form of rāb ofiādan ‘to start moving’



#### 14.1.2.1. Folktale 2: translation

(1-4). There was a man [who] he had a son and a daughter. The daughter sat down on the verge of the pool and looked, looked, looked and saw a sour orange up there [on the tree] whose glow was reflected in the water. The girl thought that she would marry; she would give birth to a baby boy; she would visit her father, her little boy would approach [the pool]; he would think that this image might be an orange, he would extend his hands to take it and he would fall into the pool and would drown. Then, the girl started screaming.

(5-9). His brother came and saw his sister crying; he, too, started crying. Their mother came and saw her children crying; she, too, began crying. Their father came, said: err, wife, why are you crying? She said: my children were crying so I cried, me too. He said: boy, why did you cry?

(10-14). He said: my sister was crying so I cried, me too. Daughter, what has caused you to cry? She said: It came to my mind that I would marry, I would give birth to a baby boy, I would come to your home to visit you, my son would think that this flame [reflection] of the sour orange in the water of the pool might be an orange; he would try to catch it and would fall in the water and would drown; I am crying for that. The man stood up and said: this damn place has bad omens, all of them are crazy. He left.

(15-19). He went, went, went, from here until Ahmad Mahmoudi, he walked tiredly. Once arrived there, he happened upon a woman carrying a waterskin on her back. She said: my brother, where are you coming from? He was so much tired that he said: I'm coming from the grave. She said: I swear you to God, one of my daughters, my newlywed daughter died three days ago; have not you seen her? He said: Servant of God! all miserable and naked, she was collecting firewood over there.

(20-24). She said: O venerable brother! Wait until I lay down this waterskin and give you her clothes and the money we have at home in order that you take them for her. She took the clothes and the money they had at home, her husband was not in, she gave them to the man [who] put them into his waist bag and set off. In the afternoon, the husband came, the wife learnt him that a man had come from the grave and, I gave him our child's clothes and the money which was at home and he took them. He said: woe to woe, where did he take them? She said: he took them that way. Someone's horse was attached; he said: lend me your horse in order that I go take the money back from the man who has stolen it.

(25-29). He gave [him] the horse; he mounted up and went away. The man saw him coming on a horse after him, he went upon a hill and made noises as if he was busy with camels. He said: since when have you been here, brother? He said: I've been here since dawn. He said: didn't you see the one [who] came and passed through here? Poor man, *dubba dubba*<sup>46</sup> the one whom I saw had two feet, in dubba manner, he interchanged one foot by the other one and went away, your horse has four feet, when it is busy interchanging its feet, he has already gone.

(30-32). He said, giving this very bridle to him, he said: keep this until I come back. The man went other way, he mounted the horse gave a blow to its head and another one to its tail and galloped towards his home. He said: I went to a place [whose people were] crazier than [those of] here.

#### 14.1.2.2. Folktale 2: glossed text

(1) *(1-4)*

<i>Bir</i>	<i>kiši-ydi</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>oyul</i>	<i>var-ī-ydī</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>gez.</i>
a	man-IMPF.COP3SG	a	son	existing-POS3SG-IMPF.COP	a	daughter

(2)

<i>Qez</i>	<i>ged-di</i>	<i>otur-du</i>	<i>howz</i>	<i>issin-ä,</i>	<i>bax-dī</i>	<i>bax-dī</i>	<i>bax-dī</i>
girl	go-PST3SG	sit-PST3SG	basin	on.POS3SG-DAT	look-PST3SG	look-PST3SG	look-PST3SG
<i>ger-di</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>narānj</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>gey-dā-di</i>	<i>šoolä-si</i>	<i>duš-muš</i>	<i>bu howz-ä.</i>
see-PST3SG	this	bitter.orange	KI	sky-LOC-PST3SG	flame-POS3SG	fall-PF3SG	this basin-DAT

(3)

<i>Qez</i>	<i>fikr</i>	<i>ed-di</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>ged-är</i>	<i>är-ä,</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>oyul-u</i>	<i>ol-ur</i>
girl	thought	do-PST3SG	KI	go-AOR3SG	husband-DAT	a	son-POS3SG	become-AOR3SG
<i>gäl-er</i>	<i>bowa-sī</i>		<i>äv-in-ä</i>		<i>germäglig-ä,</i>	<i>oyul-u</i>	<i>kow kow</i>	<i>gäl-er</i>
come-AOR3SG	father-POS3SG		home-POS3SG-DAT		visit-DAT	son-POS3SG	crawling	come-AOR3SG
<i>de-yär</i>	<i>šayād</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>narānj-di</i>	<i>äl</i>	<i>ed-är</i>	<i>getir-ä</i>		
say-AOR3SG	perhaps	this	bitter.orange-PST3SG	hand	do-AOR3SG	take-SUBJ3SG		
<i>duš-är</i>	<i>howz-ä</i>	<i>öl-ür.</i>						

<sup>46</sup> *dubba dubba* 'a special manner of walking' similar to that of certain animals; for, *dubba* is seemingly originated from the Arabic word *dābbat* meaning 'animal for riding or driving, moving creature'.

- fall-AOR3SG    basin-DAT    die-AOR3SG
- (4) Otur-du qez bāna ed-di šivān ed-dig-ä.  
sit-PST3SG girl building do-PST3SG wail do-AN-DAT
- (5) (5-9) Kaka-si gāl-li ger-di baḡi-si ayle-yir  
brother-POS3SG come-PST3SG see-PST3SG sister-POS3SG cry-PRS3SG  
o dā otur-du ayla-di.  
he DA sit-PST3SG cry-PST3SG
- (6) Nānā-si gāl-li ger-di uşay-lāri ayle-yir o dā ayla-di.  
mother-PST3SG come-PST3SG see-PST3SG child-POS3PL cry-PRS3SG she DA cry-PST3SG
- (7) Bowa-si gal-li, de-di: xob arvad, nāmānā-yā ayle-yir-āḡ?  
father-POS3SG come-PST3SG say-PST3SG well woman what-DAT cry-PRS-2SG
- (8) De-di uşay-lār-im ayle-yirdi mān nā aylā-di-m.  
say-PST3SG child-PL-POS1SG cry-IMPF3SG I DA cry-PST-1SG
- (9) De-di oḡul ne aylā-di-ḡ?  
say-PST3SG son why cry-PST-2SG
- (10) (10-14) De-di baḡi-m ayle-yirdi mān nā aylā-di-m.  
say-PST3SG sister-POS1SG cry-IMPF3SG I DA cry-PST-1SG
- (11) Qez sän-in nāssin-ni ayle-yir-āḡ?  
girl you-GEN what.upon.POS2SG-PRS.COP cry-PRS-2SG
- (12) De-di: mān fikr-im-ä gāl-li är-ä ged-är-ām, bir  
say-PST3SG I thought-POS1SG-DAT come-PST3SG husband-DAT go-AOR-1SG a  
oḡul-um ol-ur gāl-l-ām sän-in äv-in-ä germäḡlig-ä,  
son-POS3SG become-AOR3SG come-AOR-1SG you-GEN home-POS2SG-DAT visit-DAT  
oḡul-um de-yār şayād bu narānḡ şoolā-si howz için-nā  
son-POS1SG say-AOR3SG perhaps this bitter.orange flame-POS3SG basin inside.POS3SG-LOC  
narānḡ-di, kow ged-är äl ed-är getir-ä duş-är el-er,  
bitter.orange-PRS.COP bend do-AOR3SG hand do-AOR3SG take-SUBJ3SG fall-AOR3SG die-AOR3SG  
onin içi ayle-yir-ām.  
he.GEN for cry-PRS-1SG
- (13) Kişi tur-ur äyy-ä, de-yār felan felan ol-muş-in  
man stand.up-AOR3SG foot-DAT say-AOR3SG so.and.so so.and.so become-PART-GEN  
māhäll-i pes-di, varī-si dāli-di.  
place-POS3SG bad-PST3SG all-POS3SG mad-PST3SG
- (14) Var-di ged-di.  
existing-PST3SG go-PST3SG
- (15) (15-19) Ged-di ged-di ged-di, bur-dän Ähmādmahmudu-čä yol  
go-PST3SG go-PST3SG go-PST3SG this.space-ABL Ahmadmahmudu-EQU road  
yornay ged-di.  
tired go-PST3SG
- (16) Orä ged-ännä, häyā, bir arvad su dal-in-nä gāl-irdi.  
there.DAT go-CONV yes a woman water back-POS3SG-LOC come-IMPF3SG
- (17) De-di kaka-m har-dän gäy-il-āḡ? äz bäs ki yornay-idī  
say-PST3SG brother-POS1SG which.place-ABL come-PRS-2SG from much KI tired-IMPF.COP  
de-di gor-dän gäy-il-ām.  
say-PST3SG grave-ABL come-PRS-1SG
- (18) De-di sän bil-ä-ḡ allah, mān-im bir qiz-im uç gin

say-PST3SG you know-SUBJ-2SG Allah I-GEN a daughter-POS1SG three day  
*mun-nän iläri, gälin qız-ım el-miş, ger-mä-di-η?*  
 this-ABL before newlywed daughter-POS1SG die-PF3SG see-NEG-PST-2SG

(19)

*De-miş bänne-y xoda, lat o lüt bidehkar älä or-dä*  
 say-PF3SG servant-EZ God naked.and.things indebted EMPH that.space-LOC  
*dar o derrä čak-irdi.*  
 wood.and.things pull-IMPF3SG

(20) (20-24)

*De-di qurban-ın ol-lu-m kakam, tur tä bu mäsk-i qoy-ä-m*  
 say-PST3SG sacrificed-POS2SG become-PST-1SG brother stay.IMP2SG ta this skin-ACC put-SUBJ-1SG  
*yer-ä, räxt-in-i o pul äv-imiz-dä var ver-ä-m apar-ä-η.*  
 earth-DAT clothes-POS3SG-ACC and money home-POS1PL-LOC existing give-SUBJ-1SG take-SUBJ-2SG

(21)

*Ged-di räxt-i getir-di yo äv-dä-yi pul-u getir-di yo, kişi dä*  
 go-PST3SG clothes-ACC take-PST3SG and home-LOC-KI money-ACC take-PST3SG and man DA  
*bur-dä yox, ver-di kişi baylä-di bel-in-ä row ed-di, ged-di.*  
 this.place-LOC inexistent give-PST3SG man tie-PST3SG waist-POS3SG-DAT move do-PST3SG go-PST3SG

(22)

*Päsin kişi gäl-li arvad xəbär ver-di kişi gor-dän gäy-illi*  
 afternoon man come-PST3SG woman news give-PST3SG man grave-ABL come-IMPF3SG  
*uşay-ım-ın räxt-in-i yo äv-imiz-däyi pul-u ver-di-m apar-di.*  
 child-POS1SG-GEN clothes-POS3SG-ACC and home-POS1PL-LOC-KI money-ACC give-PST-1SG take-PST3SG

(23)

*De-di äv-ın yan-ni hayn-ä apar-di?*  
 say-PST3SG home-POS2SG burn-PST3SG which.side-DAT take-PST3SG  
*de-di bur-dän belä apar-di.*  
 say-PST3SG this.place-ABL bela take-PST3SG

(24)

*Bir bänne-y xoda-nın at-i bayli-ydi, de-di*  
 a servant-EZ God-GEN horse-POS3SG tied-IMPF.COP3SG say-PST3SG  
*at-ın-i ver tä män pul-u kişi apay-ir al-a-m gətir-ä-m.*  
 horse-POS2SG-ACC give.IMP2SG TA I money-ACC man take-PRS3SG take-SUBJ-1SG bring-SUBJ-1SG

(25) (25-29)

*At-i ver-di min-ni dal-ın-ä ged-di.*  
 horse-ACC give-PST3SG mount-PST3SG back-POS3SG-DAT go-PST3SG

(26)

*Ger-di kişi adli geri-dän gay-il, ged-di çıx-di*  
 go-PST3SG man horseman behind-ABL come-PRS3SG go-PST3SG exit-PST3SG  
*bir yal issin-ä owlad-di, yanı dövä yan-ın-nä.*  
 a hill on.POS-DAT make.noise-PST3SG meaning camel side-POS3SG-LOC

(27)

*De-di haçan-nän bur-dä-yän kaka-m?*  
 say-PST3SG when-ABL this.place-LOC-PRS.COP2SG brother-POS1SG  
*de-di män səhərgah-dän älä bur-dä-yäm.*  
 say-PST3SG I early.morning-ABL EMPH this.place-LOC-PRS.COP1SG

(28)

*De-di birisi gäl-li ged-di bur-dän belä ger-mä-di-η?*  
 say-PST3SG one.POS.POS3SG come-PST3SG go-PST3SG this.place-ABL bela see-NEG-PST-2SG

(29)

*De-di bänne-y xoda, dubba dubba o ikki qıç-li-ydi,*  
 say-PST3SG servant-EZ God on.two.feet he two foot-DER-IMPF.COP3SG  
*dubba bu qıç-i getiy-irdi o-nın yer-in-ä var-di ged-di,*  
 on.two.feet this foot-ACC take-IMPF3SG that-GEN place-POS3SG-DAT existing-PST3SG go-PST3SG  
*sän-ın at-ın-nä derd qıç var, tä mu-nu getir-ä o-nu qoy-ä*  
 you-GEN horse-POS2SG-LOC four foot existing TA this-ACC take-SUBJ3SG that-ACC put-SUBJ3SG  
*yer-in-ä o-nu getir-ä mu-nu qoy-ä yer-in-ä,*  
 place-POS3SG-DAT that-ACC take-SUBJ3SG this-ACC put-SUBJ3SG place-POS3SG-DAT  
*o var-di ged-di.*  
 he existing-PST3SG go-PST3SG

(30) (30-32)

De-di,      älä      bu      owsar-i      ver-di      äl-in-ä,  
say-PST3SG      EMPH      this      bridle-ACC      give-PST3SG      hand-POS3SG-DAT  
de-di      mu-nu      saxlad      tä      män      gäl-ä-m.  
say-PST3SG      this-ACC      keep.IMP2SG      TA      I      come-SUBJ-1SG

(31)

Kiši      owan-a      ged-di      min-ni      at-iñ      dal-in-ä,      at-iñ      bir  
man      that.side-DAT      go-PST3SG      mount-PST3SG      horse-GEN      back-POS3SG-DAT      horse-GEN      one  
baş-in-ä      vur-du      bir      quyruy-un-ä      çap-dī      var-dī  
head-POS3SG-DAT      hit-PST3SG      one      tail-POS3SG-DAT      galop-PST3SG      existing-PST3SG  
ged-di      äv-in-ä.  
go-PST3SG      home-POS3SG-DAT

(32)

De-di      ged-di-m      bir      mähäl-ä,      bur-dän      däli-tär.  
say-PST3SG      go-PST-1SG      a      place-DAT      this.place-ABL      mad-comp

#### 14.1.3. Folktale 3: Qirmizi bāy ‘The Red Man’

*This folktale was told by Belqeys Jahângiri, around 90 years-old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, in the Qashqai-speaking village Khordeh-dareh, on the 6<sup>th</sup> January 2007.*

(1-4). Qadim bir çobanımıš, adı Qirmizi Bāy’imiš. O dizä yadmišimiš dowar yaninä. Diš gerer bir ay başı uñunnä bir gin äyyi uñunnä bir sarı ulluz dä gebäyi issinnä. Häyä, dowari vill edär o varir gedär.

(5-9). Tä bir şah qizi bir väzir oyuluynän häm-mahdä olmuš ki qäçälär, vähdäläri bu kohnä hamam içiymiş. O gejä väzirä qonay gäler. Väzir oyulu gedä bilmäz. Bu dä ho xəbär yoxiymiš, gedär yatär kohnä hämmam içinä, añinnän yoxiyä dä gedmeyirmiš. Bir gerer tä bir adam deyir: älä! alir gerer bir xorjin pullur.

(10-14). Muddät olur dubärä deyir: älä! bir xorjin äşräfidi, teladi, alir. Muddät olur gerer deyir: gäti. Turur äyyä gerer tä ikki at başı älinnä. Ikki at başı älinnä gäterer o, qoyällär äyiyläri altına minillär o ya Ali sännän mädäd gedällär. Bilmeyir ki bu bir çobannir, väzir oyulu däyil.

(15-19). Geddi geddi geddi šäfaq addi gerdi axxe, işteba gälmiš. Älbätä kakabowasinnän aralanmış owqati tälxdı. Fikr eddi ki män şah qiziyäm, äyä bikillim geri ifteza olläm. Qiz dedi: bu mäniminän danišäsiydi giläsiydi! Yo, munu demädım!

(20-24). Burdä isädi gerä bu nakaradi. Gerdi bir qowyalı çämänli xub yerdı. Häyä, qiz deyär: neçčä danä arvanän olä gätirän burä, jahal qiz jahal oyul olän, deyän, gilän, päsin nä irläšä irläšä gedän. Burdä oyul hešnä demädi, heš säs edmädi. Geddi owantär gerdi bir çämänli yowyalı yerdir.

(25-29). Qoyun ämjägli xub yerdir. Dedi xodaya xodaliyın haqqičä neçčä seyerin olaydı. Jahal qiz jahal oyul olän gätirän burä deyän irleyän päsin nä irläšä irläšä gedän. Kiši säs edmädi. Gerdi gowban nä däyil.

(30-34). Geddi, gerdi çäkmäli yerdir, dedi neçčä danä atın ola, gälän burä neçčä jahal qiz jahal oyul olän, irläšän deyän o gilän pässin nä irläšä irläšä gedän. Ordän nä rät olännä gerdi bir parä butta başı yo sarı gül beläyi zad var. Dedi axxe! nä bir siri qoyın olä gätirän burä. Jahal oyul jahal qiz olän, gilän o irläšän, päsin nä dowar äyyisä gedän ävä. Burdä dedi axxe, häy dedin!

(35-39). Daha billi ki çobannı. Daha burdän geddi. Geddi bir kän qarayınä mänzil eddi. Bir çän pul verdi dedi munu apar o kännä bir yemäli gäti yeyäg. Geddi verdi bir turub bälginä o so yanä o arpä tappisınä gätirdi.

(40-44). Vurdu başı içinä dedi orä otu! Geddi çelow kəbab allı gätirdi, yedilär o dowara minnilär. Geddilär, nä işin var, geddilär bir iray yerä mänzel eddilär. Burdä märzdän çıxdilər geddilär bir daha kişvärä, märze bu şahdän çıxdilər. Bu jeyäläyi apardı hämmamä, baş o qulayını dizäddi.

(45-49). Ezi bir neçčä danä Imamqulu läyin bullu gätirdi. Beläsinä äqd eddi, gälin ollu beläsi içi. Bir qars o bargah addi. Bir jurbuğa adamidı yä, bu arvad dä iner şahnume xoda. Xub, äzangu gedmişdi bun issinä äzan deyirdi, dedi: allahu häf märeğ!

(50-54). Deyir vaqti gezi duşdu bu arvadä o qarsä, dedi allahu häf märg. Şah dedi tutıñ gätirıñ tã män munıñ başını vuräm. Ne allahu äkbär demir, deyir allahu häf märg? Biz dunyayı tazzä geriräg; dunya gezimizä inni açılır inni deyir allahu häf märg! Apardılär, dedi täsädduq oläm, burä bir qärs o bargah duşmuş, bir gälinnir bir ğuzmu adamnır, vaxti gezim duşdu tikim biz-biz eddi, dedim allahu häf märg.

(55-59). Xub, dedi gediñ gäterıñ beläsinı. Geddilär çobanı gätirdilär. Bir dayımış, alabärzäñi dayı. Alabärzäñi dayınä, o dayä gedän däyinän gäläniñ başını alabärzäñi qazırmış. Alabärzäñi bir vähşi ğanavardı, ğaman edam şerdi.

(60-64). Alabärzäñi bir daydä, şerdän balaydästi. Gäler, gälännä arvad gerer Qırmızı bāy owqatı tälx ğäyil. Demiş nässin? Demiş heşnä. Deyär felan felan olmuş, deyiräm nässin ä? Demiş şah belämnän şer sidi iseyir, Alabärzäñi sidi.

(65-69). Demiş qorxmä, ğä burä. Qarar edmiş, demiş ya belämä şer sidi gäti ya arvadıñı allam. Äyä şer sidi gäterdiñ qezimi dā verräm beläñä. Väzer äveniñ nä härnä ay o qızılı var verräm beläñä. Xob, dedi ğäl burä; ğäl burä qırmızı bāy.

(70-74). Toşa torbä verdi dedi gedärän uğanıñ üssünä ay su gedir suyıñ qarayınä bir beyig çenardı. Çenar puştunnä bir şerdi yatmış, qeçinä bir yarmaçça batmış, älä ordän nalir. Yarmaçça, bir şaxa batmış qeçinä. Şaxa batmıştı häyä, älä ordä nalixir. Gedärän eziñi vurrän çenarıñ puştunä, växti kin xub näfäsinı allıñ tutärän yarmaççädän çäkärän, eziñi genä vurrän çenarıñ puştunä.

(75-79). Onnä şer yalar o yalar halinä gäler, onnä dilä gäler. Onnä turrän äyyä salam verrän deyärän bāle män ğälmişäm sid içi, şer sidi içi. Gedär o ordä yarmaççayı çaxardır o şer yalar o huşunä gäler o dilä gäler o deyär män şer sidi iseyiräm. Şer nääre çäkär härnä şer varımış gäler. İkkisini ellerellär, ğärdän gulu sekällär.

(80-84). Onnä şerläriñ baqqısinı dan edällär sayallär, dollurur ayzını dā baylällär. Şerläriñ birisini dā owsarlällär atällär issinä qırmızı bāyi dā minnirillär. Deyär inni var ged. Gäler, bilmeräm daha inni neççä geğä olmuş, gäler, sid gätermiş şer dā gätermiş. Älä minigli gedär şah huzurunä.

(85-89). Şah ki munu gerer deyär bāäle beläyin adam älä bizim lazımımızdır şayestädi, qızımı dā verräm beläsinä. Üç geğä ginniz toy edär, qızini dā verär älä bu qırmızı bāyä. Inni ikki sultan qızı alır. Väzeriñ nä härnä ay o qızıl varıymış gäterer tekär älä munıñ älinä. Bu ğäçär, o ävvälki arvaddän bir oyul girinä gäler.

(90-94). Bir ğini arväd başınä bāxırmış, beyig arväd, kuçık arväd dā lifäsinä, älä kummuğä oyul lä gebäyi issinä ğazırmış. Güdür, gülännä beyig arväd deyär be nämänäyä güyläñ? demiş heç, bir seyiş verer. Deyär onnä ki män ğällim yätdim kohnä hämäm içinä, onnä män diş ğermişdim ğün başım uğunä, ay äyyim uğunä, särı ulduz dā gebäyim issinnä. Inni ki fikr ediräm älä bu kummuğä uşäydır. Bāle, dişi tääbir olmuş.

#### **14.1.3.1. Folktale 3: translation**

(1-4). In olden times, there was a shepherd whose name was Qırmızı Bay "Mr. Red". He slept over there next to the herd. He dreamt there was a moon above his head, a sun on the tip of his feet and a yellow star upon his navel. Yes, he abandoned the herd and set off.

(5-9). And the daughter of a king and the son of a vizier had agreed to run away together; the meeting point was in the old hammam. That night, the vizier received visitors. The son of vizier could not arrange to go [to the meeting point]. As for the shepherd, he was not aware [of the event]; he went and slept in the old hammam, and because of hunger he could not sleep. He suddenly heard a human voice saying: here! He took it, and it was a bag of money.

(10-14). Some time passed, [the voice] said again: here! It was a bag of ashrafi,<sup>47</sup> of gold coins; he took it. Some time passed, he heard: bring them! He got up and saw that she had taken two horses [heads of two horses at hand]. She had taken two horses; they mounted them saying O Ali, help us! they went away. She does not know that he is a shepherd, is not the son of the vizier.

(15-19). They went, went, went, [and] at dawn, the girl noticed that, alas, she had made a mistake. Of course, she had just left his brothers and his father [and] is in a bad humour. She thought: I am daughter of the king, if I return, I would be the subject of scandal. The girl told herself: he should talk to me, have fun with me! And, I did not tell this.

(20-24). Here, she wanted to know what he was. She saw a good place of grassy lawns. Yes, the girl said: what if we had some she-camel to take them here to graze and all together, young girls and boys, to laugh, to chat, and to return home at night singing all together. Here, the boy said nothing; he did not make any noise. They went further and saw there was a good grassy place.

(25-29). A good place full of *-qoyun ümĵäg*<sup>48</sup>. She said: oh God, by the grace of your divinity, if only we had some cows. We the young girls and boys, in order to bring them here [to graze] chatting and laughing, and in the afternoon, to return home singing together. The man said nothing. She concluded that he was not a cowherd, neither.

(30-34). They went further [and] saw a place covered by *čäkmäli*<sup>49</sup>, she said: I wish we had some horses, we the young girls and boys, in order to come here and sing and chat and have fun, and in the afternoon, return home singing together. After having passed this place, she saw some *butta bas*<sup>50</sup>, and *sari güb*<sup>51</sup>, and the like. She said, oh; what fun to have a herd of sheep and take them here; To be young, laughing and singing all night and return home with the herd, singing together. Here, he said: wow! How you said well!

(35-39). Finally, she knew that he was a shepherd. Then they left that place. They went and settled outside a town. She gave him a handful of money and said: take this money to that town and bring some food to eat. He went and bought some radishes, some onions, and a few loaves of thick bread of barley.

(40-44). She gave him a blow on the head and said, stay here! She went to the town and bought and brought portions of *čelom-käbab*<sup>52</sup>; they had it and mounted the horses again. They set off, in short, they went to a distant place and settled there. Here, they crossed the border and reached another country. They crossed the border of this king). She took this young man to a hammam and [gave him a neat appearance].

(45-49). She, herself, found some men like Imamqulu and brought them. She married him and became a newlywed for him. She built a castle and set a court. He was a poor man, but the woman was like an angle of God (literally: the princess of God). Then, the muezzin had mounted up the roof and was calling to prayer. He chanted: *Allahu haf marg*! (litt. Allah and seven deaths!).

(50-54). It is said that when he saw this woman and this castle, he said *Allahu haf marg*. The king said, grab and bring him in order that I cut his head! Why doesn't he say *Allahu akbar* [and] says *Allahu haf marg*? We just see the world, it has just opened the door to us. He is chanting *Allahu haf marg*! He was taken to the king. He said: My dear king (lit. that I would be your sacrificed), over there, they have built such a palace; there is a newlywed and a little man; when I saw that all, my hair stood on end and I chanted: *Allahu haf marg*.

(55-59). Then the king said: go bring him to me! They went [and] brought the shepherd. There was a mountain—the mountain of *Alabarzangi*. Alabarzangi would cut the head of those who might go to the mountain of Alabarzangi, those who wanted to visit that mountain. Alabarzangi is a wild animal, I suppose it is a lion.

(60-64). Alabarzangi is in a mountain; it is stronger than lion. He returned home; when arrived, his wife noticed that Mr. Red looked sad. She said: what's happened to you? He said nothing. She said: God damn you! I am asking you what's happened? He said: the king asks me some lion's milk—the milk of Alabarzangi.

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47 Ashrafi (P. اشرفی) was a gold coin originally minted in Mamluk Egypt in the 15th century and reproduced by the Turkoman Qara Qoyunlu rulers in Iran. It was utilized until early 20th century when it was replaced by Pahlavi gold coins minted by the Pahlavi dynasty (see also B. Fragner in: online Encyclopaedia Iranica, *ASHRAFI*).

48 *qoyun ümĵäg*: a herb used as fodder for the cattle

49 *čäkmäli*: a good meadow full of grass, which is good for horse

50 *butta bas*: an other herb used as fodder for the cattle

51 *sari güil*: an other herb used as fodder for the cattle

52 The most appreciated traditional dish in Iranian society, the main ingredients of which are rice (that makes the *čelom*) and *kebab*, a mixture of meat and spices and onion.

(65-69). She said don't be afraid, come here. [The king] had told him: you bring me some lion's milk, or I will take your wife. If you bring me some lion's milk, I will give you my daughter, too. And I will also give you all the silver and gold (coins) of the vizier's home. So, she said: come here, come here, Mr. Red!

(70-74). She gave him provisions and said: go to the top of the [mountain] where flows the white water, on the bank of which there is a plane-tree. Behind the plane-tree, there is a lion asleep; a splinter has injured one of its feet, it groans of that over there. A splinter has hurt his foot. A splinter has hurt him, yes; it groans over there. You shall go place yourself behind the plane-tree, once you have resumed your breaths, you should pull out the splinter, [then] you shall place yourself again behind the tree.

(75-79). Then, the lion will lick [its injured foot] and will recover, then it will speak. Then, you shall stand up and greet it and say that you have come for some milk, some lion's milk. He went and pulled the splinter from the foot of the lion and the lion licked [its wounds] and recovered and began to speak [and] the man said: I want some lion's milk. The lion yelled and all existing lions came there. They killed two of them and skinned them entirely.

(80-84). Then they set the rest of lions in a row and milked them and filled the two skins [with lion's milk] and tied closed. They harnessed one of the lions, charged it [with the two skins full of milk] and made Mr. Red mount up it. The lion said: now, you shall go. He came [back]. I don't know how many nights it took, he came [back] bringing the lion's milk and a lion, too. He went to the king's court driving the lion.

(85-89). When the king saw that all said: we need such a person, he is worthy, and I will give him my daughter too. He set a wedding ceremony of three days and nights and gave his daughter to that Mr. Red. Now he had the daughters of two sultans as wife. He [the king] gave him all the gold and silver that the vizier possessed as well. This passed, he got a baby boy from the first wife.

(90-94). One day, the wife, the elder one, was delousing his head, and the younger one was delousing his hem pants (*liḡa*), and the little boy was playing upon his belly. Mr. Red laughed. The elder wife asked: why are you laughing, then? He said: it's nothing. She insulted him. He said: the night I came and slept in the old hammam, then, in a dream I saw the sun above my head, the moon over my feet and a yellow star upon my navel (belly). Now I think that it [the star] meant this very little child. Yes, his dream came true.

### 14.1.3.2. *Folktale 3: glossed text*

(1) (1-4)

Qadim	bir	čoban-imiš,	ad-ī	Qirmizi	Bäy-imiš.
old.time	a	shepherd-EVIMPF3SG	name-POS3SG	red	Mister.-EVIMPF3SG

(2)

O	diz-ä	yad-mišimiš	dowar	yan-in-ä.
that	plain-DAT	sleep-PPF3SG	herd	side-POS3SG-DAT

(3)

Diš	ger-er	bir	ay	baš-ī	uḡ-un-nä	bir	gin
dream	see-AOR3SG	a	moon	head-POS3SG	end-POS3SG-LOC	a	sun
äyy-i	uḡ-un-nä	bir	sari	ulluz	dä	gebäy-i	issin-nä.
foot-ACC	end-POS3SG-LOC	a	yellow	star	DA	navel-POS3SG	on.POS3SG-LOC

(4)

Häyä,	dowar-ī	vill	ed-är	o	var-ir	ged-är.
yes	herd-ACC	free	do-AOR3SG	and	existing-AOR3SG	go-AOR3SG

(5) (5-9)

Tä	bir	šah	qiz-ī	bir	vāzir	oyul-u-ynän	hāmmahdä	ol-muš
TA	a	king	daughter-POS3SG	a	vizier	son-POS3SG-INST	agreed	be-PF3SG
ki	qäč-älär,	vāhdä-läri	bu	kohnä	hamam	iči-yimiš.		
KI	flee-AOR3PL	meeting.point-POS3PL	this	old	hammam	inside.POS-COP.evppf3SG		

(6)

O	geḡä	vāzir-ä	qonay	gäl-er.
that	night	vizier-DAT	guest	come-AOR3SG

(7)

Vāzir	oyulu	ged-äbil-māz.
vizier	son-POS3SG	go-ABIL-NEG.AOR3SG

(8)

Bu	dä	ho	xäbär	yox-ī-yimiš,	ged-är	yat-är
this	DA	ITJ	news	inexisting-POS3SG-COP.IMPF	go-AOR3SG	sleep-AOR3SG
kohnä	hāmmam	ičin-ä,	aḡin-nän	yoxi-yä	dä	ged-me-yrimiš.

- old hammam inside.POS3SG-DAT hungry.POS3SG-ABL sleep-DAT DA go-NEG-COP.IMPF3SG
- (9)  
*Bir ger-er tä bir adam de-yir: älä!*  
 one see-AOR3SG TA a person say-PRS3SG ALA  
*al-ir ger-er bir xorjin pul-lur.*  
 take-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG a sac money-PRS.COP3SG
- (10) (10-14)  
*Muddät ol-ur dubärä de-yir: älä!*  
 duration become-AOR3SG again say-PRS3SG ALA  
*bir xorjin äşräfi-di, tela-di, al-ir.*  
 a sac gold.coin gold-PST3SG take-AOR3SG
- (11)  
*Muddät ol-ur ger-er de-yir: gäti.*  
 duration be-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG say-PRS3SG bring.IMP2SG
- (12)  
*Tur-ur äyy-ä ger-er tä ikki at baş-ï äl-in-nä.*  
 stand-AOR3SG foot-DAT see-AOR3SG TA two horse head-POS3SG hand-POS3SG-LOC
- (13)  
*Ikki at baş-ï äl-in-nä gäter-er o, qoy-äl-lär*  
 two horse head-POS3SG hand-POS3SG-LOC bring-AOR3SG and put-AOR-3PL  
*äyiy-läri alt-ïn-a min-il-lär o ya Ali sän-nän mädäd ged-äl-lär.*  
 foot-POS3PL under-POS3SG-DAT mount-AOR-3PL and O Ali you.SG-ABL help go-AOR-3PL
- (14)  
*Bil-me-yir ki bu bir çoban-nir, vâzir oyul-u dâyl.*  
 know-NEG-PRS3SG KI this a shepherd-PRS.COP3SG vizier son-POS3SG NEG.PRS.COP3SG
- (15) (15-19)  
*Ged-di şäfq ad-di ger-di axxey, işteba gäl-miş.*  
 go-PST3SG twilight throw-PST3SG see-PST3SG alas mistake come-PF3SG
- (16)  
*Älbätä kakabowa-sin-nän aralan-miş owqat-ï tälx-di.*  
 of.course brother.dad-POS3SG-INST separate.pass-PF3SG times-POS3SG bitter-PST3SG
- (17)  
*Fikr ed-di ki män şah qiz-ï-yäm,*  
 thought do-PST3SG KI I king daughter-POS3SG-PRS.COP1SG  
*äyä bikil-lim geri ifteza ol-l-äm.*  
 if return-PST3SG back scandal become-AOR-1SG
- (18)  
*Qiz de-di: bu män-im-inän daniş-äsiydi gil-äsiydi.*  
 girl say-PST3SG this I-GEN-INST talk-PST.NECS3SG laugh-PST.NECS3SG
- (19)  
*Yo, munu de-mä-di-m!*  
 and this.ACC tell-NEG-PST-1SG
- (20) (20-24)  
*Bur-dä isä-di ger-ä bu na-kara-di.*  
 this.space-LOC want-PST3SG see-SUBJ3SG this what-job-PST3SG
- (21)  
*Ger-di bir qowya-li çämän-li xub yer-di. Häyä, qiz deyär:*  
 see-PST3SG a qowya-BENEF grass-BENEF good place-PST3SG yes girl say-AOR3SG  
*neçčä danä arvanä-η ol-ä gätir-ä-η burä,*  
 some grain she.camel-POS2SG beome-SUBJ3SG bring-SUBJ-2SG this.place.DAT
- (22)  
*Ĵahal qiz Ĵahal oyul ol-ä-η, de-yä-η, gil-ä-η,*  
 young girl young boy become-SUBJ-2SG say-SUBJ-2SG laugh-SUBJ-2SG  
*päsin nä irlä-ş-ä irlä-ş-ä ged-ä-η.*  
 afternoon DA sing-VPL-CONV sing-VPL-CONV go-SUBJ-2SG
- (23)  
*Burdä oyul heşnä de-mä-di, heş säs ed-mä-di.*  
 this.place.ABL boy nothing.what say-NEG-PST3SG nothing sound do-NEG-PST3SG
- (24)  
*Ged-di owan-tär ger-di bir çämän-li qowya-li yer-dir.*



go-PST3SG tht.side-com see-PST3SG a grass-BENEF qowya-BENEF place-PRS.COP3SG

(25) (25-29)

*Qoyun ämjägli xub yer-dir.*  
Qoyun.amjagli good place-PRS.COP3SG

(26)

*De-di xoda-ya xoda-liy-in haqq-i-čä neččä seyer-in ol-aydi,*  
say-PST3SG God-voc God-DER-GEN right-POS3SG-EQU some cow-POS2SG be-PST.SUBJ3SG

(27)

*Ĵahal qiz Ĵahal oyul ol-a-ŋ gätir-ä-ŋ burä de-yä-ŋ irle-yä-ŋ*  
young girl young boy be-SUBJ-2SG bring-SUBJ-2SG this.place.DAT tell-SUBJ-2SG sing-SUBJ-2SG  
*päsin nä irlä-š-ä irlä-š-ä ged-ä-ŋ.*  
afternoon DA sing-VPL-CONV sing-VPL-CONV go-SUBJ-2SG

(28)

*Kiši säš ed-mä-di.*  
man sound do-NEG-PST3SG

(29)

*Ger-di gowban nä däyil.*  
see-PST3SG cowman DA is.not

(30) (30-34)

*Ged-di, ger-di čäk-mäli yer-dir, de-di neččä danä at-in*  
go-PST3SG see-PST3SG pull-DER place-PRS.COP3SG say-PST3SG some grain horse-POS2SG  
*ol-a, gäl-ä-ŋ burä neččä Ĵahal qiz Ĵahal oyul ol-a-ŋ,*  
be-SUBJ3SG come-SUBJ-2SG this.place.DAT some young girl young boy be-SUBJ-2SG  
*irlä-š-ä-ŋ de-yä-ŋ o gil-ä-ŋ pässin nä*  
sing-VPL-SUBJ-2SG day-SUBJ-2SG and laugh-SUBJ-2SG afternoon DA  
*irlä-š-ä irlä-š-ä ged-ä-ŋ.*  
sing-VPL-CONV sing-VPL-CONV go-SUBJ-2SG

(31)

*Ordän nä rät ol-ännä ger-di bir parä butta baši yo*  
that.place.ABL DA pass.be-CONV see-PST3SG a.few.part bush.head.POS3SG and  
*sari gül belä-yi zad var,*  
yellow.flower belä-KI thing existing

(32)

*De-di axxey, nä bir siri qoyin-in ol-ä gätir-ä-ŋ burä,*  
say-PST3SG ITJ what a flock sheep-POS2SG be-SUBJ3SG bring-SUBJ-2SG this.place.DAT

(33)

*Ĵahal oyul Ĵahal qiz ol-ä-ŋ, gil-ä-ŋ o irlä-š-ä-ŋ,*  
young boy young girl be-SUBJ-2SG laugh-SUBJ-2SG and sing-VPL-SUBJ-2SG  
*päsin nä dowar äyğ-i-sä ged-ä-ŋ äv-ä.*  
afternoon DA herd foot-POS3SG-with go-SUBJ-2SG home-SUBJ3SG

(34)

*Burdä de-di axxey, häy de-di-ŋ!*  
this.place.LOC say-PST3SG ITJ ITJ say-PST-2SG

(35) (35-39)

*Daha bil-li ki čoban-ni.*  
DAHA know-PST3SG KI shepherd-PST3SG

(36)

*Daha burdän ged-di.*  
DAHA this.place.ABL go-PST3SG

(37)

*Ged-di bir kän qaray-in-ä mänzil ed-di.*  
go-PST3SG a village beside-POS3SG-DAT home do-PST3SG

(38)

*Bir čäŋ pul ver-di de-di munu apar o känn-ä*  
a hand.full money give-PST3SG say-PST3SG this.ACC take.IMP2SG that village-DAT  
*bir yemäli gäti ye-yä-g.*  
a food bring.IMP2SG eat-SUBJ-1PL

(39)

*Ged-di ver-di bir turub bälğ-in-ä o*

- go-PST3SG give-PST3SG a radish leaf-POS3SG-DAT and  
soyan-ä o arpä tappi-sin-ä gätir-di  
onion-DAT and barley thick.bread-POS3SG-DAT bring-PST3SG
- (40) (40-44)  
Vur-du baş-i iç-in-ä de-di orä otu!  
strike-PST3SG head-POS3SG inside-POS3SG-DAT say-PST3SG that.place-DAT sit.IMP2SG
- (41)  
Ged-di çelowkâbab al-li gätir-di, ye-dilär o dowara min-nilär.  
go-PST3SG pilaf.and.kebab buy-PST3SG bring-PST3SG eat-PST3PL and again mount-PST3PL
- (42)  
Ged-dilär, nä iş-in var, bir iray yer-ä mänzel ed-dilär.  
go-PST3PL what work-POS2SG existing a far.away place-DAT home do-PST3PL
- (43)  
Burdä märz-dän çix-dilär ged-dilär bir daha kişvâr-ä,  
this.place.LOC border-ABL exit-PST3PL go-PST3PL a other country-DAT  
märz-e bu şah-dän çix-dilär.  
border-EZ this king-ABL exit-PST3PL
- (44)  
Bu jeyälä-yi apar-di hammam-ä, baş o qulay-in-i dizäd-di.  
this young-ACC take-PST3SG hammam-DAT head and ear-POS3SG-ACC make-PST3SG
- (45) (45-49)  
Ez-i bir neççä danä Imamqulu läyin bul-lu gätir-di.  
self-POS3SG a few grain Imamqulu.like find-PST3SG bring-PST3SG
- (46)  
Beläsin-i äqd ed-di, gälin ol-lu beläsi içi.  
ANPH3SG-ACC engagement do-PST3SG bride become-PST3SG ANPH3SG for
- (47)  
Bir qars o bargah ad-di.  
a palace and court throw-PST3SG
- (48)  
Bir jurbuğa adam-idi yä,  
a mean person-IMPF.COP3SG ITJ  
bu arvad dä inçer şahnum-e xoda.  
this woman DA seemingly angel-EZ God
- (49)  
Xub, äzangu ged-mişdi bun iss-in-ä äzan de-yirdi,  
well muezin go-PF.COP3SG roof on-POS3SG-DAT prayer.call say-IMP3SG  
de-di: allahu häf märg!  
say-PST3SG Allah seven death
- (50) (50-54)  
De-yir vaqti gez-i duş-du bu arvad-ä o qars-ä,  
say-PRS3SG when eye-POS3SG fall-PST3SG this woman-DAT and palace-DAT  
de-di allahu häf märg.  
say-PST3SG Allah seven death
- (51)  
Şah de-di tut-in gätir-in tä män  
king say-PST3SG catch-IMP2PL bring-IMP2PL TA I  
mu-nin baş-in-i vur-ä-m.  
this-GEN head-POS3SG-ACC strike-SUBJ-1SG
- (52)  
Ne allahu äkbär de-m-ir, de-yir allahu häf märg?  
why Allah.is.greater say-NEG-PRS3SG say-PRS3SG Allah seven death
- (53)  
Biz dunya-yi tazza ger-ir-äg; dunya gez-imiz-ä inni aç-ıl-ir  
we world-ACC fresh see-PRS-1PL world eye-POS1PL-DAT now open-PASS-PRS3SG  
inni de-yir allahu häf märg!  
now say-PRS3SG Allah seven death
- (54)  
Apar-dilär, de-di täsädduq ol-ä-m,  
take-PST3PL say-PST3SG honesty be-SUBJ-1SG  
burä bir qärs o bargah duş-muş,

this.place.DAT a palace and court fall-PF3SG  
*bir gälin-nir bir jüzmu adam-nir, vaxti gez-im duş-du*  
 a bride-PRS.COP3SG a mean person-PRS.COP3SG when eye-POS1SG fall-PST3SG  
*tik-im bizbiz ed-di, de-di-m allahu häf märg*  
 hair-POS1SG bizbiz do-PST3SG say-PST-1SG Allah seven death

(55) (55-59)

*Xub, de-di ged-iñ güter-iñ beläsin-i.*  
 well say-PST3SG go-IMP2PL bring-IMP2SG ANPH3SG-ACC

(56)

*Ged-dilär çoban-ï gätir-dilär.*  
 go-PST3PL shepherd-ACC bring-PST3PL

(57)

*Bir day-ïmiş, alabärzäñi day-ï.*  
 a mountain-PPF.COP3SG Alabarzangi mountain-POS3SG

(58)

*o day-ä ged-än däyin-än gäl-än-iñ*  
 that mountain-DAT go-PART visit-PART come-PART-GEN

*baş-ïn-ï alabärzäñi qaz-irmış.*  
 head-POS3SG-ACC Alabarzangi cut-EVIMPF3SG

(59)

*Alabärzäñi bir vähşi janavar-di, gäman ed-a-m şer-di.*  
 Alabarzangi a wild beast-PST3SG guess do-SUBJ-1SG lion-PST3SG

(60) (60-64)

*Alabärzäñi bir day-dä, şer-dän balaydäs-ti.*  
 Alabarzangi a mountain-LOC lion-ABL up.hand-PRS.COP3SG

(61)

*Gäl-er, gäl-ännä arvad ger-er*  
 come-AOR3SG come-CONV woman see-AOR3SG  
*qırmızı bāy owqat-ï tälx gäy-il.*  
 red mister times-POS3SG bitter come-PRS3SG

(62)

*De-miş nä-ss-iñ? de-miş heşnä.*  
 say-PF3SG what-upon-POS2SG say-PF3SG nothing.what

(63)

*De-yär felan felan ol-muş, de-yir-äm nä-ss-iñ ä?*  
 say-AOR3SG so.and.so be-PF3SG say-PRS-1SG what-upon-POS2SG EMPH

(64)

*De-miş şah beläm-nän şer sid-i ise-yir, Alabärzäñi sid-i.*  
 say-PF3SG king ANPH1SG-ABL lion milk-POS3SG want-PRS3SG Alabarzangi milk-POS3SG

(65) (65-69)

*De-miş qorx-mä, gä burä.*  
 say-PF3SG fear-NEG.IMP2SG come.IMP2SG this.place.DAT

(66)

*qarar ed-miş, de-miş ya beläm-ä şer sid-i gäti*  
 promise do-PF3SG say-PF3SG or ANPH1SG-DAT lion milk-POS3SG bring.IMP2SG

*ya arvad-iñ-ï al-l-am.*  
 or woman-POS2SG-ACC take-AOR-1SG

(67)

*äyä şer sid-i gäter-di-ñ qez-im-ï dä ver-r-äm beläñ-ä.*  
 if lion milk-POS3SG bring-PST-2SG girl-POS1SG-ACC DA give-AOR-1SG ANPH2SG-DAT

(68)

*väzer äv-en-iñ nä härnä ay o qızıl-ï var*  
 vizier home-POS3SG-GEN DA whatever white and golden-POS3SG existing

*ver-r-äm beläñ-ä.*  
 give-AOR-1SG ANPH2SG-DAT

(69)

*xob, de-di gäl burä; gäl burä qırmızı bāy.*  
 well say-PST3SG come.IMP2SG this.place.DAT come.IMP2SG this.place.DAT red Mister

(70) (70-74)

*toşa torbä ver-di de-di ged-är-äñ uña-niñ üss-ün-ä*

provisions give-PST3SG say-PST3SG go-AOR-2SG high-GEN on-POS3SG-DAT  
*ay su ged-ir su-yiñ qaray-in-ä bir beyig čenar-di.*  
 white whater go-PRS3SG water-GEN beside-POS3SG-DAT a big plane.tree-PST3SG

(71)

*čenar pušt-un-nä bir šer-di yat-miš, qeč-in-ä*  
 plane.tree behind-POS3SG-DAT a lion-PST3SG sleep-PF3SG foot-POS3SG-DAT  
*bir yarmačča bat-miš, älä ordän nal-ir.*  
 a splinter prick-PF3SG EMPH that.place.ABL groan-PRS3SG

(72)

*Yarmačča: bir šaxa bat-miš qeč-in-ä.*  
 splinter a branch prick-PF3SG foot-POS3SG-DAT

(73)

*šaxa bat-mišti häyä, älä ordä nalix-ir.*  
 branch prick-EVIMPF3SG yes EMPH that.place.DAT groan-PRS3SG

(74)

*ged-är-än ez-iñ-i vur-r-än čenar-iñ pušt-un-ä,*  
 go-AOR-2SG self-POS2SG-ACC strike-AOR-2SG plane.tree-GEN back-POS3SG-DAT  
*växti kin xub näfäs-iñ-i al-l-iñ tut-är-än yarmaččä-dän*  
 when KI well breath-POS2SG-ACC take-PST-2SG catch-AOR-2SG splinter-ABL  
*čäk-är-än, ez-iñ-i genä vur-r-än čenar-iñ pušt-un-ä.*  
 pull-AOR-2SG self-2SG-ACC again hit-AOR-2SG plane.tree-GEN behind-POS3SG-DAT

(75) (75-79)

*onnä šer yala-r o yala-r hal-in-ä gäl-er,*  
 that.LOC lion lick-AOR3SG and lick-AOR3SG state-POS3SG-DAT come-AOR3SG  
*onnä dil-ä gäl-er.*  
 that.ABL tongue-DAT come-AOR3SG

(76)

*onnä tur-r-än äyğ-ä salam ver-r-än de-yär-än bäle*  
 that.LOC stand-AOR-2SG foot-DAT hello give-AOR-2SG say-AOR-2SG yes  
*män gäl-miš-äm sid iči, šer sid-i iči.*  
 I come-PF-1SG milk for lion milk-POS3SG for

(77)

*ged-är o ordä yarmačča-yi čax-ard-ir o šer yala-r o*  
 go-AOR3SG and there.LOC splinter-ACC exit-CAUS-AOR3SG and lion lick-AOR3SG and  
*huš-un-ä gäl-er o dil-ä gäl-er o de-yär*  
 intelligence-POS3SG-DAT come-AOR3SG and tongue-DAT come-AOR3SG and say-AOR3SG  
*män šer sid-i ise-yir-äm.*  
 I lion milk-POS3SG want-PRS-1SG

(78)

*šer nääre čäk-är härnä šer var-imiš gäl-er.*  
 lion roaring pull-AOR3SG whatever lion existing-PPF3SG come-AOR3SG

(79)

*ikki-sin-i el-ler-el-lär, gärdängulu sek-äl-lär.*  
 two-POS3SG-ACC die-CAUS-AOR-3PL neck.throat tear-AOR-3PL

(80) (80-84)

*onnä šer-lär-iñ baqqi-sin-i dan ed-äl-lär say-al-lär,*  
 that.LOC lion-PL-GEN rest-POS3-ACC line.up do-AOR-3PL milk-AOR-3PL  
*dol-lur-ur ayz-in-i dä baylä-l-lär.*  
 fill-CAUS-AOR3SG mouth-POS3-ACC DA tie-AOR-3PL

(81)

*šer-läriñ biri-sin-i dä owsarlä-l-lär at-äl-lär iss-in-ä*  
 lion-GEN3PL one.of-POS3-ACC DA bridle-AOR-3PL throw-AOR-3PL on-POS3-DAT  
*qirmizi bāy-i dä min-nir-il-lär.*  
 red Mister-ACC DA mount-CAUS-AOR-3PL

(82)

*de-yär inni var ged.*  
 say-AOR3SG now existin.IMP2SG go.IMP2SG

(83)

*gäl-er, bil-mer-äm daha inni neččä gejšä ol-muš,*  
 come-AOR3SG know-NEG-1SG other now how.many night be-PF3SG  
*gäl-er, sid güter-miš šer dä güter-miš.*

come-AOR3SG milk bring-PF3SG lion DA bring-PF3SG

(84)

*älä min-ig-li ged-är şah huzur-un-ä.*  
ala mount-DER-BENEF go-AOR3SG king presence-POS3-DAT

(85) (85-89)

*Şah ki munu ger-er de-yär bääle beläyin adam älä biz-im*  
king KI this.ACC see-AOR3SG say-AOR3SG yes such person EMPH we-GEN  
*lazim-imiz-dir şayestä-di, qız-im-i dä ver-r-äm beläsin-ä.*  
necessary-POS1 PL-PRS.COP3SG deserved-PRS.COP3SG daughter-POS1SG DA give-AOR3SG ANPH.3SG-DAT

(86)

*Üç gejä ginniz toy ed-är,*  
three night day wedding do-AOR3SG  
*qız-i-ni dä ver-är älä bu qırmızı bāy-ä.*  
daughter-POS3SG-ACC DA give-AOR3SG EMPH this red Mister-DAT

(87)

*Inni ikki sultan qız-i al-ir.*  
now two sultan daughter-ACC take-AOR3SG

(88)

*Väzer-in nä härnä ay o qızıl var-iymiş*  
vizier-GEN DA whatever white and golden existing-EVIMP.COP3SG  
*gäter-er tek-är älä munin äl-in-ä.*  
bring-AOR3SG pour-AOR3SG EMPH this.GEN hand-POS3SG-DAT

(89)

*Bu gäç-är, o ävvälki arvad-dän bir oyul gir-in-ä gäler.*  
this pass-AOR3SG and first.KI wife-ABL a son hook-POS3SG-DAT come-AOR3SG

(90) (90-94)

*Bir gin-i arväd baş-in-a bāx-irmiş, beyig ärväd,*  
one day-INDEF woman head-POS3-DAT look-EVIMPF3SG big woman  
*kuçik ärväd dä lifä-sin-ä, älä kummuja*  
small woman DA waist-POS3-DAT EMPH little  
*oyul lä gebäy-i iss-in-ä gāz-irmiş.*  
son DA navel-POS3SG on-POS3-DAT walk-EVIMP3SG

(91)

*gül-ür, gül-ännä beyig ärväd de-yär be nämänä-yä güy-län?*  
laugh-AOR3SG laugh-CONV elder woman say-AOR3SG QW what-DAT laugh-PRS2SG  
*de-miş heç, bir seyiş ver-er.*  
say-PF3SG nothing one curse give-AOR3SG

(92)

*deyär onnä ki män gällim yätüm kohnä hāmām içinä,*  
say-AOR3SG that.LOC KI I come-PST1SG sleep-PST1SG old hammam inside.DAT

(93)

*onnä män diş ger-mişdi-m gün baş-im uş-un-nä,*  
that.LOC I dream see-PPF-1SG sun head-POS1SG above-POS3-LOC  
*ay äyy-im uş-un-nä, sārī ulduz dä gebäy-im iss-in-nä.*  
moon foot-POS1SG above-POS3SG-LOC yellow star DA navel-POS1SG on-POS3-LOC

(94)

*inni ki fikr ed-ir-äm älä bu kummuja uşay-dir.*  
now KI thought do-PRS-1SG EMPH this little child-PRS.COP3SG

(95)

*bäle, diş-i tääbir ol-muş.*  
yes dream-POS3SG interpretation be-PF3SG

#### 14.1.4. Folktale 4: Káččäl ‘The Bald’

*This folktale was told by Belqeys Jahângiri, around 90-years-old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, in the Qashqai-speaking village Khordeh-dareh, on the 6<sup>th</sup> January 2007.*

(1-4) Bu káččäliñ birisi yayış yayırdı räxtini çaxarddı qodu bir daş issinä, oturdu issinä. Bir şeytan julowunnän gälli, dedi káččäl ne yayıştä räxtiñ qurrudur? Dedi sän bir zad ergäd mänä tä män nä bir sänä ergädäm. Dedi nāmānā ergädärän mänä?

(5-9) Nā iş eserän gerän ? Dedi eseräm gedäm biriniñ bir on eşşäg varı oynunnurām. Dedi eşşäyi gätirrän kāmānn issinä deyärän : *bassam ke bassam*.<sup>53</sup> Här väx tä eserän açāñ, de : *man vâ kerdam to ham vâ kon*, açılır gedär. Inni mänä ergäd.

(10-14) Dedi män nä deyiräm sän räxtiñi çaxardärän qoyärän yayışlär yaşlı daş issinä harvax tä yayış aştı çaxardärän geyärän tä räxtiñ qurruyä. Dedi: axxey, káččäl belämi alladdıñ. Xob, vardi geddi káččäl. Bir yerdä biri äzzyät eddi beläsinä, dedi: *bassam ke bassam*, tutdu. Bir toyudu, káččäli aparmädilär toyä.

15-19) Deyir gälin gätirirdi, atlı çapışirdi, gälin at issinnäydi, káččäl dedi: “*bassam ke bassam*”, daha enäbilmädilär aşşayı, älä ordä qallılär. Birisi dedi oy káččäl, sän azzadän, ged otaya bir qärri deyillär udum varı, ged gäti geräm bu xälx täh giriftardı. Gedär, bir qärriymiş, çaydän gäçirder. Burdä äyiler su içä bir qaryä gäler qonur kinninä. Deyär: *bassam ke bassam*!

20-24) Deyär xub, varı älä bu káččäl başı altinnä. Deyär bilmiräm felanı käs qizini alıñ verin belämä tä män açäm. Onnä deyär : *man vâ kerdam, to ham va kon*. Onnä xälx täh muräxäs olur. Bu dä káččäl.

##### 14.1.4.1. Folktale 4: translation

(1-4) A bald man, [when] it was raining, removed his clothes and put them on a stone and sat on it. A demon happened to him and said: bald one, why are your clothes dry in the rain? He said: teach me something in order that I, too, teach you something. The bald man said: what will you teach me?

(5-9). What do you want to do? He said: someone has some ten donkeys, I want to go steal them. It said, bring donkeys on a trap (*kamand*) and say: I tied it up! I tied it up! And whenever you want to release them, say: I opened it, you open it too! They will leave. Now, you teach me [something]!

(10-14) He said: and I am telling you: put off your clothes, and when it rains, place them on a wet stone and when the rain stops put them on again in order that they dry. It said: oh bald one, you cheated me! Then, the bald one went away. Somewhere, someone harassed him, he said: I tied it up! [In so saying,] he captured him. There was a wedding; they did not take the bald man to the ceremony.

(15-19) It is said that they were bringing a bride, the horsemen were galloping, and the bride was on a horse, the bald man said: I tied it up! Then, they could not dismount [the horses] anymore and remained up there. Someone said: bald man, you are free, go to the other side, they say there is an old woman having magic power, go and bring her because these people all are in trouble. He went, there was an old woman, he made her cross the river. Here, she bent forward to drink water, a crow landed on her buttocks. He said: I tied it up!

(20-24) They realized that these [troubles] were all due to this bald man. He said: give me the daughter of mister somebody in order that I release [all these immobile people]. Then he said: I opened it, you also open it! At this point, all the fixed people were released. So was [the story of] the bald man.

<sup>53</sup> A sentence uttered in colloquial Persian. This kind of code-switching, despite looking like a stylistic technic of narration, may be an evidence of non-Qashqai origin of this folktale (see also the sentence 8).

#### 14.1.4.2. Folktale 4, glossed text

(1) (1-4)

Bu *käččäl-in* *birisi* *yayış* *yay-irdi*  
 this bald-GEN one.POS.POS3SG rain rain-IMPF3SG  
*räxt-in-i* *çaxard-di* *qo-du* *bir* *daş* *issin-ä*,  
 clothes-POS3SG-ACC exit.CAUS-PST3SG put-PST3SG a stone on.POS3SG-DAT  
*otur-du* *issin-ä*.  
 sit-PST3SG on.POS3SG-DAT

(2)

*bir* *şeytan* *julow-un-nän* *gäl-li* *de-di* *käččäl*  
 a Satan before-POS3SG-ABL come-PST3SG say-PST3SG bald  
*ne* *yayış-tä* *räxt-in* *qurru-dur?*  
 why rain-LOC clothes-POS2SG dried-PRS.COP3SG

(3)

*De-di* *sän* *bir* *zad* *ergäd* *män-ä*  
 say-PST3SG you.SG a thing teach.IMP2SG I-DAT  
*tä* *män* *nä* *bir* *sän-ä* *ergäd-ä-m*.  
 ta I DA a you-DAT teach-SUBJ-1SG

(4)

*de-di* *nämänä* *ergäd-är-än* *män-ä?*  
 say-PST3SG what teach-AOR3SG-2SG I-DAT

(5) (5-9)

*Nä* *iş* *eser-än* *ger-ä-η?*  
 what work want-PRS2SG see-SUBJ-2SG

(6)

*de-di* *eser-äm* *ged-ä-m*  
 say-PST3SG want-PRS1SG go-SUBJ-1SG  
*biri-nin* *bir* *on* *eşşäg* *var-ı* *oğun-nur-ä-m*.  
 one.POS3SG-GEN a ten donkey existing-POS3SG turn-CAUS-SUBJ-1SG

(7)

*de-di* *eşşä-yi* *gätir-r-än* *kämänn* *issin-ä* *de-yär-än:*  
 say-PST3SG donkey-ACC bring-AOR-2SG lasso upon.POS3SG-DAT say-AOR-2SG  
*bass-am* *ke* *bass-am*.  
 tie.radII-1SG ke tie.radII-1SG

(8)

*här* *väx* *tä* *eser-än* *aç-ä-η* *de:* *man* *vâ* *kerd-am*  
 every time TA want-2SG open-SUBJ-2SG say I open do.RADII-1SG  
*to* *ham* *vâ* *kon,* *aç-ıl-ır* *ged-är.*  
 you.SG also open do.IMP2SG open-PASS-AOR3SG go-AOR3SG

(9)

*Inni* *män-ä* *ergäd.*  
 now I-DAT teach.IMP2SG

(10) (10-14)

*De-di* *män* *nä* *de-yir-äm* *sän* *räxt-in-i* *çax-ard-är-än*  
 say-PST3SG I DA say-PRS-1SG you.SG clothes-POS2SG-ACC exit-CAUS-AOR-2SG  
*qoy-är-än* *yayış-lär* *yaşli* *daş* *issin-ä,* *harvax* *tä* *yayış* *aş-ti*  
 put-AOR-2SG rain-PL rainy stone on.POS3SG-DAT everytime TA rain open-PST3SG  
*çax-ard-är-än* *gey-är-än* *tä* *räxt-in* *qurru-yä.*  
 exit-CAUS-AOR-2SG put.on-AOR-2SG TA clothes-POS2SG dry-SUBJ3SG

(11)

*De-di:* *axxey,* *käččäl* *beläm-i* *allad-di-η.*  
 say-PST3SG ouch bald ANPH1SG-ACC cheat.pas-PST-2SG

(12)

*Xob,* *var-di* *ged-di* *käččäl.*  
 well existing-PST3SG go-PST3SG bald

(13)

*Bir* *yer-dä* *biri* *äzziyät* *ed-di* *beläsin-ä,* *de-di:*  
 a place-LOC someone.POS3SG bothering do-PST3SG ANPH3SG-DAT say-PST3SG  
*bass-am* *ke* *bass-am,* *tut-du.*  
 tie.radII-1SG KE tie.radII-1SG take-PST3SG

- (14)  
 Bir toy-udu, káččäl-i apar-mä-dilär toy-ä.  
 a wedding-IMPF.COP bald-ACC take-NEG-PST3PL wedding-DAT
- (15) (15-19)  
 De-yir gälin gätir-irdi, atli čap-iš-irdi, gälin at issin-nä-ydi,  
 say-AOR3SG bride bring-IMPF3SG horseman galop-REF-IMPF3SG bride horse on.POS-LOC-IMPF.COP  
 káččäl de-di: “bass-am ke bass-am”, daha en-äbil-mä-dilär aššayï,  
 bald say-PST3SG tie.radII-1SG KE tie.radII-1SG DAHA get.off-ABIL-NEG-PST3PL below  
 älä ordä qal-lilär.  
 EMPH there.LOC remain-PST3PL
- (16)  
 Birisi de-di oy káččäl, sän azzad-än, ged o-tay-a  
 someone.POS3SG say-PST3SG oh bald you.SG free-PRS.COP2SG go.IMP2SG that-pair-DAT  
 bir qärri de-yillär udum var-ï, ged gäti ger-ä-m  
 a old.woman say-PRS3PL magic.power existing-POS3SG go.IMP2SG bring.IMP2SG see-SUBJ-1SG  
 bu xälx täh giriftar-dï.  
 this people all caught-PST3SG
- (17)  
 Ged-är, bir qärri-ymiš, čay-dän gäč-ird-er.  
 go-AOR3SG a old.woman-PF.COP3SG river-ABL cross-CAUS-AOR3SG
- (18)  
 Burdä äyil-er su ič-ä  
 here.LOC bend-AOR3SG water drink-SUBJ3SG  
 bir qaryä gäl-er qon-ur kinn-in-ä.  
 a crow come-AOR3SG land-AOR3SG buttock-POS3SG-DAT
- (19)  
 De-yär: bass-am ke bass-am!  
 say-AOR3SG tie.radII-1SG KI tie.radII-1SG
- (20) (20-24)  
 De-yär xub, vari älä bu káččäl baš-ï altin-nä.  
 say-AOR3SG well all EMPH this bald head-POS3SG under.POS3SG-LOC
- (21)  
 De-yär bil-mi-r-äm felanikäs qiz-in-ï al-ïñ  
 say-AOR3SG know-NEG-PRS-1SG so.and.so daughter-POS-ACC take-IMP2PL  
 ver-in beläm-ä tä män aç-ä-m.  
 give-IMP2PL ANPH1SG-DAT TA I open-SUBJ-1SG
- (22)  
 Onnä de-yär man vâ kerd-am, to ham vâ kon.  
 then say-AOR3SG I open do-1SG you.SG also open do.IMP2SG
- (23)  
 Onnä xälx täh muräxäs ol-ur.  
 then people whole free become-AOR3SG
- (24)  
 Bu dä káččäl.  
 this DA bald

#### 14.1.5. Folktale 5: Aysaq Jeyran ‘The Lame Gazelle’

*This folktale was told by Malak-Simâ Dolatkhah, 60 year old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, in the mostly Persian-speaking village Mobârak-Âbâd, on the 7<sup>th</sup> January 2007.*

(1-4). Bir kišiyimış arvadiynan o ikki uşayıynan bir qara biyabanıñ qarayınna zendeganlıg edirmiş. Belä bir pes adamımış dä. Ävvälki arvadi dä elmişimiş, älä o uşaylärin nänäsi. Bir gin bu kişi gedmişimiş biyabana bilmeräm nä iş gerä, şayäd odun iyä, yol qarayınna gezi duşär bir qumligä.

(5-9). Bir belä rän o varän qum varımış, xoşu gäler, deyär munlärden aparam uşaylär içi. Ävä etişännä qumläri jebinnän çaxadär gerer tä häyä, varisi buydädi, xoşal olur. Saba sähär neččä torbä iglär eššayinä. Arvad deyär hara gedirän? deyär gediräm buydä bulmuşam igläyäm gätiräm. Gedär gedär etişär älä o qumligä.



(10-14). Torbälärini dollurur, eseyrmiş ayzini bayläyä, gerer tä iblig yoxu, gäzär iblig bulä. Bir çuqqur içinnä ibligiñ birisini bulur o geterer gälä, gerer uzunnur o härnä čakir tikänmeyr. Älä neçčä äršin ki čakär gerer etişir bir quyıya, häyä, tähinnä dä bir divdi. Div aşıylanmış çixär yazıya ki: adamizad burdä nä iş geyir? bir iş başına gäteräm ki beyig tikkäsi qulayı ola. Kişi qorxudan titiräyä titiräyä deyär, eltemas edär, deyär: qurbanıñ ollum mäni bayışla.

(15-19). Inni divaki dä bayışlämeyr, esseyr onu ellirä. Kişi deyär : säne allah männän işiñ olmäsin, män arvad-uşay varım, aşı o suyızdılar. Div deyär: bir şartınan, geräg qızıñı verän mänä. Deyär: sän bir divän, mänim qızım sänä gälmäz. Deyär yow, begejä gälläm onu apardäm.

(20-24). Deyär: be olur ki män qızımä deyäm ged divä? Demiş: geräg alladän beläsin. Män bir ay eşşäg ollam şam gälläm tänäfiñä sertinnäm, qızakına de gälä mäni yanı bu eşşäyi räd edä, onnä tutäm getiräm gedäm. Ama xub qulayläriñi aç, äyär älä bu ke dedim edmeyän vä qızı yollameyän saba sähär gini germän. Här yerdä olan, dubanay ollam gäläräm äviñi, arvaduşayıñı, eziñi getirrä, adosanıñı beynän aparram.

(25-29). Qez bir kaka dä varıymış, ezinnän küçiktärimiş. Nänä yoxuymuş, nänäläri elmişmiş. Bowalari bir daha arvad almişmiş, bu zänbowa dä onlardän yamanı gälirmiş, onläri sämirmiş. Xob, kişiyäki gäler o arvadiynän, şam yatmışımı, şowr o kowr edillärimiş. Bu qez dä, kakasıynän yadmışımı, eşidär.

(30-34). Div dä gäler hemmelär. Gejä gerellär bir zad gälmiş hemmeleyr o tänäfä älä belä sertinir. Deyär bowa tur äyyä ged o eşşäyi räd ed. Deyär män o gäpi ki siz dedinüz eşiddim, sizdän yeytär billim, män gedmiräm”, gedmämiş. O dä bikilmiş geri yo varmış gedmiş, divaki, häyä.

(35-39). Kişi demiş arvad niş edäg? Demiş billän niş edäg? Säharä sarı tä qäräñi var turäg bu qez haniz yoxuda keçäg gedäg; tä qez qala yo div gälä apara. Säharä sarı gejadän haniz bir yoxu var keçällär. O qez sähär gin çalmämiş turur gerer yoxuda qalmış, kakasıynan.

(40-44). Bowanänä keçmiş varmış gedmiş. Qızaki turur, kakayı dä çayırir deyär niş edäg? Gerellär, häyä, bir tikkä dällä o bir siniq çaqqı yo bir kälä käsär o beläyi zad qalmış, munnärdän iyıştirellär. Bu zadläri deyir diviñ julownä atillär batir qičina, tä div gäyil onu yalaya xub ola adam ara açir. Daha, yolä duşällär, hara gedälär? biyabanımı, baş qoyällär biyabanä.

(45-49). Div dä ho onlarıñ issinnän geridän gälirmiş. Munlär dä häy bu zadlärdän atällär o häy batär div qičinä yo tä turä yalaya onnä ara açallar. Tä etişällär bir çaya; belä beyig çayımış dä. Bu çay julowläriñnä, gerer tä divaki etişir, qez gerer tä gäçä bilmellär, bir oxşar, deyär: çayım yat o çayım yat, çayaki xamuş olur. Munnär vaxti attiläyännä genä qowzanär.

(50-54). Häyä, çayım joş o çayım joş, oxşallar. Daha divaki gäler, çaydan gäçä bilmäz, deyär: hoy uşaylar siz näyin gäçdiniz? Qez deyär: “o ay beyg daşı geyirän?” bu çayın gum yerinnä bir tikkä käfimiş onu gersäder. Häyä, qezaki kehräymiş nä, alladirmiş divi. Deyär: attıla o daş issinä ordan bari daha su dizänčä artıq gälmir.

(55-59). Div dä ki deyir tez allanir, gişi çoxdu väli kehrälig yoxu. Yo, attılar o daş issinä, älä o olur ki batär. Çay beläyimiş, derd adam boyu su gälirmiş. Bu dä div, izä dä ho bilmeyrmiş, saqqat olur. Div beläyin olur o bu kaka-başı gedällär.

(60-64). Gedär o gedär o gedär, bir çoban gerellär. Inni daha suyuzumuşlar, deyällär: su biliräniz hardä var? Deyär: gedäräniz o yallärdän oyizä bir çeşmädi, älizini yuyın väli olmeyä munnän içäniz, bu daylar janavarı yo käfälär jeyranı suyudu. Här käs munnän içä olur aysaq jeyran duşar day o däreäyä. Bir beş däreä yo ikki çätenlig owantär adamizad çeşmäsi, onnan härnä içäniz içmişäniz.

(65-69). Häyä, munlär gedällär, etişällär ävvälki çeşmäyä, älizläriñi yuyallar, içmäzlär. Gedär owantär, bu kakanıñ dili ayaş täyin qurru, suyuzdan daha yol gedä bilmeyrmiş. Deyär “häy başım

berkim qalmış çeşmə issinnä gedäm gäteräm”; yarı bikilä geri sudän içä. Qez deyär aziz kakam olmeyä o sudän içän! Deyär qorxmäl

(70-74). Denär, gäler baş qoyar bu sudän içär; älä ordä ki içär olur aysaq jeyran. Qezakı dä ordä yol gezleyr ki kaka gälä. Baxar baxar birdän gerer tä bir jeyran gälir, häyä bir qičinnän nä aysaydı. Häy ävim yannı, qäçär jeyrana sarı. Deyär ay aziz kakam, be demädım o sudän içmä?

(75-79). Aylar, gezlärinnän yaş tekär. Oxşär, daha nä oxşeyrmiş, vallä bilmiräm. Gerer tä, yo faydä yoxu, kaka älä o kakadı: danişir, bilir, ayleyir, gilir, väli olmuş aysaq jeyran. Gedällär, tä etişällär owankı çeşmeyä, adamlär çeşməsinä, munı başınna dä bir beyig uzun gey deräxtimiş. Suyuzumuşlar, su içällär, yornayımışlar, älä bu deräxt kelgäsinä uzanallar.

(80-89). Yoxu aparır belälärini. Qez diş gerer kakası bikilmiş adam şeklinä yo xoşallığınan turur äyyä, baxär gerer tä yo, aysaq jeyran yox. Bilirmiş ki kakası onu çox iseyr. Deyär hätmän gedmiş bir yerä yayıla, män gedäm bu deräxt başına, o dä gälär geri. Qezakı varır gedär o deräxtin başına.

(85-89). Bu dä bäddäx qorxırmış daha, ki birdän birisi gälä, div gälä, pes içi-bixçi adam gälä, gedirmiş deräxt başına. Çox qäşän qizimiş ä, ki mäsälän şo’lä duşırmış bu çeşmeyä. Kakası dä gedirmiş owan bowanä yayılmış şam nä gälirmiş yatırmış deräxtin dibinä. Başısına dä inni härnä başara bula, yemäli gätiyirmiş.

(90-94). Munu bu suya gälänlär, munlär gälällär at sowaralar, gerällär bu at hırkişir, äslä suya gälmeyr, hırkır vuyır otay buttaya. Yo, häy-hä, häy-hä, häy, qizi gerellär; härnä oxşallar gälmäz kottä. Qez bu qärib yerin adamınnan qorxırmış. Häyä, bu mäsäl çox tulanıdır. Tä bir qärri varımış, qärriyakına deyällär: qärri, sän başardän bu qizi gäterän kottä?

(95-99). Demiş häyä; qulayım ayırıça ardıbulay verin yeyäm gäterräm kottä. Ardıbulaq çox geranımiş, girä dä gälmeyrmiş. Deyällär olsun; deyär män gedäram deräxt altına çeşmä qaraqına oturram, patili qoyaram oğaya su issidäm başımı yuyam. Amadä dä atlı turmuşumuş ä, şah oyulu içi. Deyär siz iraya turin, män oturram bu patili kup qoyaram, yarı gezim germir, qez gälär mänä kemäk edä, inä-ibliginän läbasini tikäram ezimkinä, onnä sizä , tit dulayıynan älamät veräram etişin.

(100-104). Bu ki deyillär patil getinä su tekän, älä onnän qalmış. Yo, qärriyakı älä burdä äläkki patil getinä su tekir; yarı gezim germir. Deyirmiş: häy qärri nänä, qärri nänä, patilini ras qoy äyri qomä, qezakı deyirmiş. Deyirmiş: bābām, män gezim germir, gä kottä munu ras ed, diz ed! Qez qärri içi irayı yarı o deräxtän enär gäler patili diz edä qärri içi dollura.

(105-109). Qez burdä ot edär o payläynän su tekär patıla, qärriyakı dä tez tez qizın läbasini tikär ezinişkinä. Birdän bir quşaq saman tekär ot issinä yo, saman nä ki tit edir, dulay gedär geyä. Atlı dä ki muntäzer turmuş, dulayı gerännä etişällär. Qez deyär: deräxtim äyil ki duşmän gälli, deräxt dä äyiler. Qez harakät edär gedä uxarı deräxt başına, läbası väli tikilidi qärrininkinä, deräxtän gedä bilmäz uxarı.

(110-114). Daha qizakini tutallar, onu aparıllar o toy edällär o qoyallar girdäyä. Aysay kaka dä nişä olmuş, älä gejä gäyilmiş häy munin girdäynin balı issinä yatırmış genä sähär gedirmiş, bäddäx. Bu şah oyulunnan nä uşaylı olmuşumuş, älä bu qizakı. Daha burdä vallä bilmeräm o näyin olmuş, tä yadıma gälä. Häyä, deyir bu şah oyulunnä dä bir dädä varımış, bu kächälimiş.

(115-119). Bu dä aşşiyimiş ilärtärdän şah oyuluna, gerär tä bu şah oyulu dä ki ävlänmiş. Bu qizın peykinnäymiş ki här tähr olmuş munin başini qata su altına; häsudumuş daha. Älä peykinnäymiş o gedmişlärimiş su issinä läbas yuyälär. Gedällär nişä edällär, bu dä uşaylıymiş, gedällär bir quyu issinä, esermiş munu beynnän apara. Xub, bir puşän atar quyu issinä.

(120-124). Ona deyär sän läbasini çaxad ver biz yuag ged otur ora o puşan issinä. Bu gedär otura gedär kottä; duşar quyuya. Älä o dädä bu işi germişmiş ä. Oniñ läbasini dä geyär bu káččäl dädä; bir qablamä dä baylar qarnına yanı ki uşaylıdı. Gedällär geri, gedär girdäyinä qez yerinä oturur.

(125-129). Gejä ki oyul gäyilmiş yanına deyirmiş başini qoy deşim issinä! qızakı qomeyrmış, bahanä gätıyirmış. Tä şah oyulu bir gejä gerer bu káččalli, deyär ne belädi? Deyär häyä mänim başım beläyidir o aysay jeyran äti deyillär yeyän tik geyärer. Dästur verer aysay jeyrani tutälär ellerälär verälär bu yeyä tä bu tikä gälä. Onlär ho xəbär yoxıymış aysay jeyran o arvadın kakasidir ki, o dä ho quyu içinnäymiş.

(130-134). Bu jeyranakı ginnä gedirmiş älä başı uju quyu issinä älä çeräg o yemäli içmäli aparırmış atırmış ki aĵınan elmeyä, baĵisi yo oniñ uşayı. Munu demädım, uşayı älä o çah içinnä dunyaya gäterer, gälinakı. Burdä dä ki bu aysay jeyran bilir peykinnädilär ellerälär, gedirmiş bäddäx älä ora baş qoyırmış quyu ayzına oxşeyrmış. Deyirmış: “dädili ĵan, dädili ĵan, itti biçaq itilli, qanıñ tästä tutullu”. Irleyrmış ki bu baĵisi bilä.

(135-139). Bu şah oyulu dä mirşikalini yollär bir-ikki adamınan oniñ qulunjunä. Mirşikal gedär o gerer tä bu jeyranakı gedir ordä su yäinnä bir quyu var, gedir orä häy towlanir o ordän iray olmeyir. Bu dä bir belä xub adamımış ä, şikal tanıyanımış dä, bilirmış här işdä bir hesab var; jeyrani vurmäz. Gedär quyu başına, gerer tä bu qara quyunıñ içinnän bir işşiq çixir. Çayırär: burdä kim var?

(140-144). Säs çixär ki, häyä bir ĵahal arvad säsi, deyär: mäni burdän çaxadın tä deyäm kimäm. Daha burdän qızı çaxadällär. Gerellär häyä, bu älä o qızakıdı. Deyär näyin olmuşumuş? Varı zadı deyär.

(145-149). Káččäl arvadı niĵä edällär? Uč gin at o qäter aĵ o suyuz qoyallar. Onna oniñ bir qıçini baylallar aĵ ata bir qıçini dä suyız qäterä; o owana çäkär bu bowana arvad aralanır ortadan, beläyin edällär. Qez dä ki inni daha bir uşaq dä quĵayınna oturur şah oyuluynän qäsr içinä, zendeganlıg edär. Häyä, bu dä beläki, tāmam ollu.

#### **14.1.5.1. Folktale 5: translation**

(1-4). There was a man [who] lived with his wife and his two children beside a black desert. He was such a bad man. His first wife had died, the mother of those very children. One day this man had gone to the desert, I don't know to do what, maybe to collect firewood, he saw a sandy place next to the road.

(5-9). There where such colorful sands, he liked them and said: I take from these [sands] for the children. Once arrived home, he took out the sands from his pockets, and to his surprise, he noticed that they were all grains of wheat; he became happy. The next day, he loaded his donkey with a few bags. His wife said: where are you going? He said: I am going to bring the wheat I have found. He went and arrived to that sandy place.

(10-14). He filled his bags, wanted to close them, and noticed that he did not have thread, he looked for a thread. In a pit he found a thread, he took it and began to return, he saw that it was long, and however much he pulled, it did not finish. After he had pulled the thread a few feet, he saw that it came from a well, in the bottom of which there was a demon. The demon, being angry, came out [of the well and said]: what does he do here, the human being? From what I am going to do to him, the biggest piece of his body will be his ears. Trembling of fear, the man said, he begged: May I be your sacrificed, forgive me!

(15-19). Now, the demon does not forgive him, he wants to kill him. The man said: For God's sake, do me no harm! I have a family, they are thirsty and hungry. The demon said: as a condition, you must give me your daughter. He said: you are a demon, my daughter will not come to you [marry you]. It said: no; tonight, I will come take her.

(20-24). He said: would it be possible that I tell my daughter to get married with a demon? It said: You must play her away. I will disguise myself in a white donkey and will come tonight to rub the rope of your tent, you tell your daughter to come drive me away, say, to push away that donkey, then I will catch and take her and will go away again. But open your ears well, if you do not do exactly what I said and if you do not send the girl, you will

not see the sun tomorrow morning. Wherever you would be, I will become a whirlwind and will come to your house, I will take you and your family, and will abolish all traces of your life.

(25-29). The girl had a brother, he was younger than her. She had no mother, their mother was dead. Their father had taken another wife, and this stepmother hated them, she did not want them. Well, the man returned, and the night, once in the bed, he talked [on the issue], with his wife. The girl, in the bed with his brother, heard [that].

(30-34). And the demon came and growled. At night, they noticed that there was something that was making noise and was rubbing the rope of the tent. He said: my daughter, get up and drive away that donkey! She said: I heard the words you told; I understood better than you did; I do not go; she did not go. As for the demon, it turned back and left.

(35-39). The man said: wife, what should we do? She said: you know what we should do. Early morning, when it is still dark and the girl is still asleep, we should get up and move, in order that the girl remain here and the demon take her when it returns. Early morning, when there was still a part of the night, they moved. The girl got up in the morning before the sunrise and saw that she had remained asleep with her brother.

(40-44). The parents had moved and were gone. The girl got up and awoke the brother and said: what should we do? They noticed that there were left a piece of tin, a broken knife, a damaged adze, and things alike, they collected a few of them. These things, they say, if you throw them on the path of a demon, they get stuck in its foot, and while it is busy licking itself to recover, you take the distance. So, they set off. Where did they go? There was a desert, they headed towards the desert.

(45-49). As for the demon, it kept following them after their smell. And the children threw some of [the collected] things on the way and the demon's feet were hurt, and while he stopped to lick them, they rolled away. Until they reached a river; it was so broad that river. The river before them, she saw the demon reaching them; the girl realized that they could not escape; thus she sang: my river, be calm! my river be calm; then the river subsided. After they had jumped, the river began to flow.

(50-54). Yes, my river run, my river run, they sang [again]! And the demon arrived, he could not cross the river; it said: oh children! how did you cross [the river]? The girl said: do you see that white big stone over there? On this river, there was a patch of white foam; she showed it. Yes, the girl was smart; she tricked the demon. She said: jump on that stone, after that [point], the water mounts only to the knees.

(55-59). They say that demon is easily deceived; it has a lot of strength, but no ingenuity. Then it jumped on that stone, and it sank. The river was like this: there was water the height of four persons. So was [the destiny of] the demon; it could not even swim, it perished. So finished the demon, and the sister and her brother kept going.

(60-64). They went, went, and went, until they saw a shepherd. Now they were thirsty, they said: do you know where there is some water? He said: after those hills over there, you will find a spring; wash your hands and faces, but do not drink from this spring, it is reserved for animals of mountains and gazelles of plains. The one who drinks from this spring will become a lame gazelle and will stray in the mountains and valleys. Some five valleys and two groves away, there is a spring for humans, from that one, you can drink as much as you want.

(65-69). Yes, they went and arrived at the first spring, they washed their hands and faces, they did not drink. They went further; the brother was so thirsty that his tongue being as dry as a piece of wood, he could no longer walk because of thirst. He said: Oh my sister, I have left my hat near the spring, let me go back and bring it. Actually, he wanted to go back and drink some water. The girl said: My dear brother, just remember not to drink from that water. He said: Do not be afraid!

(70-74). He returned and began to drink from that water, and as soon as he drank, he became a lame gazelle. As for the girl, she kept watching the road and waiting for her brother to return. She kept watching, and suddenly she saw a gazelle who was limping with one leg. Ouch, woe to woe! She ran towards the gazelle. She said: My dear brother, haven't I told you not drink from that water?

(75-79). She wept, burst into tears. She sang; what did she sing? Actually, I do not know. She came to know that it was useless [she cried in vain], the brother was her brother: he spoke, he understood, he wept, he laughed, but he had become a lame gazelle. They went further, until they arrived at the other spring, the spring reserved for humans, besides of which was there a big and tall green tree. They were thirsty, they drank; they were tired, they lay down over there in the shade of the tree.

(80-94). They fell asleep. The girl saw in a dream her brother having retrieved his human form, she rose in joy, (but) she noticed that, alas, the lame gazelle [his brother] was gone. She knew that her brother liked her so much.

She said to herself: He must have gone to graze somewhere, I shall go up this tree, he will finally come back. The girl went up the top of the tree.

(85-89). She, this poor girl, feared that someone, a demon or a malefic bad human being, might come [and see her]; thus, she mounted the tree [every day]. She was very beautiful so that one could see her image in the water as a flame [her image illuminated the water]. As for his brother, he used to go here and there to graze, and the evening he returned to sleep at the foot of the tree. For his sister, he would bring whatever he could find as food.

(90-94). The people who came to fetch water, those who came to lead the horses to this source, saw that the horses were afraid to drink water, they did not approach the water, they stumbled and snorted. Then, they saw the girl; whatever they did, of coaxing her, she did not come down. The girl was afraid of the people of this foreign place. Yes, this story is very long. Over there, there was an old woman, they said to her: Granny, can you bring down this girl?

(95-99). She said: yes, give me Ardubulay the weight of my ears so I will bring her down. Ardubulay was very expensive; moreover, it was in short supply; they said: okay. She said: I will sit under the tree next to the spring, I will put a cauldron on the fire to heat water to wash my head. And the horsemen of the son of the king were waiting on stand-by. She said: you stay away, I will sit here and will place a cauldron upside-down, pretending that I am blind, and the girl will help me fill the cauldron, I will sew her clothes to mine with a needle and thread, then I will make you a sign, so, once you see a spiral of smoke from here hurry to come.

(100-104). The [expression] "pouring water into a cauldron upside-down" is made after that very [event]. Then the old woman got busy with pouring the water in the cauldron upside-down pretending that she was blind. She said: oh Granny, Granny, lay your cauldron right, do not pose it upside-down! The girl said that. She said: my child, my eyes do not see well, come down, come here and put it right side up. The girl took pity on the old woman and came down from the tree to put the cauldron right side up and fill it for her.

(105-109). Here the girl made a fire and with a bowl poured some water into the cauldron. And the old woman quickly sewed her clothes to that of the daughter. Suddenly, she put a load of straw in the fire ... the straw, as we know, smokes a lot ... and a spiral of smoke went up to the sky. And the horsemen, who were waiting on stand-by, came to the tree as soon as they noticed the smoke. The girl said: my tree, bow down, the enemy arrives! And the tree bowed. The girl sprang up [to climb the tree], and as her clothes were sewed to that of the old woman, she could not climb the tree.

(110-114). So they seized the girl, took her and made her marry [the son of the king] and put her in a wedding tent. What happened to the lame brother? Every evening he came to sleep on the foot of the wedding tent (of her sister), and every morning he went back again (to the desert). Miserable he was! She became pregnant from the son of the king, that girl. Now, I do not know what happened to this girl, wait a moment for it comes back to my mind... Ah yes, they say that the son of the king had also a maid, she was bald.

(115-119). This maid had been in love with the son of the king from a long time ago. Now the son of the king [her beloved] was married. She was on the lookout for the girl to make her disappear by any means whatsoever; she was jealous, after all. She was on the lookout for her, and (one day) they went to the spring to wash the clothes. And they went, and what did they do? This girl was pregnant. They went near a well. She wanted to make her disappear. So, she posed a cover on the well.

(120-124). She said to her: get undressed and give us your clothes to wash and go sit over there on that cover! She wanted to sit on the cover, but she went down, she fell into the well. That very maid was the one who had done this. She put on her clothes, this bald servant, and she hid a container on her belly [under his clothes] to pretend that she was pregnant. They returned, she went into the tent and settled in the wedding tent at the place of the girl.

(125-129). In the evening, as the son of the king came to sleep with her, he said: uncover your head and put it on my chest. The girl did not do that, she evoked some pretexts. Until one night, the son of the king came to know that she had no hair; he said: why is that so? She said: yes, my head is as it is, and, as they say, if I eat the meat of a lame gazelle my hair will grow again. He ordered to hunt and kill the lame gazelle and to give its meat to this girl so that she grows hair. They did not know that the lame gazelle was the brother of that woman, the one who was then inside the well, after all.

(130-134). This gazelle everyday used to go to visit the well. He brought some bread and things to eat and drink for his sister and her baby so that they do not starve. I did not say this: she gave birth to a baby in that well, this newlywed. This poor gazelle went to the well, and over there it sang, since it had noticed that they were on the lookout for killing it. It sang: Dadilijan, Dadilijan, two knives were sharpened, my blood was taken in a bowl. It sang in order that her sister should know.

(135-139). As for the son of the king, he sent his chief of hunters with some other men after the gazelle. The chief of hunters went in search of the gazelle, he noticed that it visited the well which was near the water and roamed around well without rolling away. He was a very nice man, he knew the game, he knew that everything is done according to rules, he did not hunt the gazelle. He went over the well, he saw that a light were coming out from the bottom of that deep well. He shouted: who is over there?

(140-144). A voice came out, actually the voice of a young woman, she said: get me out of here and I will tell you who I am. Then they pull out the girl from the well. They saw that, oh, this was that very girl [the one who was newly married]. They asked: what happened to you? She told everything.

(145-149). What did they do with the bald woman? They starved a horse and a mule and made them thirsty for three days. Then they tied one of her feet to the hungry horse and the other one to the thirsty mule. One pulled from this side and the other pulled from the other side and the woman was torn; so was what they did. And the girl, who had then a baby in her arms, rejoined the son of the king in the palace and they lived long. Well, this ended as it should. That's all.

#### 14.1.5.2. *Folktale 5: glossed text*

(1) (1-4)

*bir kiši-ymiš arvad-i-ynän o ikki uşay-i-ynän*  
 one man-PF.COP3SG wife-POS3SG-INST and two child-POS3SG-INST  
*bir qārā biyaban-iñ qāraqin-nä zendeganlig ed-irmiş.*  
 one black desert-GEN beside.POS3SG-LOC life do-EVIMPF3SG

(2)

*belä bir ähnämä adam-ümiş dä.*  
 so one cheap human-PF.COP3SG DA

(3)

*ävväl-ki arvad-i dä el-mişimiş, älä o uşaq-läriñ nänä-si.*  
 first-KI wife-POS3SG DA die-PPF3SG EMPH that child-PL-GEN mother-POS3SG

(4)

*bir gin bu kişi ged-mişimiş biyaban-ä bil-me-r-äm nä iş ger-ä,*  
 one day this man go-PPF3SG desert-DAT know-NEG-PRS-1SG what work do-SUBJ3SG  
*şayad odun iy-ä, yol qāraq-i-nnä gez-i duş-är bir qumlig-ä.*  
 perhaps wood collect-SUBJ3SGJ road beside-POS3SG-LOC eye-POS3SG fall-AOR3SG one sandy.field-DAT

(5) (5-10)

*bir belä räḡovarāñ qum var-ümiş. xoş-u gäl-er,*  
 one such very.colored sand existing-PF3SG nice-POS3SG come-AOR3SG  
*de-yär munlär-dän apar-ä-m uşaq-lär içi.*  
 say-AOR3SG this.PL-ABL take-SUBJ-1SG child-PL for

(6)

*äv-ä etiş-ännä qumlär-i jeb-i-nnän čax-ad-är*  
 house-DAT arrive-CONV sand.PL-ACC pocket-POS3-ABL exit-CAUS-AOR  
*ger-er tä häyä, var-i-si buydä-di. xoşal ol-ur.*  
 see-AOR3SG TA yes all-POS3SG wheat-PRS.COP3SG happy become-AOR3SG

(7)

*saba sähär neččä torbä iglä-r eššäyi-nä,*  
 tomorrow morning some pack load-AOR3SG donkey.POS3-DAT

(8)

*arvad de-yär harä ged-ir-än, de-yär ged-ir-äm buydä bul-muş-äm gätir-ä-m.*  
 wife say-AOR3SG where.DAT go-PRS-2SG say-AOR3SG go-PRS-1SG wheat find-PF-1SG bring-SUBJ-1SG

(9)

*ged-är ged-är etiş-är älä o qumlig-ä.*  
 go-AOR3SG go-AOR3SG arrive-AOR3SG EMPH that sandy.field-DAT

(10) (10-15)

*torbä-läri-ni dol-lur-ur, ise-yrimiş ayz-i-ni baylä-yä,*  
 pack-POS3PL-ACC fill-CAUS-AOR3SG want-EVIMPF mouth-POS3-ACC tie-SUBJ3SG  
*ger-er tä iblig yox-u. gäz-är iblig bul-ä*  
 see-AOR3SG TA thread inexister-POS3SG look.for-AOR3SG thread find-SUBJ3SG

(11)  
*bir çuqur içinnä iblig-iñ bir-i-si-ni bul-ur o geter-er gäl-ä,*  
 one hole inside.LOC thread-GEN one-POS3-POS3-ACC find-AOR3SG and take-AOR3SG come-SUBJ3SG  
*ger-er uzun-nur o härnä čak-ir tikän-me-yr.*  
 see-AOR3SG long-PRS.COP3SG and whatever pull-PRS3SG end.MP-NEG-PRS3SG

(12)  
*älä neccä äršen ki čak-är ger-er etiş-ir bir quyu-yä,*  
 EMPH some meter KI pull-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG arrive-PRS3SG one well-DAT  
*häyä, tähin-nä dä bir div-di.*  
 yes bottom-LOC DA one demon-PRS.COP3SG

(13)  
*div ajuylan-miş çix-är yazzi-yä ki: adämizad burdä nä iş gey-ir ?*  
 demon be.angry-PF3SG exit-AOR3SG outside-DAT KI human.being here.LOC what work do-PRS3SG  
*bir iş baş-iñ-ä gäter-ä-m ki beyig tikkä-ñ qulañ-iñ ol-ä ».*  
 one work head-POS2-DAT bring-SUBJ-1SG KI big fragment-POS2SG ear-POS2SG be-SUBJ3SG

(14)  
*kişi qorxu-dän titirä-yä titirä-yä de-yär, eltemas ed-är,*  
 man fear-ABL tremble-CONV tremble-CONV say-AOR3SG appeal do-AOR3SG  
*de-yär: qurban-iñ ol-lu-m män-i bayışlä.*  
 say-AOR3SG sacrificed-POS2SG become-PST-1SG I-ACC forgive.IMP2SG

(15) (15-20)  
*inni div-akî dä bayışlä-me-yr ho, ese-yr ye-yä.*  
 now demon-DEF DA forgive-NEG-PRS3SG ITJ want-PRS3SG eat-SUBJ3SG

(16)  
*kişi de-yär: sän-e allah män-nän iş-iñ ol-mä-sin?*  
 man say-AOR3SG you.SG-and Allah I-ABL work-POS2SG be-NEG-IMP2SG  
*män arvaduşay var-ım aǵ-o-suyuz-dilär,*  
 I wife.child existing-POS1SG hungry-and- thirsty-PRS.COP3PL

(17)  
*div de-yär qez-iñ-i ver-äsi-ñ män-ä.*  
 demon say-AOR3SG girl-POS2-ACC give-NECS-2SG I-DAT

(18)  
*de-yär: sän bir div-än, o sän-ä gäl-mäz,*  
 say-AOR3SG you one demon-PRS.COP2SG she you-DAT come-NEG.AOR3SG

(19)  
*de-yär yow, begejä gäl-l-äm onu apar-d-äm*  
 say-AOR3SG no tonight come-AOR-1SG she.ACC take-AOR-1SG

(20) (20-24)  
*de-yär be ol-ur ki män qiz-ım-ä de-yä-m ged div-a?*  
 say-AOR3SG be be-AOR3SG KI I girl-POS1SG-DAT say-SUBJ-1SG go.IMP2SG demon-DAT

(21)  
*de-miş geräg allad-ä-ñ beläsin-i.*  
 say-PF3SG must cheat-SUBJ-2SG ANPH3SG-ACC

(22)  
*män bir ay eşşäg ol-l-äm şam tənäf-iñ-ä sert-in-n-äm,*  
 I one white donkey become-AOR-1SG evening rope-POS2-DAT rub-MP-AOR-1SG  
*qez-akın-ä de gäl-ä, män-i, yanı bu eşşäyi räd ed-ä,*  
 girl-DEF-DAT say.IMP2SG come-SUBJ3SG I-ACC it.means this donkey.ACC repel-SUBJ3SG  
*onnä tut-ä-m getir-ä-m ged-ä-m.*  
 then catch-SUBJ-1SG take-SUBJ-1SG go-SUBJ-1SG

(23)  
*ama äyär älä bu ki de-di-m ed-me-yä-ñ, sezza-ñ-i ver-d-äm.*  
 but if EMPH this KI say-PST-1SG do-NEG-SUBJ-2SG punishment-2SG-ACC give-AOR-1SG

(24)  
*här yer-dä ol-ä-ñ gäl-l-äm belän-i beyn-nän apar-r-äm.*  
 every place-LOC be-SUBJ-2SG come-AOR-1SG ANPH1SG-ACC between-ABL take-AOR-1SG

- (25) (25-29)  
*qez bir kaka də var-ı-ymış ez-i-nnän küçük-tär-imiş.*  
 girl one brother DA existing-POS3-PF3SG self-POS3-ABL little-COMP-PF.COP3SG
- (26)  
*nänä yox-u-ymuş, nänä-läri el-mişimiş.*  
 mother inexistent-POS3-PF3SG mother-POS3PL die-PPF3SG
- (27)  
*bowa-läri bir daha arvad al-mişimiş,*  
 father-POS3PL a other wife take-PPF3SG  
*bu zənbowa də onlär-dän yaman-ı gəl-ir-miş,*  
 this step.mother DA they-ABL misfortune-POS3SG come-PRS-PF3SG
- (28)  
*kişi gəl-er arvad-ı-ynän şam yat-mişimiş şowr-o-kowr ed-illärimiş.*  
 man come-AOR3SG wife-POS3-INST evening sleep-PPF3SG consult do-EVIMPF3PL
- (29)  
*bu qez də kaka-si-ynän yat-mişimiş eşid-är.*  
 this girl DA brother-POS3SG-INST sleep-PPF3SG hear-AOR3SG
- (30) (30-35)  
*div də gəl-er hemmelä-r.*  
 demon DA come-AOR3SG grumble-AOR3SG
- (31)  
*gejə ger-el-lär bir zad gəl-miş hemmele-yr o tənəf-ä älä belä sert-in-ir.*  
 night see-AOR-3PL one thing come-PF3SG grumble-PRS3SG and rope-DAT EMPH this.way rub-MP-PRS3SG
- (32)  
*de-yär bowa tur äyq-ä ged o eşşäyi rədded.*  
 say-AOR3SG father stand.up.IMP2SG foot-DAT go.IMP2SG that donkey.ACC repel.IMP2SG
- (33)  
*de-yär o gəp-i ki siz de-di-ηiz män siz-dän yey-tär bil-li-m,*  
 say-AOR3SG that word-EZ KI you.PL say-PST-2PL I you.PL-ABL good-COMP know-PST-1SG  
*män ged-m-ir-äm. ged-mä-miş.*  
 I go-NEG-PRS-1SG go-NEG-PF3SG
- (34)  
*o də bikil-miş geri yo var-miş ged-mis, div-aki, həyə.*  
 it DA return-PF3SG backwards and existing-PF3SG go-PF3SG demon-DEF yes
- (35) (35-39)  
*kişi de-miş arvad niyə ed-ä-g?*  
 man say-PF3SG wife what do-SUBJ-1PL
- (36)  
*de-miş bil-lən niyə ed-ä-g,*  
 say-PF3SG know-PRS.2SG what do-SUBJ-1PL
- (37)  
*səhər gejä tur-ä-g bu qez yoxu-də yo keç-ä-g ged-ä-g,*  
 tomorrow night get.up-SUBJ-1PL this girl sleep-LOC and move.on-SUBJ-1PL go-SUBJ-1PL  
*tə qez qal-ä yo div gəl-ä apar-ä.*  
 ta girl remain-SUBJ3SG and demon come-SUBJ3SG take-SUBJ3SG
- (38)  
*səhər-ä sari gejadän, hanez bir yoxu var keç-äl-lär*  
 morning-DAT towards soon still a sleep existing move.on-AOR-3PL
- (39)  
*qez səhər gah tur-ur ger-er yoxu-də qal-miş; kaka-si-ynän*  
 girl tomorrow early get.up-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG sleep-LOC remain-PF3SG brother-POS3SG-INST
- (40) (40-44)  
*bowanənə keç-miş var-miş ged-miş.*  
 parents move.on-PF3SG existing-PF3SG go-PF3SG
- (41)  
*qez-akü də tur-ur kaka-yi də çayır-ir de-yär niyə ed-ä-g?*  
 girl-DEF DA stand.up-AOR3SG brother-ACC DA call-AOR3SG say-AOR3SG what do-SUBJ-1PL



(42)

ger-el-lär häyä bir tikkä dällä yo bir siniq čaqqu yo  
 see-AOR3SG yes one piece iron.plate and one broken knife and  
 bir kälä käsär o beläyi zad qal-miš, munnär-dän iyişter-er.  
 one damaged adze and such thing remain-PF3SG these-ABL collect-AOR3SG

(43)

bu zad-lär-i de-yir div-in ĵulow-i-nä at-il-lär bat-ir qeč-i-nä  
 this thing-PL-ACC say-PRS3SG demon-GEN before-POS3-DAT throw-PRS-3PL stick-PRS3SG foot-POS3-DAT  
 tä div gäy-il on-u yalä-yä xub ol-ä adam ara ač-ir.  
 TA demon come-PRS3SG that-ACC lick-SUBJ3SG good be-SUBJ3SG human distance open-PRS3SG

(44)

dähä, yol-ä duş-äl-lär, harä ged-ä-lär, biyaban-imiş; baş qoy-äl-lär biyaban-ä.  
 DAHA road-DAT fall-AOR-3PL where go-SUBJ-3PL desert-PF.COP3SG head put-AOR-3PL desert-DAT

(45) (45-49)

div dä ho onlar-in iss-in-nän geri-dän gäl-irmiş.  
 demon DA ITJ they-GEN smell-ABL backwards-ABL come-EVIMPF3SG

(46)

munlär dä häy bu zad-lär-dän ät-äl-lär o häy bat-är  
 these DA ITJ this thing-PL-ABL throw-AOR-3PL and ITJ stick-AOR3SG  
 div qeč-i-nä yo tä tur-ä yalä-yä onnär ara ač-äl-lär.  
 demon foot-POS3-DAT and TA stop-SUBJ3SG lick-SUBJ3SG those distance open-AOR-3PL

(47)

tä etiş-äl-lär bir çay-ä, belä beyig çay-imiş dä.  
 ta arrive-AOR-3PL one river-DAT so big river-PF.COP3SG DA

(48)

bu çay ĵulow-läri-nnä, ger-er tä div-aki etiş-ir,  
 this river before-PL-POS3PL-LOC see-AOR3SG TA demon-DEF arrive-PRS3SG  
 qez ger-er tä gäcäbil-me-l-lär, bir oxşä-r de-yär:  
 girl see-AOR3SG TA pass.can-NEG-PRS-3PL one sing-AOR3SG say-AOR3SG  
 çay-ım yat o çay-ım yat, çay-aki xamuş ol-ur.  
 river-POS1SG sleep.IMP2SG and river-POS1SG sleep.IMP2SG river-DEF off become-AOR3SG

(49)

munlär växti attulä-yännä genä qowza-n-är.  
 these when jump-CONV again stand.up-MP-AOR3SG

(50) (50-54)

häyä, çay-ım joş o çay-ım joş, oxşä-l-lär.  
 yes river-POS1SG flow.IMP2SG and river-POS1SG flow.IMP2SG sing-AOR-3PL

(51)

daha div-aki gäl-er, çay-dan gäcäbil-mäz.  
 DAHA demon-DEF come-AOR3SG river-ABL pass.can-NEG.AOR3SG  
 de-yär hoy uşaq-lär siz näyin gäč-di-ñiz?  
 say-AOR3SG ITJ child-PL you.PL how pass-PST-2PL

(52)

qez de-yär o a γ beyig daş-i gey-ir-än?  
 girl say-AOR3SG that white big stone-ACC see-PRS-2SG  
 bu çay-in gum yer-i-nnä bir tikkä käf-imiş, on-u gersäd-er.  
 this river-GEN profound place-POS3-LOC one piece foam-PF.COP3SG that-ACC indicate-AOR3SG

(53)

häyä, qez-aki kehrä-ymiş nä, allad-irmiş div-i.  
 yes girl smart-PF.COP3SG EMPH cheat.mp-EVIMPF3SG demon-ACC

(54)

de-yär: attilä o daş issi-nä  
 say-AOR3SG jump.IMP2SG that stone on-DAT  
 ordän bəri daha su diz-änčä artiq gäl-me-yr.  
 from.there.ABL since DAHA water knee-until more come-NEG-PRS3SG

- (55) (55-59)  
*div dä ki de-yir tez allan-ir,*  
 demon DA KI say-PRS3SG soon be.cheated.MP-PRS3SG  
*giĭ-i čox-du väli kehrälig yox-u-du.*  
 force-POS3SG very-PRS.COP3SG but smartness inexistent-PRS.COP3SG
- (56)  
*yo, attulä-r o daš issi-nä, älä o ol-ur ki bat-är,*  
 and jump-AOR3SG that stone on-DAT EMPH that become-AOR3SG KI sink-AOR3SG
- (57)  
*çay belä-ymiş; derd adam boy-u su gäl-irmiŝ.*  
 river such-PF.COP3SG four human height-POS3SG water come-EVIMPF3SG
- (58)  
*bu dä div, izä dä ho bil-me-yirmiŝ, säqqät ol-ur.*  
 this DA demon swim DA ITJ can-NEG-EVIMPF3SG perish become-AOR3SG
- (59)  
*div beläyin ol-ur o bu ikki kakabajĭ ged-äl-lär.*  
 demon such be-AOR3SG and this two siblings go-AOR-3PL
- (60) (60-64)  
*ged-är o ged-är o ged-är, bir çöban ger-el-lär,*  
 go-AOR3SG and go-AOR3SG and go-AOR3SG one shepherd see-AOR-3PL
- (61)  
*inni daha suyiz-imiŝ-lär, de-yäl-lär: su bil-ir-äniz hardä var?*  
 now DAHA thirsty-PF.COP3SG-3PL say-AOR-3PL water know-PRS-2PL where.in existing
- (62)  
*de-yär: ged-är-äniz o yal-lär-dän oyiz-ä bir çeŝmä-di,*  
 say-AOR3SG go-AOR-2PL that hill-PL-ABL other.face-DAT one spring-PRS.COP3SG  
*äliz-iñiz-i yu-yiñ väli ol-me-yä munnän iç-ä-ñiz.*  
 hand.face-POS2PL-ACC wash-IMP2PL but become-NEG-SUBJ3SG from.this drink-SUBJ-2PL  
*bu day-lär janavar-i yo kâfâ-lär jeyran-i-niñ su-yu-du.*  
 that mount-PL animal-POS3SG and plain-PL gazelle-POS3SG-GEN water-POS3SG-PRS.COP3SG
- (63)  
*härkäs onnän iç-ä ol-ur aqsaq jeyran duŝ-är day o dära-yä.*  
 everybody from.that drink-SUBJ3SG be-AOR3SG limper gazelle fall-AOR3SG mount and valley-DAT
- (64)  
*bir beŝ dära yo altı çätenlig owan-tär adamizad çeŝmä-si-di,*  
 one five valley and six grove that.side-COMP human.being spring-POS3SG-PRS.COP3SG  
*onnän härnä iç-ä-ñiz iç-miŝ-äniz”.*  
 from.that whatever drink-SUBJ-2PL drink-PF-2PL
- (65) (65-69)  
*häyä, munlär ged-äl-lär, etiŝ-äl-lär ävvälki çeŝmä-yä,*  
 yes these go-AOR-3PL arrive-AOR-3PL first spring-DAT  
*äl yu-äl-lär, iz yu-äl-lär, iç-mäz-lär.*  
 hand wash-AOR-3PL face wash-AOR-3PL drink-NEG.AOR-3PL
- (66)  
*ged-är owan-tär, bu kaka-si dil-i ayaĭ täyin qurru*  
 go-AOR3SG that.side-COMP this brother-POS3SG tongue-POS3SG wood like dry  
*su-yüz-dän daha yol ged-ä-bil-me-yirmiŝ.*  
 water-PRIV-ABL DAHA road go-ABIL-EVIMPF3SG
- (67)  
*de-yär häy bajĭ-m daray-iñ qal-miŝ çeŝmä issi-nnä*  
 say-AOR3SG ITJ sister-POS1 comb-POS2SG remain-PF3SG spring on-LOC  
*ged-ä-m gäter-ä-m, yani bikil-ä geri su-dän iç-ä*  
 go-SUBJ-1SG bring-SUBJ-1SG it.means return-SUBJ3SG backward water-ABL drink-SUBJ3SG
- (68)  
*qez de-yär äziz kaka-m ol-me-yä o su-dän iç-ä-ñ!*  
 girl say-AOR3SG dear brother-POS1SG be-NEG-SUBJ3SG that water-ABL drink-SUBJ-2SG

(69)

de-yär qorx-mä.

say-AOR3SG fear-NEG.IMP2SG

(70) (70-74)

den-är, gäl-er baş qoy-är bu su-dän iç-är,  
 return-AOR3SG come-AOR3SG head put-AOR3SG this water-ABL drink-AOR3SG  
 älä orda ki iç-är ol-ur aqsaq jeyran.  
 ala there.ABL KI drink-AOR3SG become-AOR3SG limper gazelle

(71)

qez-aki dä ordä yol gezle-yr ki kaka gäl-ä.

girl-DEF DA there.LOC road keep.watch-PRS3SG KI brother come-SUBJ3SG

(72)

bax-är bax-är birdän ger-er tä  
 look-AOR3SG look-AOR3SG suddenly see-AOR3SG TA  
 bir jeyran gäl-ir, häyä bir qeç-i-nnän nä aqse-yr.  
 one gazelle come-PRS3SG yes one foot-POS3SG-ABL DA limp-PRS3SG

(73)

hây äv-im yan-nî, qäç-är jeyran-ä sârî;  
 hay house-POS1SG burn-PST3SG run-AOR3SG gazelle-DAT towards

(74)

de-yär ay äziz kakam, be de-mä-di-m o su-dän iç-mä?  
 say-AOR3SG oh dear brother be say-NEG-PST-1SG that water-ABL drink-NEG.IMP2SG

(75) (75-79)

ay-lär, gez-läri-nnän yaş tek-är,  
 weep-AOR3SG eye-POS3PL-ABL tear pour-AOR3SG

(76)

oxsä-r, daha nä oxşe-yrmış, vallä bil-mi-r-äm.  
 lull-AOR3SG DAHA what lull-EVIMPF3SG by.God know-NEG-PRS-1SG

(77)

ger-er tä yow, faydä yox-u,  
 see-AOR3SG TA no interest inexistent-POS3SG  
 kaka älä o kaka-dî: daniş-ir, bil-ir, ayle-yr, gil-ir,  
 brother EMPH that brother-PST3SG speak-PRS3SG know-PRS3SG weep-PRS3SG laugh-PRS3SG  
 väli ol-muş aqsaq jeyran.  
 but become-PF3SG limper gazelle

(78)

ged-äl-lär; ged-är o ged-är tä etiş-äl-lär owan-kî çeşmä-yä,  
 go-AOR-3PL go-AOR3SG and go-AOR3SG TA arrive-AOR-3PL that.side-KI spring-DAT  
 adam-lär çeşmä-si-nä. munî baş-î-nnä dä  
 human-PL spring-POS3SG-DAT this.GEN head-POS3-LOC DA  
 bir beyig uzun gey deräxt-imiş.  
 one big long green tree-PF.COP3SG

(79)

suyiz-imiş-lär, su iç-äl-lär.  
 thirsty-PPF-3PL water drink-AOR-3PL

yornay-imiş-lär, älä bu deräxt kelgä-si-nä uzan-äl-lär,  
 tierd-PPF-3PL EMPH this tree shade-POS3-DAT lay.down.MP-AOR-3PL

(80) (80-84)

yoxu apar-ir belälärini.  
 sleep take-AOR3SG them.POS3.ACC

- (81)  
*qez diş ger-er kaka-si bikil-miş adam şikl-i-nä*  
 girl dream see-AOR3SG brother-POS3SG return-PF3SG human form-POS3SG-DAT  
*yo xoşal tur-ur äyq-ä, bax-är ger-er tä yow,*  
 and happy get.up-AOR3SG foot-DAT see-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG TA no  
*aqsaq jeyran yox.*  
 limper gazelle inexistent
- (82)  
*bil-irmiş ki kaka-si onu çox ise-yr,*  
 know-EVIMPF3SG KI brother-POS3SG she.ACC very want-PRS3SG
- (83)  
*de-yär hətmän ged-miş bir yer-ä yayıl-ä,*  
 say-AOR3SG certainly go-PF3SG one place-SUBJ3SG graze-SUBJ3SG  
*män ged-ä-m bu deräxt baş-ı-nä, o dä gäl-är geri.*  
 I go-SUBJ-1SG this tree head-POS3SG-DAT he DA come-AOR3SG backward
- (84)  
*qez-akı var-ır ged-är o deräxt-in baş-ı-nä.*  
 girl existing-AOR3SG go-AOR3SG that tree-GEN head-POS3SG-DAT
- (85) (85-90)  
*bu dä bəddäx qorx-irmiş daha, ki birdən bir-i-si gäl-ä,*  
 this DA miserable fear-EVIMPF3SG DAHA KI suddenly one-POS3SG-POS3SG come-SUBJ3SG  
*div gäl-ä, pes içibixçi adam madam gäl-ä.*  
 demon come-SUBJ3SG bad nasty human.being come-SUBJ3SG
- (86)  
*ged-irmiş deräxt baş-ı-nä.*  
 go-EVIMPF3SG tree head-POS3SG-DAT
- (87)  
*çox qəşən qez-imiş ä, ki məsələ şo'lə duş-irmiş bu çeşmə-yä.*  
 very pretty girl-PPF.COP3SG ITJ KI as.if flame fall-EVIMPF3SG this spring-DAT
- (88)  
*kaka-si dä ged-irmiş həy owan bowan-ä o yayıl-irmiş*  
 brother-POS3SG DA go-EVIMPF3SG hay that.side this.side-DAT and graze-EVIMPF3SG  
*şam nə gäl-irmiş yat-irmiş deräxt-in dib-i-nä.*  
 evening DA come-EVIMPF3SG sleep-EVIMPF3SG tree-GEN bottom-POS3SG-DAT
- (89)  
*başı-si-nä dä inni hərnə başar-ä bul-ä, yeməli gətəy-irmiş.*  
 sister-POS3SG-DAT DA now whatever can-SUBJ3SG find-SUBJ3SG food bring-EVIMPF3SG
- (90) (90-94)  
*munu bu su-yä gäl-än-lär, munlär gäl-ällär at sowar-a-lär*  
 this.ACC this water-DAT come-PART-PL these come-AOR3PL horse water-SUBJ-3PL  
*ger-ellär bu at hirkış-ır, əslə su-yä gäl-me-yr,*  
 see-AOR3PL this horse scare.away.PL-PRS3SG not.at.all water-DAT come-NEG-PRS3SG  
*hirk-ır vuy-ır otay buttay-a.*  
 be.afraid-PRS3SG beat-PRS3SG that.side this.side-DAT
- (91)  
*yo, həy-hä, həy-hä, həy, qez-i ger-el-lär,*  
 and ITJ ITJ ITJ girl-ACC see-AOR-3PL  
*hərnə oxşə-l-lär gäl-məz kottä.*  
 whatever caress-AOR-3PL come-NEG.AOR3SG down
- (92)  
*Qez bu qərib yer-i ı adam-ı-nnən qorx-irmiş.*  
 girl this foreign place-GEN person-POS3SG-ABL fear-EVIMPF3SG
- (93)  
*həy, bu məsəl çox tulanı-dır ä.*  
 yes this tale very long-PRS.COP3SG ITJ

(94)

tä bir qärri var-imiş qärri-yaki-nä de-yäl-lär:  
 TA one old.woman existing-PPF3SG old.woman-DEF-DAT say-AOR-3PL  
 qärri, sän başar-d-än bu qız-i gäter-ä-η kottä?  
 old.woman you can-AOR-2SG this girl-ACC bring-SUBJ-2SG down

(95) (95-99)

de-miş häy. de-miş qulay-im ayuru-čä ardubulay  
 say-PF3SGG yes say-PF3SG ear-GEN1SG heaviness-EQU ardubulaq  
 ver-iη ye-yä-m gäter-r-äm kottä.  
 give-IMP2PL eat-SUBJ-1SG bring-AOR-1SG down

(96)

Ardubulay çox geran-imiş, gir-ä dä gäl-me-yrmiş.  
 Ardubulaq very expensive-PPF3SG hook-DAT DAT come-NEG-PPF3SG

(97)

de-yäl-lär ol-sun, de-yär män ged-är-äm deräxt altı-na  
 say-AOR-3PL be-IMP3SG say-AOR3SG I go-AOR-1SG tree under-DAT  
 çeşmä qaraq-i-na otur-r-am, patil-i qoy-ar-am oğay-a  
 spring beside-POS3SG-DAT sit-AOR-1SG cauldron-ACC put-AOR-1SG fire-DAT  
 su issid-ä-m baş-im-i yu-ya-m.  
 water warm-SUBJ-1SG head-POS-ACC wash-SUBJ-1SG

(98)

amadä dä atli tur-muşumuş ä, şah oyul-u içi.  
 ready DA horseman stand.by-PPF3SG ITJ king son-POS3SG for

(99)

de-yär siz iray-a tur-iη, män otur-r-am bu patil-i  
 say-AOR3SG you.PL far.away-DAT stay-IMP2PL I sit-AOR-1SG this cauldron-ACC  
 kup qoy-ar-am, yani gez-im ger-m-ir, qez gäl-är  
 upside.down put-AOR-1SG meaning eye-POS1SG see-NEG-PRS3SG girl come-AOR3SG  
 män-ä kemäk ed-ä, iηä iblig-inän läbas-i-ni tik-är-äm ezimki-nä,  
 I-DAT help do-SUBJ3SG needle.thread-INST clothes-POS3SG-ACC sow-AOR-1SG mine-DAT  
 onnä tit dulay-i-ynan siz-ä älamät ver-är-äm etiş-iη.  
 then smoke spiral-POS3SG-INST you.PL-DAT signal give-AOR-1SG arrive-IMP2PL

(100) (100-104)

bu ki de-yil-lär patil get-i-nä su tek-än, älä onnän qal-miş ä.  
 this KI say-PRS-3PL cauldron buttock-POS3-DAT water pour-PART EMPH that.ABL remain-PF3SG ITJ

(101)

yo, qärri-yaki älä burdä äläkki patil get-i-nä su tek-ir  
 yo old.woman-DEF EMPH here.LOC useless cauldron buttock-POS3-DAT water pour-PRS3SG  
 yani gez-im ger-m-ir.  
 it.means eye-GEN1SG see-NEG-PRS.3SG

(102)

de-yrmiş: häy qärri nänä, patil-iη-i ras qoy äyri qo-mä,  
 say-EVIMPF3SG ITJ grandmother cauldron-POS2SG-ACC right put.IMP2SG oblique put-NEG.IMP2SG  
 qez-aki de-yrmiş.  
 girl-DEF say-EVIMPF3SG

(103)

de-yrmiş: bābā-m, män gez-im ger-me-yr,  
 say-EVIMPF3SG baby-POS1SG I eye-POS1SG see-NEG-PRS3SG  
 gä kottä munu ras ed, diz ed.  
 come.IMP2SG downwards this.ACC right do.IMP2SG right do.IMP2SG

(104)

qez qärri içi iräy-i yan-ir o deräx-tän en-är  
 girl old.woman for heart-POS3SG burn-AOR3SG that tree-ABL descend-AOR3SG  
 gäl-er patil-i diz ed-ä qärri içi dollur-a.  
 come-AOR3SG cauldron-ACC right do-SUBJ3SG old.woman for fill.CAUS-SUBJ3SG

(105) (105-109)

Qez burdä ot ed-är o paylä-ynän su tek-är patil-a  
 girl here.loc fire do-AOR3SG that bowl-INST water pour-AOR3SG cauldron-DAT  
 qärri-yaki dä tez tez bu qız-iη läbas-i-ni

old.woman-DEF DA soon soon this girl.GEN3SG clothes-POS3SG-ACC  
*tik-är ezi-niŋki-nä.*  
 sew-AOR3SG self.3POS-that.of-DAT

(106)

*birdän bir qujaq saman tek-är ot issi-nä,*  
 suddenly a lap straw pour-AOR3SG fire ON.POS-DAT  
*yo, saman näki tit ed-ir dula γ ged-är gey-ä.*  
 and straw DA.KI spiral.smoke do-PRS3SG spiral.smoke go-AOR3SG sky-DAT

(107)

*atli dä ki muntäzer tur-muš dulay-ï ger-ännä etiš-äl-lär,*  
 horseman DA KI stand.by stand-PF3SG spiral.smoke-ACC see-CONV arrive-AOR-3PL

(108)

*qez de-yär: deräxt-im äyil ki dušmān gäl-li, deräxt dä äyil-er.*  
 girl say-AOR3SG tree-POS1SG bend.IMP2SG KI enemy come-PST3SG tree DA bend-AOR3SG

(109)

*qez häräkät ed-är ged-ä uxari, deräxt baš-i-na*  
 girl movement do-AOR3SG go-SUBJ3SG upwards tree head-POS3SG-DAT  
*läbas-i väli tikili-di qārri-niŋki-nä deräx-tän ged-ä bil-māz uxari.*  
 cloths-POS3SG but sewed-PRS.COP old.woman-POS.PRO-DAT tree-ABL go-ABIL-NEG.AOR3SG upwards

(110) (110-114)

*daha qez-aki-ni tut-al-lär onu apar-il-lär.*  
 DAHA girl-DEF-ACC catch-AOR-3PL she.ACC take-AOR-3PL  
*o toy ed-äl-lär o qoy-al-lär girdäy-ä.*  
 and wedding do-AOR-3PL and put-AOR-3PL bride.room-DAT

(111)

*aqsaq kaka dä niŋä ol-muš, älä gejä gäy-ilmiš*  
 limper brother DA what become-PF3SG EMPH night come-EVIMPF3SG  
*häy muniŋ girdäy-i-niŋ bal-ï issinä yat-irmiš*  
 ITJ this.GEN bride.room-POS3-GEN rabat-POS3SG on-POS3SG.DAT sleep-EVIMPF3SG  
*genä sähär ged-irmiš, bäddäx.*  
 again tomorrow go-EVIMPF3SG miserable

(112)

*bu šah oyl-u-nnän nä ušaqli ol-mušumuš, älä bu qez-aki.*  
 this king son-POS3SG-ABL DA pregnant become-PF3SG EMPH this girl-DEF

(113)

*daha burdä vallä bil-me-r-äm o näyin ol-muš,*  
 DAHA here.LOC by.God know-NEG-PRS-1SG she how become-PF3SG  
*tä yad-ïm-ä gäl-ä.*  
 TA memory-POS1-DAT come-SUBJ3SG

(114)

*häyä, de-yr bu šah oyl-u-nnä dä bir dädä var-ïmiš, bu kăččäl-imiš.*  
 yes say-PRS3SG this king son-POS3SG-LOC DA one maid existing-PF.COP3SG this bald-PF.COP3SG

(115) (115-119)

*bu dä aššiy-ïmiš ilär-tär-dän šah oyl-u-nä.*  
 this DA lover-PF.COP3SG before-COMP-ABL king son-POS3-DAT  
*ger-er tä bu šah oyl-u dä ki ävlän-miš,*  
 see-AOR3SG TA this king son-POS3SG DA KI marry-PF3SG

(116)

*bu qez-eŋ peyk-i-nnä-yimiš ki här tähr ol-muš*  
 this girl-GEN look.out-POS3-LOC-PF.COP3SG KI every manner be-PF3SG  
*mu-niŋ baš-i-ni qat-a su alt-ï-nä,*  
 this.GEN head-POS3SG- put-SUBJ3SG water under-POS3-DAT  
 ACC  
*häsud-umuš daha.*  
 jealous-PPF3SG DAHA

(117)

*älä peyk-i-nnä-yimiš o ged-mišlärimiš su issi-nä läbas yu-ä-lär.*  
 ala look.out-POS3SG-LOC-PF.COP3SG and go-PPF.3PL water on-POS3SG-DAT clothes wash-SUBJ-3PL

(118)

*ged-äl-lär, niyə ed-äl-lär? bu də ho uşaqli-ymiş.*  
go-AOR-3PL what do-AOR-3PL this DA ITJ pregnant-PF.COP3SG  
*ged-äl-lär bir quyu issi-nä isse-yrmış mu-nu beyn-nän apar-a.*  
go-AOR-3PL one well on-POS3SG-DAT want-PF3SG this-ACC middle-ABL take-SUBJ-3SG

(119)

*xub, bir puşän at-är quyu issi-nä.*  
well one cover put-AOR3SG well on.POS3SG-DAT

(120) (120-124)

*onä de-yäl-lär sän läbas-în-i çax-ad ver biz yu-yä-g*  
she.DAT say-AOR-3PL you clothes-GEN-ACC exit-CAUS.IMP2SG give.IMP2SG we wash-SUBJ-1PL  
*ged otur orä o puşän issi-nä.*  
go.IMP2SG sit.IMP2SG there.DAT that cover on.POS3SG-DAT

(121)

*bu ged-är otur-ä ged-är kottä; duş-är quyu-yä.*  
this go-AOR3SG sit-SUBJ3SG go-AOR3SG downwards fall-AOR3SG well-DAT

(122)

*älä o dädä bu iş-i ger-mişimış ä.*  
EMPH that maid this work-ACC do-PPF3SG ITJ

(123)

*o-niñ läbas-i-ni də gey-är bu kăččäl dädä,*  
she-GEN clothes-POS3SG-ACC DA put.on-AOR3SG this bald maid  
*bir qablamä dä baylä-r qarn-i-nä yanı ki uşaqli-dü.*  
one pan DA tie-AOR.3PL belly-POS3-DAT it.means KI pregnant-PRS.COP

(124)

*ged-äl-lär geri ged-är girdäye-nä, qız-în yer-i-nä. otur-ur.*  
go-AOR-3PL backwards go-AOR3SG bride.room.POS3SG-DAT girl-GEN place-POS3SG-DAT sit-AOR3SG

(125) (125-129)

*gejä ki oğul gäy-ilmiş yan-i-nä de-yrmış baş-în-i aç*  
night KI son come-EVIMPF3SG side-POS3SG-DAT say-EVIMPF3SG head-POS2SG-ACC open.IMP2SG  
*qo deş-im alt-i-nä. qez-akı qo-me-yirmış, bahanä gätüy-irmış.*  
put.IMP2SG chest-POS1SG under-POS3SG-DAT girl-DEF permit-NEG-EVIMPF3SG excuse bring-EVIMPF3SG

(126)

*tä şah oğul-u bir gejä ger-er bu kăččäl-li.*  
ta king son-POS3SG one night see-AOR3SG this bald-PRS.COP3SG  
*de-yär ne belä-di?*  
say-AOR3SG why so-PST3SG

(127)

*de-yär ki häyä män-im baş-im beläyi-dir o*  
say-AOR3SG KI yes I-GEN head-POS1SG such-PRS.COP3SG and  
*aqsaq jeyran ät-i de-yl-lär ye-yä-ñ tik-ä gäl-er...*  
limper gazelle meat-POS3SG say-PRS-3PL eat-SUBJ-2SG hair-DAT come-AOR3SG

(128)

*dästur ver-er aysay jeyran-i tut-äl-lär eller-el-lär*  
now give-AOR3SG limper gazelle-ACC catch-SUBJ-3SG kill.CAUS-AOR3PL  
*ver-ä-lär bu ye-yä tä bu tik-ä gäl-ä.*  
give-SUBJ-3PL this eat-SUBJ3SG TA this hair-DAT come-SUBJ3SG

(129)

*onlär ho xəbär yox-i-ymiş bu o arvad-în*  
they ITJ news inexistent-POS3SG-PF3SG this that woman-GEN  
*kaka-si-đir ki, o də ho quyu içi-nnä-yimiş.*  
brother-POS3SG-COP KI she DA ITJ well inside.POS3SG-LOC-PPF.COP3SG

(130) (130-134)  
*bu jeyran-aki ginnä ged-irmiř älä baş-ı uř-u quyu issi-nä*  
 this gazelle-DEF everyday go-EVIMPF3SG EMPH head-POS3SG over-POS3SG well on.DAT  
*älä çeräg o yemäli içmäli apay-irmiř at-irmiř*  
 EMPH bread and food drink take-EVIMPF3SG throw-EVIMPF3SG  
*ki ařinnän el-mä-yä, bařı-sı yo onıñ uřaq-ı.*  
 KI hunger.POS3.ABL die-NEG-SUBJ3SG sister-POS3SG and she.GEN child-POS3SG

(131)  
*mu-nu de-mä-di-m:*  
 this-ACC say-NEG-PST-1SG  
*uřaq-ı älä o çah içi-nnä dunya-yä gäter-er, gälin-aki.*  
 child-ACC EMPH that well inside-LOC world-DAT bring-AOR3SG bride-DEF

(132)  
*burdä dä ki bu aqsaq jeyran bil-er peyk-i-nnä-dilär*  
 here.LOC DA KI this limper gazelle know-AOR3SG look.out-POS3SG-LOC-COP.3PL  
*eller-ä-lär, ged-irmiř bäddäx älä orä baş qoy-irmř*  
 kill-SUBJ-3PL go-EVIMPF3SG miserable EMPH there.DAT head put-EVIMPF3SG  
*quyu aqzi-nä oxše-yirmiř.*  
 well mouth-DAT sing-EVIMPF3SG

(133)  
*de-yirmiř: “dädilijän, dädilijan, itti biçaq it-il-li,*  
 say-EVIMPF3SG dadilijan dadilijan sharp knife sharpen-MP-PST3SG  
*qan-ım täst-ä tut-ul-lu”.*  
 blood-POS1SG tub-DAT catch-MP-PST3SG

(134)  
*irle-yirmiř ki bu bařı-sı bil-ä.*  
 chant-EVIMPF3SG KI this sister-POS3SG know-SUBJ3SG

(135) (135-139)  
*bu řah ořul-u dä mirřikal-ı-nı yoll-är bir-ikki adam-inän*  
 this king son-POS3SG DA chief.hunter-POS3SG-ACC send-AOR3SG one-two man-INST  
*onuñ qulunı-nä.*  
 he.GEN after.POS3SG-DAT

(136)  
*mirřikal ged-är o ger-er tä bu jeyran-aki ged-ir ordä*  
 hunter go-AOR3SG and see-AOR3SG TA this gazelle-DEF go-PRS3SG there.LOC  
*su yäxin-i-nnä bir quyu var, ged-ir orä*  
 water near-POS3SG-LOC one well existing go-PRS3SG there.DAT  
*häy towla-n-ir o ordän iray ol-me-yr.*  
 hay turn-MP-PRS3SG and there.ABL far be-NEG-PRS3SG

(137)  
*bu dä bir belä xub adam-ımıř ä, řikal tanı-yän-ımıř dä,*  
 this DA one such good man-PF.COP3SG ITJ game recognize-PART-PF.COP3SG DA  
*bil-irmiř här iş-dä bir hisab var,*  
 know-EVIMPF3SG every work-LOC one count existing  
*jeyran-ı vur-mäz.*  
 gazelle-ACC beat-NEG.AOR3SG

(138)  
*ged-är quyu baş-ı-nä, ger-er tä*  
 go-AOR3SG well head-POS3SG-DAT see-AOR3SG TA  
*bu qärä quyu-nıñ içi-nnän bir işşıq çıx-ir.*  
 this black well-GEN inside-ABL one light exit-PRS3SG

(139)  
*çayır-är: burdä kim var?*  
 call-AOR3SG here.LOC who existing



- (140) (140-144)  
 säs čix-är ki, häyä bir jahal arvad säs-i,  
 sound exit-AOR3SG KI yes one young woman voice-POS3SG  
 de-yär: män-i burdän čax-ad-iñ tä de-yä-m kim-äm.  
 say-AOR3SG I-ACC here.ABL exit-CAUS-IMP2PL TA say-SUBJ-1SG who-PRS.COP1SG
- (141)  
 daha burdän qiz-i čax-ad-äl-lär.  
 DAHA here.ABL girl-ACC exit-CAUS-AOR-3PL
- (142)  
 ger-el-lär, häyä, bu älä o qez-aki-di.  
 see-AOR-3PL yes this EMPH that girl-DEF-PRS.COP3SG
- (143)  
 de-yär näyin ol-muşumuş?  
 say-AOR3SG how become-PPF3SG
- (144)  
 vari zad-i de-yär.  
 all thing-ACC say-AOR3SG
- (145) (145-149)  
 káččäl arvad-i niñä ed-äl-lär?  
 bald woman-ACC what do-AOR-3PL
- (146)  
 uç gin at o qäter añ o suyuz qoy-äl-lär.  
 three day horse and mule hungry and thirsty put-AOR-3PL
- (147)  
 onnä on-iñ bir qeč-i-ni baylä-l-lär añ at-ä  
 then she-GEN one foot-POS3-ACC tie-AOR-3PL hungry horse.DAT  
 bir qeč-i-ni dä suyüz qäter-ä, o owanä čak-är  
 one foot-POS3SG-ACC DA thirsty mule.DAT that that.side.DAT pull-AOR3SG  
 bu bowanä arvad arala-n-ir orta-dän, beläyin ed-äl-lär.  
 this this.side.DAT woman tear-MP-AOR3SG between.ABL such do-AOR-3PL
- (148)  
 qez dä ki inni daha bir uşaq dä qujay-i-nnä,  
 girl DA KI now DAHA one child DA lap-POS3SG-LOC  
 otur-ur şah oyul-u-ynän qäsr içi-nä, زندeganlig ed-är.  
 sit-AOR3SG king son-POS3SG-INST palace indie.POS3SG-DAT life do-AOR3SG
- (149)  
 häyä, bu dä beläki, tāmam ollu.  
 yes this DA bela-KI finished be-PST3SG

#### 14.1.6. Folktale 6: Čäme Šer ‘The Lion’s Meander’

*This folktale was told by the late Katâyun Parhun, then around 90 years-old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, in the city Jahrom of the province of Fars (200 kms to the southeast of Shiraz), on the 8<sup>th</sup> January 2007.*

(1-4). Bir kişiymiş, bilmeräm kădxoda ya şahimış, bir arvad almişimış onnän altı qez variymiş, oyul girinä gälmeymiş. Gedär bir arvad daha alir o onnän bir oyulunän bir qez girinä gäler. Munin qizlari belä luk-o-puk o koloft-moloftumuş. Bu axirki arvadin qizi bir şeyda qäşän, beli inča qizimiş, kummuşaymiş vali härnä muştari gälirmiş, älä munä gälirmiş.

(5-9). Bu qizlariñ nä utayı yo mähälli dä ayriymiş. Bu kişi bir beyig kimsäymiş. Kaka varläriymiş, dädä varläriyimş. Bir çay dä o yäxenlär dä varimiş. Bir gin qizlariñ beyigi deyär : «gä kaka yanımız serä biz gedäg täfrihä, seylangaha ».

(10-14). Čaydä dä bir čäme šer varimiş; bir čäm varimiş onnä bir šer varimiş. Häyä, gedäg čäme šerä bir tämaşaya. Kaka gäler o qizlär gerellär su uja gälir. Deyär : « kaka bizi sän aläşin daliñä gäcirdän. » Deyär : « här biriñiz bir mač veriñ tä gäcirdäm. »

(15-19). Daha burdä deyällär: kim var, mač dä verdäg. Här biri bir mač verer dä gäčär. Gälär bu kučigi apara, deyär : män nä mač veriräm nä dä isiräm gäčirdän. Deyär: be olur dä sän gäčmäyän gedän?! Dedi: “män gedäräm geri”.

(20-24). Qızlär çayırillär deyällär: kaka al dalağa gätir, onıñ mačını dä bizdän al. Gäčirder otayä, gedällär čäme šerä gäzällär, owan bowan. Qızlär šowr edär deyär: bu gedännä deyär biz kakaya mač verdig. Bir xub qäšän qızımıš, xub čox uzun nä säč variymiš. Bir segid älä bu čäme-šerdä variymiš.

(25-29). Bu qızıñ säčini duveyli edällär bu segidiñ kunnäsinä baylallar, čarqad-marqadiynan nä belini baylallar. Bikilällär. Häyä, munu demädim, šeraki dä gulay asirmiš, dil bilirmiš. Čayırillar šeriñ adini deyällär, deyällär: gä šikalini baylamışäg burä. Qädäyän nä edällär ki qoymä bir tukkä qanı dammeyä yerä.

(30-34). Qızlär qäčällär o kaka dä onläri gäčirdär oyana. Gälällär ävä. Gälännä deyällär: päs qızaki nolmuš? Deyällär: häyä, qez älä biziminän gälmädi, bikilli geri. Vur başıñä tut başıñä, donyayı qoyällär äyay altına qez girä gälmäz.

(35-39). Xob, qez burä baylanmış. Šer gälli bu qızı yeyä, qez šerä deyär: siz Širaza nä deyiräñiz? Šer deyär: biz Širaza deyiräg šähr. Šähr deyännä ayzi açilir bir tukkä qan damär burä segidiñ äyyinä. Allahın ämrinnän bu bir ikki xub qämeš olur geyärer.

(40-44). Neččä illän sorä, bowasiniñ čobanı dowarı geterer aparär o čäme-šerdä otarä. Towsanımıš; towsanlär bu çay qurrirmiš. Čoban dowarı bu qurrumuš çaydän gäčirdär o dowar yayıla yayıla gedär älä o segid äyyinä. Čoban bu segidiñ äyyinnä gerär bir iki xub qäšän qämeš var. Bu dä neyčiymiş, bir ikki qämišini käsär ki ney edä; gäterer ävdä dizäder o qoyar ayzına ki čala.

(45-49). Älä neyakini ayzına qoyännä, kipläyännä, gerer tä deyir:

Bezan bezan ay čupun

xub mizani ay čupun

i dadahay rusiya

mač dade kakasiya

gisam bastan be bide

tanam dâdan be šire

čikkay xunom paride

neye bolan damide

čupune bowam boride.<sup>54</sup>

Bu ney belä deyär. O deyär ver mänä, bu deyär ver mänä. Qızıñ kakası çalır, säs čixir ki:

(50-54). Bezan bezan ay čupun

xub mizani ay čupun

i dadahây rusiyâ

mâč dâde kâkâsiyâ.

Bowası qoyär ayzına munu deyär. Härkä qoyär ayzına, älä munu deyär. Deyällär: bu älä bu qızakidi, niñ edäg... Šamımıš, “šähr aparäg o qazi yo šeyx yanına geräg täglif nâdi, alim yanına, šeyx yanına”.

<sup>54</sup> Folkpoems in rural Persian of the province of Fars.

(55-59). Geterellär qoyällär bir taqčäyä yo bu qizlär munnär yatännä gedär oyurlär. Neyi gäterer yazzidä qerrär o qoyällär saĵ içinä otlällär ki kili tekilmeyä. Yannirillär o kor edällär o qoyällär bir çapodä yo verellär kakayä. Deyällär: kaka munu apardän o qärä dayin başinnä tekärän bir rây dibinä. Kaka geĵä geterer munu gedär.

(60-64). Sähär gerellär ney yox; härnä dä gäzällär bulmäzlär; yox, oyurlämišlär. Bu daha allahin ämrinnän, älä orä kil tekilän yerä bir lälä olur, bir qarpiz läläsi, älä o räyin dibinnä. Bu qizin kakası dä onnä ĵurräymiš. Bu beyig olur o šikal vuränimiš, käylik vuränimiš, deyär gedäm o dayä bir šikali, käyliĵi vuräm gätiräm. Bowanänä dä kor olmuš älä bu qizin dârdinnän.

(65-69). Oyul gedär gäzär gäzär o inni bir šikal lä edä bilmäz. Gälirmiš gerer bu räyin altinnä bir qarpiz läläsidi, täkjä älä qarpiz vari. Qazär gäterer älä suyizimiš yeyä, deyär aparäm älä kor nänäbowä dä varim. Šikal edmämišäm älä munin bir qašinı nänäbowam nä yeyä. Geterer gäler o nänäsinä deyär: nänä bir mäjemä gäter bir bäçe qarpiz bulmušäm käsäm bir qašinı dä sän ye.

(70-74). Nänäsi älä bir mäjemä gäterer. Oyul çaqĵiyi qoyär pählesinä käsä, deyär: “ay kaka ! unĵa dässemä, inĵa komomä, inĵa säremä... näbor.” Demä bu qarpizin içinnä danışir. Geterellär gedällär bu šeyx o qazi yaninä. Deyär: gedin bir däs räxt dukannän alin tikiĵ qoyin bu mäjemänin içinä, qoyin bir ävä, šam qoyin, ayzinä dä qolf vurin oturin däminä tä sähär gin çälännä açin gerin bu näde; munin daha täĵlif yoxudu.

(75-79). Alä belä edällär. Sähär gerellär ki häyä qizakidi, räxti geymiš oturmuš orä. Xob ne beläyi ollu, näyin ollu? Älä bu qessäyi deyär. Deyär ki bu qizlär kakasiyaha mač verdilär, kaka dä onläri sudän gäçirdi.

(80-84). Män mač vermädim. Dedilär ki män gedäräm obayä xäbär verräm; deyäräm ki onlär mač verdilär; bu ollu ki mäni verdilär šer ayzina. Onnä qizlärin bowası, alti qizimiš, onikki qater äĵ o suyuz edär, uç gin, altisina su vermäz, alti dahasına dä arpä vermäz. Xub ki munnär aĵ o suyuz ollu, bu qizlärin altisini dä bir yannän bu qaterä baylar bir yannän o qaterä. Onnä hugm edär deyär: bir yannän su gätirin qoyin bir yannän nä arpä.

(85-89). Tušulädin tä qäter baxä çäkä bu qizläri šaqqa edä. Bu dä ki deyllär ged ki šaqqa ollän älä onnän qalmiš. Onnä iyär aparir tekär bir quyuya, qizläri. Qiz dä salim olur oturur yerinä. Tämam ollu.

#### **14.1.6.1. Folktale 6: translation**

(1-4). There was a man, I do not know whether he was the head of a village or a king. He took a wife, and from her, he had six daughters. They were not able to bear a son. He took another wife, and from her he got a son and a daughter. The daughters of the first woman were so gross and dumb. The daughter of the last woman was charming and beautiful, she was a girl with slim waist, she was small, but all suitors came to propose to her.

(5-9). The room and the place of these girls were separated [each one had her own room]. This man was someone important. They had servants (Kaka and Dada). There was a river nearby. One day the eldest daughter said: Kaka, come with us in order that we go to take a walk and have some fun!

(10-14). Upon the river, there was a meander of lion. There was such a meander in which there was a lion. Yes, let us go to the Lion's Meander for a promenade! Kaka went with them, and the girls saw that the water was high. They said: Kaka, you should carry us across [the river] on your back. He said: each of you, give me a kiss for I carry you across.

(15-19). Then, they said: there is nobody around here, we will give kisses to you. Each one gave him a kiss and was carried across. He came to take the youngest girl, she said: I will neither give you a kiss nor do I want you to carry me across. He said: It is impossible for you to cross without being carried. She said: I shall return.

(20-24). The girls called him: Kaka, take her on your back and carry her across; and her kiss, take it from us. He carried them to the other side, they went to the Lion's Meander, and walked around there. The girls talked over the issue and concluded: when she returns home she will say we have given kisses to Kaka. She was a nice and beautiful girl; moreover, she had a very beautiful long hair. There was a willow tree in this very Lion's Meander.

(25-29). They split the hair of this girl and tied her by means of her hair to the trunk of willow; by her scarf they tied her waist too. They returned. Oh, I did not say this: the lion listened to them, it knew the human language. They shouted and called the lion by its name, they said: come, we have attached your prey here! They also warned it: do not let a drop of her blood drip on the soil!

(30-34). The girls ran away, and Kaka carried them across to the other side [of the river]. They returned home. On returning home, they were asked: what happened to the girl? They said: actually, the girl was not with us, she returned home. Woe to us! They moved heaven and earth, the girl was not found.

(35-39). The girl was attached here, after all. The lion came to eat the girl, she said: what do you call Shiraz? The lion said: we call it *shahr*.<sup>55</sup> Uttering the word *shahr*, its mouth opened and a drop of blood fell at the foot of the willow. By the will of God, from that drop of blood sprouted a few fine reeds.

(40-44). After a few years, his father's shepherd took the herd and led it to the Lion's Meander to graze. It was summer, and in summer the river used to dry up. The shepherd crossed the herd from the dry river and the herd, grazing here and there, went to the foot of that willow. Under the willow, the shepherd saw that there were two fine and beautiful reeds. He was a flute player; he cut a couple of reeds to make a flute; he took them home, made [a flute] and put it to his mouth to play.

(45-49). As soon as he put the flute on his lips and blew into it, he heard a voice saying:

Play, play, O shepherd

you play well, O shepherd.

these unfortunate sisters

gave kisses to Kakasia.

they tied my hair to the willow

and gave my body to the lion

from my blood fell a drop,

[from this drop] grew a long reed

my father's shepherd cut it.

The flute said such a thing. This one said, give it to me! That one said: give it to me! The brother of the girl played [the flute], the sound came out:

(50-54). Play, play, my brother, you play well, my brother. These unfortunate sisters gave kisses to Kakasia. Her father put the flute to her mouth, it said the same thing. Whoever put it to his or her mouth, it said the same thing. They said, this is the very same girl, what shall we do? It was night. Tomorrow, we must take the case to the judge or the mullah in order to know what the decision would be; to the savant, to the mullah.

(55-54). They took the flute and put it in a shelf, and the girls, when everybody went to sleep, stole it. They took the flute out and broke it and burnt it in an iron-sheet stove in so that its ashes would be contained. They set it on fire, then they extinguished the fire and put the ashes of the flute in a tissue and gave it to Kaka. They said: Kaka, you will take this to the peak of that black mountain and will pour it at the foot of a rock. At night, Kaka took it and departed.

(60-64). The next day they noticed that the flute was not there, and however hard they searched they could not find it, it was not there, it was stolen. But by the will of God, a watermelon bush grew where the ashes had been poured; at the foot of the very same rock. The brother of the girl was young at that time. He grew up and became a hunter of game and partridge. [One day] He said: I must go to the mountains hunting a game or a partridge. The parents had become blind from the sorrow of their lost daughter.

(65-69). The son went hunting and looked for games, but he hunted nothing. He was coming back, he happened at the foot of the rock a bush that had one watermelon. He picked it and took it to eat because he was thirsty, but he said to himself: I take this to home since I have also blind parents. I hunted nothing; instead, my parents will eat a slice [of this watermelon]. He took it and came home and told his mother: Mom, I have found a fresh watermelon, bring a tray for I cut it and you eat a slice.

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<sup>55</sup> The city Shiraz is sometimes called *shahr* (a Persian word meaning *city*) by most Qashqai and some people of Shiraz and its vicinity. The reason might be the importance of Shiraz for them compared to all other cities of Iran (see also Daneshpajuh, 1998: 251).

(70-74). Her mother brought a tray. The son put the knife on one side of the watermelon, a voice said: O my brother, here it is my hand, there it is my belly, here it is my head ... do not cut! To the surprise of everybody, someone was speaking inside the watermelon. They took it to the judge and the mullah. He said: Go to the shop and buy a set of fabric and sew clothes, put it in the tray, and put them in a room, put it at night, and lock the door and watch in front of the door, and tomorrow morning when the sun rises, open the door and look what has happened; there is no other solution.

(75-79). They did so. The next day they saw that, wow, it was the girl; she had got dressed and was sitting there. But, why did that happen and how? She told this very same story. She said that the girls gave kisses to Kakasia, and Kaka carried them across the water.

(80-84). I did not give him a kiss. The other sisters said that I would inform the family and that I would say that they gave him kisses. That was why they delivered me to the mouth of the lion. Then the girls' father, there were six girls, starved and made thirsty twelve mules for three days; he gave no water to six of them, and no barley to the other six. When these mules became hungry and thirsty enough, he tied each of the six girls to a mule from one side and to another mule from the other side. Then he ordered: bring from one side some water and from the other side some barley!

(85-89). Make a sign to the mules so that they come and pull these girls and tear them apart. The idiom that says, "may you be torn apart!" comes from this very story. Then he collected the girls and threw them in a well. And the daughter regained her health and sat at her place. That is over.

#### 14.1.6.2. Folktale 6: glossed text

(1) (1-4)

<i>Bir</i>	<i>kiši-yimiš</i>	<i>bil-me-r-äm</i>	<i>kädxoda</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>šah-imiš</i>
one	man-PF.COP3SG	know-NEG-PRS-1SG	alderman	or	king-PF.COP3SG
<i>bir</i>	<i>arvad</i>	<i>al-mišimiš</i>	<i>onnän</i>	<i>altı</i>	<i>qez</i>
one	woman	take-PF3SG	she.ABL	six	girl
					<i>var-ı-yimiš</i>
					existing-POS3SG-PF3SG
<i>oɣul</i>	<i>gir-i-nä</i>	<i>gäl-me-yirmiš</i>			
son	availability-POS3-DAT	come-NEG-EVIMPF3SG			

(2)

<i>ged-är</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>arvad</i>	<i>daha</i>	<i>al-ir</i>	<i>onnän</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>oɣul-unän</i>
go-AOR3SG	one	woman	other	take-AOR3SG	she.ABL	one	boy-INST
<i>bir</i>	<i>qez</i>	<i>gir-i-nä</i>	<i>gäl-er</i>				
one	girl	availability-POS3-DAT	come-AOR3SG				

(3)

<i>munin</i>	<i>qez-lär-i</i>	<i>belä</i>	<i>luk-o-puk</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>(koloft-moloft)-umuš</i>
this.GEN	girl-PL-POS3SG	such	fat.and.idiot	and	fat-PF.COP3SG

(4)

<i>bu</i>	<i>axirkı</i>	<i>arvad-ın</i>	<i>qez-i</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>şeyda</i>	<i>qäşän</i>	<i>qez-emeš</i>
this	last.KI	femme-GEN	girl-POS3SG	one	charming	pretty	girl-PF.COP3SG
<i>bel-i</i>	<i>inčä</i>	<i>qez-emeš</i>	<i>kummuŷä-yimiš</i>	<i>väli</i>	<i>härnä</i>	<i>sowju</i>	
waist-POS3SG	slim	girl-PF.COP3SG	little-PF.COP3SG	but	whatever	suitor	
<i>gäl-irmiš</i>	<i>munä</i>	<i>gäl-irmiš</i>					
come-EVIMPF3SG	this.DAT	come-EVIMPF3SG					

(5) (5-9)

<i>bu</i>	<i>qez-lärin</i>	<i>nä</i>	<i>utaq-ı</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>mähäll-i</i>	<i>dä</i>	<i>ayrı-yimiš</i>
this	girl-PL-GEN	DA	room-POS3SG	and	place-POS3SG	DA	separate-PF.COP3SG

(6)

<i>bu</i>	<i>kiši</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>beyig</i>	<i>kimsä-yimiš</i>
this	man	one	great	figure-PF.COP3SG

(7)

<i>kaka</i>	<i>var-läri-ymiš</i>	<i>dädä</i>	<i>var-läri-ymiš</i>
servitor	existing-POS3PL-COP.PPF	housemaid	existing-POS3PL-COP.PPF

(8)

<i>bir</i>	<i>çay</i>	<i>dä</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>yäxen-lär-dä</i>	<i>var-imiš</i>
one	river	DA	that	near-PL-LOC	existing-PF3SG

- (9)  
*bir gin qez-lär-in beyig-i de-yär gä Kaka yan-ımız sirä*  
 one day girl-PL-GEN elder-POS3 say-AOR3SG come.IMP2SG Kaka side-POS1PL.towards  
*biz ged-ä-g täfrih-ä seylangah-ä*  
 we go-SUBJ-1PL fun-DAT promenade-DAT
- (10) (10-14)  
*čäy-dä dä bir čäm-e šer var-imiš.*  
 river-LOC DA one meander.of.lion exist.PPF3SG  
*bir čäm var-imiš onnä bir šer var-imiš*  
 one meander existing-PPF that.LOC one lion existing-PPF3SG
- (11)  
*häyä ged-ä-g čäm-e šer-ä bir tämaša-yä*  
 yes go-SUBJ-1PL meander.EZ.lion-DAT one tour-DAT
- (12)  
*Kaka gäl-er o qez-lär ger-el-lär su ujä gäl-ir*  
 Kaka come-AOR3SG and girl-PL see-AOR-3PL water high come-PRS3SG
- (13)  
*de-yär kaka biz-i sän al-äsi-η dal-ın-ä gäč-ird-ä-η*  
 say-AOR3SG Kaka we-ACC you take-NECS-2SG back-POS2-DAT cross-CAUS-AOR-2
- (14)  
*de-yär här bir-iniz bir mač ver-in tä gäč-ird-ä-m*  
 say-AOR3SG every one-POS2PL one kiss give-IMP2PL TA cross-CAUS-SUBJ-1SG
- (15) (15-19)  
*daha burdä de-yäl-lär kim var mač dä ver-d-äg*  
 DAHA here.LOC say-AOR-3PL who exist.prs kiss DA give-AOR-1PL
- (16)  
*här bir-i bir mač ver-er dä gäč-är*  
 every one-POS3SG one kiss give-AOR3SG DA cross-AOR3SG
- (17)  
*gäl-är bu kučig-i apar-ä*  
 come-AOR3SG this little-ACC take-SUBJ3SG  
*de-yär män nä mač ver-ir-äm nä dä isi-r-äm gäč-ird-ä-η*  
 say-AOR3SG I neither kiss give-PRS-1SG nor DA want-PRS-1SG cross-CAUS-SUBJ-2
- (18)  
*de-yär be ol-ur dä sän gäč-mä-yä-η ged-ä-η*  
 say-AOR3SG be be-AOR3SG DA you cross-NEG-SUBJ-2 go-SUBJ-2SG
- (19)  
*de-di män ged-är-äm geri.*  
 say-PST3SG I go-AOR-1SG backwards
- (20) (20-24)  
*qez-lär čayir-il-lär de-yäl-lär Kaka al dal-ın-ä gäter*  
 girl-PL call-AOR-3PL say-AOR-3PL Kaka take.IMP2SG back-POS2-DAT bring.IMP2SG  
*onin mač-i-ni dä biz-dän al*  
 he.GEN kiss-POS3-ACC DA we-ABL take.IMP2SG
- (21)  
*gäč-ird-er otay-ä ged-äl-lär čäm-e šer-ä*  
 cross-CAUS-AOR3SG that.side-DAT go-AOR-3PL meander-EZ-lion-DAT  
*gäz-äl-lär owan bowan*  
 walk-AOR-3PL that.side this.side
- (22)  
*qez-lär šowr ed-är de-yär bu ged-ännä*  
 girl-PL consult do-AOR3SG say-AOR3SG this go-CONV  
*de-yär biz kaka-yä mač ver-di-g*  
 say-AOR3SG we kaka-DAT kiss give-PST-1PL
- (23)  
*bir xub qäšän qüz-imiš, xub čox uzun nä sač var-i-yimiš*  
 one good beautiful girl-PF.COP3SG good very long DA braid existing-POS3-PF.COP3SG

- (24)  
*bir segid älä bu čäm-e-šer-dä var-imiš.*  
 one willow EMPH this meander.of.lion-LOC existing-PF.COP3SG
- (25) (25-29)  
*bu qez-iñ sač-i-ni duveyli ed-äl-lär bu segid-iñ kunnä-si-nä*  
 this girl-GEN braid-POS3SG-ACC split do-AOR-3PL this willow-GEN trunc-POS3SG-DAT  
*baylä-l-lär čarqädmarqäd-i-yinän nä bel-i-ni baylä-l-lär.*  
 attach-AOR-3PL scarf-POS3SG-INST DA waist-POS3SG-ACC attach-AOR-3PL
- (26)  
*bikil-äl-lär*  
 return-AOR-3PL
- (27)  
*Häyä munu de-mä-di-m älä burdän nä ki bikil-äl-lär*  
 yes this.ACC say-NEG-PST-1SG EMPH here.ABL DA KI return-AOR-3PL  
*šer-aki dä qulay as-irmiš, dil bil-irmiš*  
 lion-DEF DA ear hang-EVIMPF3SG language know-EVIMPF3SG
- (28)  
*čayir-äl-lär šer-iñ ad-i-ni de-yäl-lär*  
 call-AOR-3PL lion-GEN name-POS3-ACC say-AOR-3PL  
*de-yäl-lär gä šikal-iñ-i baylä-miš-äg burä*  
 say-AOR-3PL come.IMP2SG game-POS2-ACC attach-PF-1PL here
- (29)  
*qädäyän nä ed-äl-lär ki*  
 forbidden DA do-AOR-3PL KI  
*qoy-mä bir tukkä qan-i dam-me-yä yer-ä*  
 permit-NEG.IMP2SG one drop blood-ACC drip-NEG-SUBJ3SG earth-DAT
- (30) (30-34)  
*qez-lär qäč-äl-lär o kaka dä onlär-i gäč-ird-är oyan-ä*  
 girl-PL flee-AOR-3PL and Kaka DA that.PL-ACC cross-CAUS-AOR3SG that.side-DAT
- (31)  
*gäl-äl-lär äv-ä*  
 come-AOR-3PL house-DAT
- (32)  
*gäl-ännä de-yäl-lär päs qez-aki nä ol-muš*  
 come-CONV say-AOR-3PL then girl-DEF what become-PF3SG
- (33)  
*de-yäl-lär häyä qez älä bizim-inän gäl-mä-di bikil-li geri.*  
 say-AOR-3PL yes girl EMPH we.GEN-INST come-NEG-PST3SG return-PST3SG backwards
- (34)  
*vur baš-iñ-ä tut baš-iñ-ä donya-yi qoy-äl-lär*  
 strike.IMP2SG head-POS2-DAT catch.IMP2SG head-POS2-DAT world-ACC put-AOR-3PL  
*äyq alt-i-nä qez gir-ä gäl-mäz*  
 foot under-POS3-DAT girl take.RADI-DAT come-NEG.AOR3SG
- (35) (35-39)  
*xob qez burä baylä-n-miš*  
 well girl here.DAT attach-MP-PF3SG
- (36)  
*šer gäl-li bu qez-i ye-yä qez šer-ä de-yär :*  
 lion come-PST3SG this girl-ACC eat-SUBJ3SG girl lion-DAT say-AOR3SG  
*siz shiraz-ä nä de-yir-äniz?*  
 you chiraz-DAT what call-PRS-2PL
- (37)  
*šer de-yär biz de-yir-äg šähr*  
 lion say-AOR3SG we call-PRS-1PL city

- (38)  
*šähr de-yännä ayz-ï ačil-ir*  
 city say-CONV mouth-POS3SG open-AOR3SG  
*bir tukkä qan dam-är burä segid-in äyq-i-nä*  
 one drop blood drip-AOR3SG here.DAT willow-GEN under-POS3-DAT
- (39)  
*allah-in ämr-i-nnän bu bir-ikki xub qameš ol-ur geyär-er*  
 god-GEN order-POS3SG-ABL this one.two good reed become-AOR3SG grow-AOR3SG
- (40) (40-44)  
*neččä il-län sorä bowa-si-niň čöban-ï dowar-ï geter-er*  
 some year-ABL after father-POS3SG-GEN shepherd-POS3SG herd-ACC take-AOR3SG  
*apar-är o čäm-e-šer-dä otar-ä*  
 take-AOR3SG that meander-EZ-lion-LOC graze-SUBJ3SG
- (41)  
*towsan-imiš towsan-lär bu čay qurr-irmiš*  
 summer-PF.COP3SG summer-PL this river dry-EVIMPF3SG
- (42)  
*čöban dowar-ï bu qurru-muš čay-dän gäč-ird-är*  
 shepherd herd-ACC this dry-PF3SG river-ABL cross-CAUS-AOR3SG  
*o dowar yayil-ä yayil-ä ged-är älä o segid äyq-i-nä*  
 and flock graze-CONV graze-CONV go-AOR3SG EMPH that willow foot-POS3-DAT
- (43)  
*čöban bu segid-in äyq-in-nä ger-är*  
 shepherd this willow-GEN foot-POS-LOC see-AOR3SG  
*bir-ikki xub qäšäň qämeš var*  
 one-two good beautiful reed existing
- (44)  
*bu dä neyči-yimiš bir-ikki qämiš-i-ni käs-är ki ney ed-ä*  
 this DA flutist-PF.COP3SG one-two reed-POS3-ACC cut-AOR3SG KI flute do-SUBJ3SG  
*gäter-er äv-dä dizäd-er o qoy-är ayz-ï-nä ki čal-ä*  
 bring-AOR3SG house-LOC make-AOR3SG and put-AOR3SG mouth-POS3-DAT KI play-SUBJ3SG
- (45) (45-49)  
*älä ney-aki-ni ayz-ï-nä qoy-ännä kiplä-yännä ger-er tä de-yir:*  
 EMPH flute-DEF-ACC mouth-POS3-DAT put-CONV blow-CONV see-AOR3SG TA say-PRS3SG
- (46)  
*be-zän be-zän ay čupun, xub mi-zän-i ay čupun*  
 PREF-play.IMP2SG PREF-play.IMP2SG O shepherd well PRS-play-2SG O shepherd  
*i dädä-ha-y rusia mač dad-e kakasia*  
 this sister-PL-EZ black.face kiss give-PF3SG Kakasia  
*gis-äm bäst-än be bid-e, tän-äm dad-än be šir-e*  
 hair-POS1SG attach.RADII-PST3PL to willow-DEF body-POS1SG give.RADII-PST3PL to lion-DEF  
*čikkä-y xun-om pär-ide*  
 drop-EZ blood-POS1SG fly-PF3SG  
*ney-e bolän däm-ide, čupun-e boa-m bor-ide.*  
 flute-EZ long grow-PF3SG shepherd-EZ father-POS1SG cut-PF3SG
- (47)  
*bu ney belä de-yär*  
 this flute so say-AOR3SG
- (48)  
*o de-yär ver män-ä, bu de-yär ver män-ä*  
 this say-AOR3SG give.IMP2SG I-DAT this say-AOR3SG give.IMP2SG I-DAT
- (49)  
*qiz-in kaka-si čal-ir säš čix-ir ki:*  
 girl-GEN brother-POS3SG play-AOR3SG sound exit-AOR3SG KI
- (50) (50-54)  
*be-zän be-zän ay čupun, xub mi-zän-i ay čupun*  
 PREF-play.IMP2SG PREF-play.IMP2SG oh shepherd well PRS-play.RADI-2SG oh shepherd



- i dädä-ha-y rusia mač dad-e kakasia  
this sister-PL-EZ black.face kiss give.RADII-PF3SG Kakasia
- (51) bowa-si qoy-är ayz-u-nä munu de-yär,  
father-POS3SG put-AOR3SG mouth-POS3-DAT this.ACC say-AOR3SG
- (52) härkä qoy-är ayz-i-nä älä munu de-yär,  
that put-AOR3SG mouth-POS3SG-DAT EMPH this.ACC say-AOR3SG
- (53) de-yäl-lär bu älä bu qez-aki-di niŋ ed-ä-g?  
say-AOR-3PL this EMPH this girl-DEF-PRS.COP3SG what do-SUBJ-1PL
- (54) šam-imiš, “sähar apar-ä-g o qazi yo şeyx yan-i-nä  
night-PF.COP3SG tomorrow take-SUBJ-1PL that judge and mullah side-POS3-DAT  
ger-ä-g täglef nä-di alim yan-i-nä şeyx yan-i-nä  
see-SUBJ-1PL decision what-PRS.COP3SG sage side-POS3-DAT mullah side-POS3-DAT
- (55) (55-59) geter-el-lär qoy-äl-lär bir tačä-yä yo  
take-AOR-3PL put-AOR-3PL one niche-DAT and  
bu qez-lär munnär yat-ännä ged-är oyur-lär,  
this girl-PL this.PL sleep-CONV go-AOR3SG steal-AOR3SG
- (56) ney-i gäter-er yazzi-dä qerr-är o  
flute-ACC bring-AOR3SG outside-LOC break-AOR3SG and  
qoy-äl-lär saŋ içi-nä otlä-l-lär ki kil-i tek-il-mä-yä  
put-AOR-3PL four inside.POS3-DAT burn-AOR-3PL KI ashes-POS3SG pour-MP-NEG-SUBJ3SG
- (57) yan-nür-il-lär o kor ed-äl-lär o qoy-äl-lär bir čapod-ä  
burn-CAUS-AOR-3PL and blind do-AOR-3PL and put-AOR-3PL one tissue-DAT  
ver-el-lär kaka-yä,  
give-AOR-3PL kaka-DAT
- (58) de-yäl-lär kaka munu apar-d-än o  
say-AOR-3PL Kaka this.ACC carry-AOR-2SG that  
qärä da ɣ-iŋ baš-i-nnä tek-är-än bir räy dib-i-nä  
black mount-GEN peak-POS3-ABL throw-AOR-2SG one rock bottom-POS3-DAT
- (59) kaka gejä geter-er munu ged-är  
Kaka night take-AOR3SG this.ACC go-AOR3SG
- (60) (60-64) sähar ger-el-lär ney yox härnä dä gäz-äl-lär bul-mäz-lär  
morning see-AOR-3PL flute inexisting whatever DA search-AOR-3PL find-NEG.AOR-3PL  
yox oyurlä-miš-lär  
inexisting steal-PF-3PL
- (61) bu daha allah-iŋ ämr-i-nnän älä orä  
this DAHA god-GEN order-POS3-ABL EMPH there.DAT  
kil tek-il-än yer-ä bir lälä ol-ur  
ashes pour-MP-PART earth-DAT one bush become-AOR3SG  
bir qarpiz lälä-si älä o räy-iŋ dib-i-nnä  
one watermelon bush-POS3SG EMPH that rock-GEN base-POS3-LOC
- (62) bu qez-iŋ kaka-si dä onnä jurrä-yimiš,  
this girl-GEN brother-POS3SG DA then.LOC little-PF.COP3SG
- (63) bu beyig ol-ur o šikal vur-än-imiš käylik vur-än-imiš  
this grand be-AOR3SG and game beat-PART-PPF.COP3SG partridge beat-CONV-PF.COP3SG  
de-yär ged-ä-m o day-a bir šikal-i käylik-i

- say-AOR3SG go-SUBJ-1SG that mount-DAT one game-INDEF partridge-INDEF  
*vur-ä-m gätir-ä-m*  
 beat-SUBJ-1SG bring-SUBJ-1SG
- (64)  
*bowanänä dä kor ol-muş älä bu qız-ın dard-in-nän.*  
 parents DA blind become-PF3SG EMPH this girl-GEN grief-POS3-ABL
- (65) (65-69)  
*oğul ged-är gäz-är gäz-är o inni bir şikal lä ed-äbil-mäz*  
 boy go-AOR3SG search-AOR3SG search-AOR3SG and now one game DA do-can-NEG.AOR3SG
- (66)  
*gäl-irmiş ger-er bu räy-ın alt-i-nnä bir qarpız lälä-si-di*  
 come-EVIMPF3SG see-AOR3SG this rock-GEN under-POS3SG-LOC one watermelon bush-POS3SG-PRS.COP  
*täkjä älä qarpuz var-i*  
 single.EQU EMPH watermelon existing-POS3SG
- (67)  
*qaz-är gäter-er älä suyız-ımış ye-yä*  
 pick-AOR3SG bring-AOR3SG EMPH thirsty-PF.COP3SG eat-SUBJ3SG  
*de-yär apar-ä-m älä kor nänäboa dä var-ım*  
 say-AOR3SG carry-SUBJ-1SG EMPH blind parents DA existing-POS1SG
- (68)  
*şikal ed-mä-miş-äm älä munıñ bir qaş-i-ni nänäboa-m nä ye-yä*  
 game do-NEG-PF-1SG EMPH this.GEN one slice-POS3SG-ACC parents-POS1SG DA eat-SUBJ3SG
- (69)  
*geter-er gäl-er o nänä-si-nä de-yär:*  
 take-AOR3SG come-AOR3SG and mother-POS3SG-DAT say-AOR3SG  
*nänä bir мәjemä gäter bir bäche qarpız*  
 mother one plate bring.IMP2SG one fresh watermelon  
*bul-muş-äm käs-ä-m bir qaş-i-ni dä sän ye*  
 find-PF-1SG slice-SUBJ-1SG one slice-POS3SG-ACC DA you eat.IMP2SG
- (70) (70-74)  
*nänä-si älä bir мәjemä gäter-er*  
 mother-POS3SG EMPH one plate bring-AOR3SG
- (71)  
*oğul çaqu-yu qoy-är pähle-si-nä käs-ä*  
 boy knife-ACC put-AOR3SG side-POS3SG-DAT slice-SUBJ3SG  
*de-yär: äy kaka, unja däs-em-ä,*  
 say-AOR3SG oh brother there hand-POS1SG-be.PRS3SG  
*ınja kom-om-ä, ınja sär-em-ä, nä-bor.*  
 here abdomen-POS1SG-be.PRS3SG here head-POS1SG-be.PRS3SG NEG-cut.IMP2SG
- (72)  
*de-mä bu qarpız-ın içi-nnä danış-ır*  
 say-NEG.IMP2SG this watermelon-GEN inside-POS3SG-LOC speak-PRS3SG
- (73)  
*geter-el-lär ged-äl-lär bu şeyx o qazı yan-i-na*  
 take-AOR-3PL go-AOR-3PL this mullah and judge near-POS3SG-DAT
- (74)  
*de-yär ged-ın bir däs räxt dukan-nän al-ın tik-ın*  
 say-AOR3SG go-IMP2PL one set clothes store-ABL buy-IMP2PL sew-IMP2PL  
*qoy-ın bu мәjemä-nin içi-nä qoy-ın bir äv-ä*  
 put-IMP2PL this plate-GEN inside-POS3SG-DAT put-IMP2PL one house-DAT  
*şam qoy-ın a ız-u-nä dä qolf vur-ın otur-ın däm-i-nä*  
 evening put-IMP2PL door-POS3SG-DAT DA lock strike-IMP2PL seat-IMP2PL in.front-POS3SG-DAT  
*tä sähär gin çal-ännä aç-ın ger-ın bu nä-de*  
 TA morning sun rise-CONV open-IMP2PL see-IMP2PL this what-PRS.COP3SG  
*munıñ daha täglef yox-u-du*  
 this.GEN other solution inexistent-POS3SG-PRS.COP3SG

- (75) (75-79)  
*älä belä ed-äl-lär.*  
 EMPH so do-AOR-3PL
- (76)  
*sähär ger-el-lär ki häyā qez-aki-dī rāxt-i gey-miš otur-muš orä.*  
 morning see-AOR-3PL KI yes girl-DEF-PRS.COP3SG clothes-ACC dress-PF3SG seat-PF3SG there.DAT
- (77)  
*xob ne beläyi ol-lu näyin ol-lu?*  
 well why so.KI become-PST3SG how be-PST3SG
- (78)  
*älä bu qessä-ye de-yär.*  
 EMPH this story-ACC say-AOR3SG
- (79)  
*de-yär ki bu qez-lär kakasih-ä mač ver-di-lär;*  
 say-AOR3SG KI this girl-PL kakasih-DAT kiss give-PST-3PL  
*kaka dä onlär-i su-dän gäč-ird-di.*  
 Kaka DA they-ACC water-ABL cross-CAUS-PST3SG
- (80) (80-84)  
*män mač ver-mä-di-m*  
 I kiss give-NEG-PST-1SG
- (81)  
*de-di-lär ki män ged-är-äm oba-yä xəbär ver-r-äm,*  
 say-PST-3PL KI I go-AOR-1SG family-DAT news give-AOR-1SG  
*de-yär-äm ki onlär mač ver-di-lär;*  
 say-AOR-1SG KI they kiss give-PST-3PL  
*bu ol-lu ki män-i ver-di-lär šer ayz-i-nä.*  
 this be-PST3SG KI I-ACC give-PST-3PL lion mouth-POS3SG-DAT
- (82)  
*onnä qez-lär-in bowa-si, alti qiz-imış,*  
 then.LOC girl-PL-GEN father-POS3SG six girl-PF3SG  
*onikki qäter aǵ o suyiz ed-är, uç gin alti-si-nä*  
 twelve mule hungry and thirsty do-AOR3SG three day six-POS3SG-DAT  
*su ver-mäz alti daha-si-nä dä arpä ver-mäz.*  
 water give-AOR.NEG3SG six other-POS3SG-DAT DA barley give-NEG.AOR.NEG3SG
- (83)  
*xub ki munnär aǵ o suyiz ol-lu bu qez-lär-in alti-si-ni dä*  
 well KI these hungry.and.thirsty be-PST3SG this girl-PL-GEN six-POS3SG-ACC DA  
*bir yan-nän bu qäter-ä bayl-är bir yan-nän o qäter-ä,*  
 one side-ABL this mule-DAT attach-AOR3SG one side-ABL that mule-DAT
- (84)  
*onnä hugm ed-är de-yär:*  
 then.LOC order do-AOR3SG say-AOR3SG  
*bir yan-nän su gäter-in qoy-in bir yan-nän nä arpä*  
 one side-ABL water bring-IMP2PL put-IMP2PL one side-ABL DA barley
- (85) (85-89)  
*tuşuläd-in tä qäter bax-ä čäk-ä bu qiz-lär-i šäqqä ed-ä*  
 signal-IMP2PL TA mule look-SUBJ2SG pull-SUBJ2SG this girl-PL-ACC tore do-SUBJ3SG
- (86)  
*bu dä ki de-yl-lär ged ki šaqqa ol-ä-η!*  
 this DA KI say-PRS-3PL go.IMP2SG KI torn be-SUBJ-2SG  
*älä onnän qal-mış.*  
 EMPH that.ABL remain-PF3SG
- (87)  
*onnä iy-är apar-ir tek-är bir quyu-yä qiz-lär-i*  
 that.LOC collect-AOR3SG carry-AOR3SG throw-AOR3SG one well-DAT girl-PL-ACC
- (88)  
*qiz dä salim ol-ur otur-ur yer-i-nä*  
 girl DA healthy become-AOR3SG seat-AOR3SG place-POS3SG-DAT

(89)

*tämam ol-lu.*

complete be-PST3SG

#### 14.1.7. Folktale 7: Gilikčä ‘The Yarn Ball’

*This folktale was told by the late Katâyun Parhun, then around 90-years-old, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, in the city Jahrom of the province of Fars (200 kms to the southeast of Shiraz), the 8<sup>th</sup> January 2007.*

(1-4) Bir kişiniñ arvadı elmişimiş, o arvaddän tåk qez varıymış. Bir arvad daha alır. Bu qız bu axırkı arvadı korlıg veyirmiş<sup>56</sup>. Bir qaşāñ zeyfäymiş dā älä o qez, qaşāñimiş.

(5-9) Bu zānbowanıñ ezinnä dā bir qez varıymış, bir luk-o-pukumuş. Arz edām bu qızı yollar bilmerām harä, dayä odunä bilmerām gäçciyā, bir işä yollar. Bu qez gedär gerer tā, bilmerām odun yıyırmiş nā iş geyirmiş, bir şikāftdi, içinnä belä bir zad säslänir. Gedär, vaxti ki gedär gerer tā xodaya bir div, divdir! näye howl o vālā divdir! Bu deyär oy qez ! gäl, gäl iläri.

(10-14). Qez gälli ; deyär gä burä otu<sup>57</sup> mänim başıma bax. Bu qorxar, bu qez deyäbilmäz ke gälmirām. Gäler oturur o deyär gä başımı arrid. Başınıñ nā jannarı täh çıyanıymış, mälmaligimiş, qumqummäg o beläye zadıymış. Häyā, tutirmış bāddäxliginän ya ellerä ya vill edä...

(15-19). Div deyirmiş nāmānā gerdiñ? Deyär: hešnā bir kummujä jannardı, qorxırmiş. Vill edär. Häyā, inni yadımā duşdu. Gilikčä varıymış äyirmiş, pämmä yä, häyā pämmä.

(20-24). Beläye lulä lulä gilikčä edillär, bu gilikčäyi äyirmiş. Bir yel gäler munıñ gilikčäsini geterer gedär. Baxär geyä, baxär baxär gerer tā apardı o kāmārdā bir şikāftdi dā qaddi onıñ içinä. Duşär qulunjunä. Bu bowaarvadişinnan qorxırmiş.

(25-29). Varır gedär gerer tā gilikčä dā yoxdur o gäterdi älä bu şikāft içinä. Bir boynu yoyun div oturmuş, qārā divdi, divdir. Deyär qorxmā gäl iläri, gä gilikčāñ älä burdä. Gäler o, deyär gäl otur başıma ävväl bax. Gäler oturur başına baxar.

(30-34). Bir parä beläye beläye jannarıymış, tutirmış ellerä ho bilmermiş, atirmış oyana. Deyär bu mänim başımın jannar varı? Deyär häyā, bir ikki kummujä jannardı, adını demäz, atirmış dizä. Xub bir parä belä edär o deyär ordā bir čärxdı, čärxiñ issinä gilikčāñi qomuşām, ged geti. Bu čärxiñ nā altinnä munıñ zäxiräsiymiş.

(35-39) Belä donyanıñ pulu, telası, gowhäri, munıñ altunnäymiş. Alä o gedär geterer o baxar gerer xodaya, gänje qarun älä yatmış ki, hesab yoxu. Bu deyir başını uxarı edmäz. Geterer gäler. Deyär län ol!

(40-44). Gilikčäsini geterer. Gäterer qızı qoyar älä o čärxiñ issinä. Čärxi oyunnurur gerer tā älä gilikčä ki getermeş duşdu. Munu oyunnurä ki mäsännä<sup>58</sup> härnä var čixä. Yanı bu teladän o zaddän getermiş, getirä? getermämiş, äl vurmämiş.

(45-49). Deyär qez ged, ged ki harda ixilän, čänāñnän ay geyärä, allıñnän nā gin geyärä... Bu aynän ginä qurs, älä onnän qalmış, eşeddiñ? Qez gedär, älä bu yazzidä ixilär. Inni älä oräsi dā yadımnan čixir. Ixiler o allınnän elahidän gin, čänäsinnän ay geyärer.

<sup>56</sup> *korlıg ver-* (lit. to give blindness) is composed of *kor* < P. *kur* ‘blind’ + the suffix *-lIG* and verb *ver-* ‘give’; it means ‘to harass’, ‘to maltreat’. To my knowledge, this compound verb is used only in Qashqay.

<sup>57</sup> *otu* is the imperative of the second person singular of the verb *oturmak* ‘to sit’. As in several other verbs ending in the consonant /r/, this consonant drops in imperative mood of the second person singular.

<sup>58</sup> *mäsännä*, from Arabic *ẓann* ‘supposition, guess’, means supposedly. The usage of this word as adverb is very frequent in the speech of the elderly Qashqay speakers.

(50-54). Älä aynän ginä qurs deyiñ. Gäler; “felanî käsîñ qîzî beläyin olmuş”, belä, belä, bu dasetan olur. Bu dä bir şah varlärimiş, kădxoda varlärimiş, ehlan olur, gerellär muştäri olullar qîzä. Muştäri olullar qîzä. Bu arvad ki bu qîzä korlig veyirdi, deyär sän niñ eddiñ belä ollîñ?

(55-59). Qez deyär män giligčäyi getirdim geddim o felanî yerä... Gäčči yaninnäymiş dä, giligčä äyirirmiş ä, gäčči yaninnäymiş. Gäčči aparđim orä, häyä, orä oturmuşdum gilikčämi äyirdim yel aparđi yo... Munu, dasetanîni deyär bu bowasî arvadînä. Bu dä qîzinä gilikčä verer o yollar.

(60-64). Deyär sän ged älä orä otu gilikčäni äyer şayäd sänîñkini dä aparđi. Xob munîñ qîzî dä gedär. Gedännä orä gilikčäsini yel aparîr o gedär älä o şikăfttän çaxardä gerer tä div oturmuş. Deyär gäl başîma bax. Bu div dä beläyi zad içiyimiş.

(65-69). Gedär deyär: “buy buy sänîñ başîñiñ jannarı ilannîr, bilmeräm, ilanqassiyidi, bilmeräm, qumqummăgdi, munnäri män tutăbilmiräm, näye edäm? qăräbejikdi”. Onnä deyär xub, ossun. Ged gilikčäni getir. Gedär gilikčäsini geterä gerer tä bu gänje qarîniñ issinnä. Härnä jeb varyiymiş zad variymiş dollurur bu teladän o gowhărdän o bu äsădän.

(70-74). Giligčäsini geterer gäler. Gälännä qoyär čärx issinä gerer tä bir badman xert o pert tekilli, tela o gowhăr o älä bu gänje qarunnän. Deyär: qez gedän älä felan yerdä ixilän, čänänän eşşäyiñ färşi geyärsin allîñnän nä siki. Inni bähze kimsä deyir allîmnä eşşäg siki vardî. Bu qîziñki dä beläki olur.

(75-79). Bu şah oyulu muştäri olur o ilărki qîzä. Bu qîzinî qatirmiş tănur altîna, käsirmiş o yosirmiş o dizădirmiş. Onu dä qaym edmişimiş ki bu ez qîzinî şayäd beläyi verä... Bir xurus variymiş, xurus gäler. Älä bu qezi ki qaym edmişimiş o äviñ altîna, xurus gäler älä äviñ issinä buñ veyirmiş.

(80-84). Deyirmiş: “*quyliyu, fatma xanîm tu tănur, bibili jänîm ällîni qîçini yosir*”. Gerellär tä xurus beläyi deyir. Heč, xurus beläyi deyir, tä isir bu qîzî verä. Şah oyulu dä gäler deyär ki... Gedällär toy edällär o oyan o buyan o, gälellär älä munu aparallar dola bula edällär geterellär gedällär.

(85-89). Orä gedännä şah oyulu deyär: o qezi ki män eseräm bu dăyil. Män bu qîzî isămiräm, aparîñ geri, äterellär geri. Tä arvadi ävdän çaxardällär. Tekällär tä gerellär bir ävdir, bilmeyräm, munîñ altînna bir pişuft varîmiş qîzî qadmişimiş orä. Čaxardällär qîzî gäterellär aparîllär verellär şah oyulunä.

(90-93). Onîñ nä qîzinî gäterellär verellär geri. Arvadi dä bilmeräm ellerellär o yannirîllär, kăfdän aparîllär, älä bu bowasî arvadiñi. Xob dossumuz o ossun, duşmănimiz dä älä bu arvad ossun. Tămam ollu.

#### **14.1.7.1. Folktale 7: translation**

(1-4). The wife of a man was dead; from her, he had only a daughter. He took another wife. This second woman used to harass the girl. She was a beautiful one this girl, she was beautiful.

(5-9). And this stepmother, too, had a daughter; she was a fat and stupid one. Then, the stepmother sent her stepdaughter, I do not know where, to mountains to collect firewood or to graze goats, I do not know, she sent her to do something. This girl went, I do not know whether she was busy collecting firewood or doing something else, and she saw that there was a cave in which something was making a noise. She went into the cave; arrived there she saw, oh my God, a demon, what a horrible demon! This said: O girl, come, come forward.

(10-14). The girl entered; he said: come and sit here and search my head. The girl was afraid, she could not refuse to do that. She entered and sat down. He said: come and delouse my head. Among the beasts of his head were centipedes, lizards, chameleons and things like that. Yes, she caught them with so much difficulty and killed some and dropped some others...

(15-19). The demon said: what did you see? She said: nothing, there was just a small beast; he was afraid. The demon released her. Ah, now I remember it. She had a yarn ball, she spun cotton, yes, cotton.

(20-24). Such yarn balls are made in rolls. She was spinning a yarn ball, a gust of wind came and took her yarn ball. She looked at the sky, she looked again and again, and she saw that [the wind] took it into a cave that was in the rock. She set to follow it. She was afraid of her stepmother.

(25-29). She followed and saw that the yarn ball was gone; it had disappeared into the cave. There was a stiff-necked demon sitting there, a black demon, it was a demon. He said: do not be afraid, come here, your yarn ball is here. She entered, and the demon said: come and sit down here and have a look first at my head! She entered and sat down and looked at his head.

(30-34). There were some beasts like this and that, she caught them but, as she could not kill them, she only threw them away. He said: is there any beast in my head? She said: yes, there are some beasts; she did not tell him the name of the beasts; she threw them away. Well, she was busy doing this job for a while; then he said: over there, there is a spinning wheel on which I have put your yarn ball, go take it. Under this wheel, it was his treasure.

(35-39). There were money, gold and jewellery of the whole world beneath the wheel. She went to take her yarn ball, she saw, oh my God, the treasure of Korah, innumerable! It is said that this girl did not turn her head up. She took her yarn ball and wanted to go away, he said: wait!

(40-44). She took her yarn ball. He brought the girl and placed her on that wheel. He spun the wheel and saw that it was only the yarn ball with her. He wanted to turn the wheel, I suppose, to make everything she had taken fall. As if she had taken from money and things; had she taken any? she had taken nothing; she had not even touched them.

(45-49). He said: go girl; may the sun grow from your forehead and the moon from your chin wherever you fall. "Bound to sun and moon", this idiom comes from that story; have you heard it? have you heard it? The girl went and fell outside over there. What happened then? I do not remember well. She fell and by the grace of God, the sun grew on her forehead and the moon on her chin.

(50-54). Say that she was bound to the sun and the moon. She came back. "such a thing has happened to the daughter of Mr. so-and-so", and in this way, the story spread. They had a king there, or a headman, the news was announced, they came to see the girl, they wanted her for marriage. They wanted the girl for marriage. The woman (the stepmother) who used to harass the girl said: what did you do to become like that?

(55-59). She said: How did you become so? The girl said: I took the yarn ball, I went to that place... She had been grazing the goats, she had been spinning the yarn ball, yeah, she had been grazing the goats. I led the goats there, yes there, I was busy spinning my yarn ball, a gust of wind took it, and... She told that, she told her story to her stepmother. She gave a yarn ball to her own daughter too and sent her.

(60-64). She said: you go there and sit at that place and spin your yarn ball, maybe [the wind] will take yours, too. So, the daughter of this woman went too. When she arrived there, the wind took her yarn ball and ... she went to fetch it in the cave, she saw the demon sitting there. He said: Come here and look at my head. The demon apparently existed for this kind of things.

(65-69). She went therein and [looking at the head of the demon] said: wow, the beasts in your head are snakes, err... lizards, err... chameleons, I cannot catch them, how do I do? There are some beetles. Then he said: alright Go and take your yarn ball! She went to take her yarn ball, she found herself upon the treasure of Korah. She filled her pockets with gold, jewels and the things alike.

(70-74). She took her yarn ball and came back. Once come back to the demon, he put her on the wheel and saw so many things dropping from her: gold, jewels and other things of this very treasure of Korah. He said: go girl, may grow a donkey's vulva on your forehead and its penis on your chin wherever you fall. Nowadays, some say: I have gotten a penis of donkey on my forehead. So was what that happened to this girl.

(75-79). The son of the king wanted the first girl. She hid her own daughter in the oven, and cut and scratched her [wounds] in order that she recover. As for the stepdaughter, she had hidden her in the hope to give her own daughter to the son of the king. She had a rooster. The rooster crowed on the roof of the room beneath which she had locked the stepdaughter.

(80-84). The rooster would sing: cock-a-doodle-doo, Fatma Xaniim is in the oven, Bibili Janim rubs her forehead and her chin. They saw the rooster saying such a thing. Saying so, the rooster wanted make people know that she would like to give her own daughter to the son of the king. The son of the king came and said that ... They arranged the wedding, there was a great excitement everywhere, and they came to the girl and put make-up on her and fetched her.

(85-89). Once arrived there, the son of king said: the girl whom I want is not this one, I do not want this girl, take her back home. They brought her back home. And they took the stepmother out of the house. They searched the house and found a room, I do not know, beneath this room there was a hiding place in which she had locked the stepdaughter. They took out the girl and brought her and gave her to the son of king.

(90-93). They brought the daughter of the stepmother and gave her back. As for the woman, I do not know if they killed her or burnt her, they put and end to her life, the stepmother I mean. Well, may our friend be that one and our enemy be this very woman. That is over.

#### 14.1.7.2. *Folktale 7: glossed text*

- (1) (1-4)  
 bir | kişi-nin | arvad-ı | el-mişimiş | onnän | tāk | qez | var-ı-yimiş |  
 one | man-GEN | woman-POS3SG | die-PPF3SG | she-ABL | sole | girl | existing-POS3SG-PF3SG
- (2)  
 bir | arvad | daha | alir.  
 a | wife | other | take-AOR3SG
- (3)  
 bu | qez-ä | bu | axir-ki | arväd-ı | korlig | vey-irmiş.  
 this | girl-DAT | this | last-KI | woman-POS3SG | blindness | give-EVIMPF3SG
- (4)  
 bir | qäşän | zeyfä-yimiş | dä | älä | o | qez, | qäsän-imiş.  
 one | pretty | woman-PF.COP3SG | DA | EMPH | that | girl | pretty-PF.COP3SG
- (5) (5-9)  
 bu | zänbowaniñ | ez-en-nä | dä | qez | var-ımiş | bir | lukopuk-umuş.  
 this | stepmother-GEN | self-POS3SG-LOC | DA | girl | existing-PF3SG | one | fat.and.idiot-PF.COP3SG
- (6)  
 ärz | ed-ä-m, | bu | qiz-ı | yoll-är | bil-me-r-äm | härä  
 petition | do-SUBJ-1SG | this | girl-ACC | send-AOR3SG | know-NEG-PRS-1SG | where  
 day-ä | odun-ä, | bil-me-r-äm | gäççi-yä | bir | iş-ä | yoll-är.  
 mountain-DAT | wood-DAT | know-NEG-PRS-1SG | goat-DAT | one | work-DAT | send-AOR3SG
- (7)  
 bu | qez | ged-är | ger-er | tä | bil-me-r-äm | odun | iy-irmiş  
 this | girl | go-AOR3SG | see-AOR3SG | TA | know-NEG-PRS-1SG | wood | collect-EVIMPF3SG
- (8)  
 nä | iş | gey-irmiş | bir | şikäft-di | iç-i-nnä  
 what | work | do-EVIMPF3SG | one | cave-PRS.COP3SG | inside-ACC-LOC  
 belä | bir | zäd | säslän-ir,  
 so | one | thing | sound-PRS3SG
- (9)  
 ged-är | växti | ki | ged-är | ger-er | tä | xodaya | bir | div-dir,  
 go-AOR3SG | while | KI | go-AOR3SG | see-AOR3SG | TA | oh.God | one | demon-PRS.COP3SG  
 näye | howl-o-välä | div-dir! | bu | de-yär | oy | qez  
 how | terrible | demon-PRS.COP3SG | this | say-AOR3SG | oh | girl  
 gäl | iläri!  
 come.IMP2SG | forward
- (10) (10-14)  
 qez | gäl-li | de-yär | gä | burä | otu | män-im | baş-ım-ä | bax,  
 girl | come-PST3SG | say-AOR3SG | come.IMP2SG | here | sit.IMP2SG | I-GEN | head-POS-DAT | look.IMP2SG
- (11)  
 bu | qorx-är | bu | qez | de-yäbil-müz | ki | gäl-m-ir-äm,  
 this | fear-AOR3SG | this | girl | say-can-NEG.AOR3SG | KI | come-NEG-PRS-1SG
- (12)  
 gäl-er | otur-ur | o | de-yär | gä | baş-ım-ı | arrud  
 come-AOR3SG | sit-AOR3SG | he | say-AOR3SG | come.IMP2SG | head-POS-ACC | clean.IMP2SG

- (13)  
*baş-ı-niñ* *nä* *ǵannar-ı* *täh* *čian-ımiš* *mälmäleg-emiš*  
 head-POS-GEN DA animal-POS3SG all millipede-COP.PF3SG lizard-COP.PF3SG  
*qumqummäg* *o* *beläye* *zad-ımiš*,  
 chameleon and such thing-COP.PF3SG
- (14)  
*häyä* *tut-irmiš* *bäddäxlig-inän* *ya* *el-ler-ä* *ya* *vil* *ed-ä.*  
 yes catch-EVIMPF3SG misfortune-INST or kill-CAUS-SUBJ3SG or free do-SUBJ3SG
- (15) (15-19)  
*div* *de-yirmiš* *nämänä* *ger-di-η ?*  
 demon say-EVIMPF3SG what see-PST-2SG
- (16)  
*de-yär* *hešnä* *bir* *kummuǵä* *ǵannar-dı* *qorx-irmiš*,  
 say-AOR3SG nothing.what one small animal-COP3SG fear-EVIMPF3SG
- (17)  
*vill* *ed-är.*  
 free do-AOR3SG
- (18)  
*häyä* *inni* *yad-ım-ä* *duš-du*,  
 yes now memory-POS1SG-DAT fall-PST3SG
- (19)  
*gilikčä* *var-ı-yımiš* *äyr-irmiš*, *pämmä* *yä* *häyä* *pämmä*,  
 roll.of.coton existing-POS3SG-PF3SG spin-EVIMPF3SG coton ITJ yes coton
- (20) (20-24)  
*beläye* *lulä* *lulä* *gilikčä* *ed-il-lär*, *bu* *gilikčä-ye* *äyr-irmiš*.  
 such roll roll roll.of.coton do-PRS-3PL this roll.of.coton-ACC spin-EVIMPF3SG
- (21)  
*bir* *yel* *gäl-er* *muniñ* *gilikčä-si-ni* *geter-er* *ged-ä*,  
 one wind come-AOR3SG this.GEN roll.of.coton-POS3SG-ACC take-AOR3SG go-AOR3SG
- (22)  
*bax-är* *gey-ä* *bax-är* *bax-är* *ger-er* *tä* *apar-di*  
 look-AOR3SG sky-DAT look-AOR3SG look-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG TA take-PST3SG  
*o* *kämär-dä* *bir* *şikäft-di* *dä* *qad-di* *o-niñ* *ič-i-nä*  
 that rock-LOC one cave-PRS.COP DA enter-PST3SG that-GEN inside-POS3SG-DAT
- (23)  
*duš-är* *qulunǵ-u-nä*  
 fall-AOR3SG after-POS3SG-DAT
- (24)  
*bu* *bowaarvad-ı-sin-nän* *qorx-irmiš*.  
 this stepmother-POS3SG-GEN-ABL fear-EVIMPF3SG
- (25) (25-29)  
*var-ır* *ged-är* *ger-er* *tä* *gilikčä* *dä* *yox-dur*  
 existing-AOR3SG go-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG TA roll.of.coton DA inexistent-COP3SG  
*o* *gäter-di* *älä* *bu* *şikäft* *ič-i-nä*  
 and bring-PST3SG EMPH this cave inside-POS3SG-DAT
- (26)  
*bir* *boyn-u* *yoyun* *arvad* *otur-muš* *qärä* *div-di*, *div-dir*.  
 one neck-POS3SG robust woman sit-PF3SG black demon-COP3SG demon-COP3SG
- (27)  
*de-yär* *qorx-mä* *gäl* *iläri*, *gä* *gilikčä-η* *älä* *burdä*  
 say-AOR3SG fear-NEG.IMP2SG come.IMP2SG forward come.IMP2SG roll.of.coton-POS2SG EMPH here.LOC
- (28)  
*gäl-er* *o* *de-yär* *gäl* *otur* *baş-ım-ä* *ävväl* *bax*.  
 come-AOR3SG and say-AOR3SG come.IMP2SG sit.IMP2SG head-POS1-DAT first look.IMP2SG
- (29)  
*gäl-er* *otur-ur* *baş-ı-nä* *bax-är*.  
 come-AOR3SG sit-AOR3SG head-POS3SG-DAT look-AOR3SG



- (30) (30-34)  
*o bir parä beläyi beläyi ĵannar-imiš*  
 and one part such such animal-COP.PF3SG  
*tut-irmiš el-ler-ä-ho-bil-m-ermiš at-irmiš oan-ä*  
 catch-EVIMPF3SG die-CAUS-A-ITJ-BIL-NEG-EVIMPF3SG throw-EVIMPF3SG that.side-DAT
- (31)  
*de-yär bu män-im baš-im-iñ ĵannar var-i?*  
 say-AOR3SG this I-GEN head-POS1SG-GEN animal existing-POS3SG
- (32)  
*de-yär häyä bir ikki kummuĵa ĵannar-di.*  
 say-AOR3SG yes one two small animal-PRS.COP3SG  
*äd-i-ni de-mäz at-irmiš diz-ä*  
 name-POS3SG-ACC say-AOR.NEG3SG throw-EVIMPF3SG outside-DAT
- (33)  
*xub, bir parä belä ed-är o de-yär ordä bir čärx-di*  
 well one part so do-AOR3SG and say-AOR3SG there.LOC one wheel-PRS.COP  
*čärx-iñ issi-nä gilikčä-ñ-ni qo-muš-äm ged geti*  
 wheel-GEN on.POS3SG-DAT roll.of.coton-POS2SG-PRS.COP put-PF-1SG go.IMP2SG take.IMP2SG
- (34)  
*bu čärx-iñ nä alt-i-nnä muniñ zäxirä-si-yimiš.*  
 this wheel-GEN DA under-POS3SG-LOC this.GEN treasury-POS3SG-PF.COP
- (35) (35-39)  
*belä donya-niñ pul-u, telä-si, gowhär-i muniñ alt-i-nnä-ymiš.*  
 such world-GEN money-POS3SG gold-POS3SG jewel-POS3SG this.GEN under-POS3SG-LOC-PRS.COP
- (36)  
*älä o ged-är geter-er o bax-er ger-er*  
 EMPH that go-AOR3SG take-AOR3SG and look-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG  
*xodaya gänĵ-e qarun älä yat-miš ki hesab yox-u.*  
 oh.God treasure-EZ Qarun EMPH sleep-PF3SG KI count inexistent-POS3SG
- (37)  
*bu de-yir baš-i-ni uxari ed-mäz.*  
 this say-PRS3SG head-POS3SG-ACC upwards do-AOR.NEG3SG
- (38)  
*geter-er gäl-er.*  
 take-AOR3SG come-AOR3SG
- (39)  
*de-yär läñ ol!*  
 say-AOR3SG cripple be.IMP3SG
- (40) (40-44)  
*gilikčä-si-ni geter-er.*  
 roll.of.coton-POS3SG-ACC take-AOR3SG
- (41)  
*gäter-er qez-i qoy-är älä o čärx-iñ issi-nä*  
 bring-AOR3SG girl-ACC put-AOR3SG EMPH that wheel-GEN on.POS3SG-DAT
- (42)  
*čärx-i oyun-nur-ur ger-er tä älä gilikčä ki geter-miš duš-du.*  
 wheel-ACC spin-CAUS-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG TA EMPH roll.of.coton KI take-PF3SG fall-PST3SG
- (43)  
*munu oyun-nur-ä ki mäsännä härnä var čix-ä*  
 this.ACC spin-CAUS-SUBJ3SG KI supposing whatever existing come.out-SUBJ3SG
- (44)  
*yanı bu tela:dän o zad-dän geter-miš*  
 meaning this gold-ABL and thing-ABL take-PF3SG  
*geter-ä? getir-mä-miš, äl vur-mä-miš*  
 take-SUBJ3SG take-NEG-PF3SG hand beat-NEG-PF3SG

- (45) (45-49)  
*de-yär qez ged, ged ki härdä ixil-ä-η*  
 say-AOR3SG girl go.IMP2SG go.IMP2SG KI where collapse-SUBJ-2SG  
*čäñä-η-nän ay geyär-ä all-iñ-nän nä gin geyär-ä*  
 chin-POS2SG-ABL moon grow-SUBJ3SG forehead-POS2SG-ABL DA sun grow-SUBJ3SG
- (46)  
*bu ay-inän gin-ä märg? onnän qal-miš ešid-di-η?*  
 this moon-INST sun-DAT death that-ABL remain-PF3SG hear-PST-2SG
- (47)  
*qez ged-är, ger-el-lär tä bir beläyen hesab-dir.*  
 girl go-AOR3SG see-AOR-3PL TA one such count-PRS.COP3SG  
*älä bu yazzi-dä ixil-är.*  
 EMPH this outside-LOC collapse-AOR3SG
- (48)  
*inni älä orä-si dä yad-im-nän čix-ir*  
 now EMPH there-ACC DA memory-POS1SG-ABL come.out-PRS3SG
- (49)  
*ixil-er o all-iñ-nän elah-i-dän gin, čäñä-si-nnän ay*  
 collapse-AOR3SG and forehead-POS3SG-ABL God-ABL sun chin-POS3SG-ABL moon
- (50) (50-54)  
*älä ay-nän gin-ä qurs de-yiñ...*  
 EMPH moon-INST sun-DAT disc say-IMP2PL
- (51)  
*gäl-er, felani käs-iñ qez-i beläyin ol-muš,*  
 come-AOR3SG and.so person-GEN girl-POS3SG such become-PF3SG  
*belä belä bu dasetan ol-ur*  
 such such this story become-AOR3SG
- (52)  
*bu dä bir šah var-läri-yimiš kädxoda var-läri-yimiš*  
 this DA one king existing-POS3PL-PF alderman existing-POS3PL-PF3SG  
*ehlan ol-ur ger-el-lär, muštäre ol-ul-lär qez-ä.*  
 announcement be-AOR3SG see-AOR-3PL customer be-AOR-3PL girl-DAT
- (53)  
*moštäre ol-ul-lär qez-ä,*  
 customer become-AOR-3PL girl-DAT
- (54)  
*bu arvad ki bu qez-ä korlig vey-irdi,*  
 this woman see-AOR3SG this girl-DAT blindness give-IMPF3SG  
*de-yär sän niñ ed-di-η belä ol-li-η?*  
 say-AOR3SG you how do-PST-2SG such become-PST-2SG
- (55) (55-59)  
*qez de-yär män giligčä-ye getir-di-m ged-di-m o felani yer-ä*  
 girl say-AOR3SG I roll.of.coton-ACC take-PST-1SG go-PST-1SG that and.so earth-DAT
- (56)  
*gäčče yan-i-nnä-yimiš dä bu giligčä äyr-irmiš ä*  
 goat side-POS3SG-LOC-PF3SG DA this roll.of.coton spin-EVIMPF3SG ITJ  
*gäčče yan-i-nnä-yimiš.*  
 goat side-POS3SG-LOC-PF3SG
- (57)  
*gäčče-yi apar-di-m orä häyä orä otur-mušdu-m*  
 goat-ACC take-PST-1SG there yes there sit-PPF-1SG  
*kirman, giligčä-m-i äyr-irdi-m yel apar-di o...*  
 spindle roll.of.coton-POS1-ACC spin-IMPF-1SG wind take-PST3SG and
- (58)  
*munu dasetan-i-ni de-yär bu bowa-si arvad-i-nä.*  
 this.ACC story-POS3SG-ACC say-AOR3SG this father-GEN woman-POS3SG-DAT

- (59)  
*bu də qez-i-nä gilikčä ver-er o yol-lär*  
 this DA girl-POS3SG-DAT roll.of.coton give-AOR3SG and send-AOR3SG
- (60) (60-64)  
*de-yär sän ged älä orä otu*  
 say-AOR3SG you go.IMP2SG EMPH there.DAT sit.IMP2SG  
*gilikjä-η-i äyer šayäd sän-iη-ki-ni də apar-dü.*  
 roll.of.coton-POS2SG-ACC spin.IMP2SG maybe you-GEN-KI -ACC DA take-PST3SG
- (61)  
*xob munin qez-i də ged-är*  
 well this.GEN girl-ACC DA go-AOR3SG
- (62)  
*ged-ännä orä gilikčä-si-ni yel apar-ir o ged-är älä*  
 go-CONV there roll.of.coton-POS3SG-ACC wind take-AOR3SG and go-AOR3SG EMPH  
*o šikäft-dän čax-ard-ä ger-er tä div otur-muš,*  
 that cave-ABL exit-CAUS-SUBJ3SG see-AOR3SG TA demon sit-PF3SG
- (63)  
*de-yär gäl baš-ım-ä bax*  
 say-AOR3SG come.IMP2SG head-POS1SG-DAT look.IMP2SG
- (64)  
*bu div də beläyi zad iči-ymiš*  
 this demon DA such thing for-PF.COP3SG
- (65) (65-69)  
*ged-är de-yär: buy buy sän-iη baš-iη-iη jannar-i*  
 go-AOR3SG say-AOR3SG buy buy you-GEN head-POS2SG-GEN anima-POS3SG  
*ilan-nür... bil-me-r-äm ilänqassiyi-dü bil-me-r-äm qumqummäg-di*  
 snake-PRS.COP know-NEG-PRS-1SG lizard-PRS.COP know-NEG-PRS-1SG chameleon-PRS.COP  
*munnä-r-e män tut-ä bil-me-ir-äm, näyi ed-äm? qäräbejik-di.*  
 these-ACC I catch-SUBJ3SG know-NEG-PRS-1SG how do-SUBJ-1SG beetle-PRS.COP
- (66)  
*onnä de-yär xub, os-sun,*  
 then.LOC say-AOR3SG well be-IMP3SG
- (67)  
*ged gilikčä-η-i getir.*  
 go.IMP2SG roll.of.coton-POS2SG-ACC take.IMP2SG
- (68)  
*ged-är gilikčä-si-ni geter-ä ger-er tä*  
 go-AOR3SG roll.of.coton-POS3SG-ACC take-SUBJ3SG see-AOR3SG TA  
*bu gänj-e qarın-iη issi-nä*  
 this treasury-EZ Qarun-GEN over.POS2SG-DAT
- (69)  
*härnä jeb var-i-ymiš zad var-i-ymiš*  
 whatever pocket existing-POS3SG-PF3SG thing existing-POS3SG-PF3SG  
*dol-lur-ur bu tela-dän o gowhär-dän o bu äsas-dän.*  
 fill-CAUS-AOR3SG this gold-ABL and jewel-ABL and this things-ABL
- (70) (70-74)  
*giligjä-si-ni geter-er gäl-er,*  
 roll.of.coton-POS3SG-ACC take-AOR3SG come-AOR3SG
- (71)  
*gäl-ännä qoy-är čärx is-si-nä ger-er tä bir badman xert o*  
 come-CONV put-AOR3SG wheel on-POS3SG-DAT see-AOR3SG TA one three.kilos junk and  
*pert tekil-li tela o gowhär o älä bu gänj-e qarın-nän.*  
 junk pour-PST3SG gold and jewel and EMPH this treasure-EZ Qarun-ABL
- (72)  
*de-yär qez ged-ä-η älä felan yer-dä ixil-ä-η*  
 say-AOR3SG girl go-SUBJ-2SG EMPH such earth-LOC collapse-SUBJ-2SG  
*čänä-η-nän eššäy-iη färs-i geyär-sin all-iη-nän nä sik-i.*  
 chin-POS2SG-ABL donkey-GEN vulva-POS3SG grow-IMP3SG forehead-POS2SG-ABL also penis-POS3SG

- (73)  
*inni bāze kimsä de-yir all-īm-nä eššäg sik-i var-dī.*  
 now some person say-PRS3SG forehead-POS1SG-LOC donkey penis-POS3SG existing-PRS.COP
- (74)  
*bu qiz-iñ-ki dā beläki ol-ur*  
 this girl-GEN-KI DA such become-AOR3SG
- (75) (75-79)  
*bu šah oyul-u muštäre ol-ur o ilär-ki qiz-ä,*  
 this king son-POS3SG costumer become-AOR3SG that fore-KI girl-DAT
- (76)  
*bu qiz-i-ni qat-irmiš tänur alt-i-nä*  
 this girl-POS3SG-ACC put.into-EVIMPF3SG four under-POS3SG-DAT  
*käs-irmiš o yos-irmiš o dizäd-irmiš*  
 cut-EVIMPF3SG and scratch-EVIMPF3SG and make-EVIMPF3SG
- (77)  
*onu dā qaym ed-mišimiš ki bu ez qiz-i-ni*  
 she.ACC DA hide do-PPF3SG KI this self girl-POS3SG-ACC  
*šayäd beläyi ver-ä,*  
 maybe so give-SUBJ3SG
- (78)  
*bir xurus var-i-ymiš, xurus gäl-er,*  
 one rooster existing-POS3SG-PF3SG rooster come-AOR3SG
- (79)  
*älä bu qez-i-ki qaym ed-mišimiš o äv-iñ alt-i-nä,*  
 EMPH this girl-INDEF-KI hide do-PPF3SG that house-GEN under-POS3SG-ACC  
*xurus gäl-er älä äv-iñ issi-nä buñ vey-irmiš.*  
 rooster come-AOR3SG EMPH house-GEN on.POS3SG-DAT call give-EVIMPF3SG
- (80) (80-84)  
*de-yirmiš: quyuliyu, fatmä xanım tu tänur,*  
 say-EVIMPF3SG song.of.rooster Fatima lady in four  
*bibili jän-ım äll-i-ni qič-i-ni yos-ir.*  
 Bibili soul-POS1SG forehead-POS3SG-ACC foot-POS3SG-ACC rub-PRS3SG
- (81)  
*ger-el-lär tä xurus beläyi de-yir.*  
 see-AOR-3PL TA rooster so say-PRS3SG
- (82)  
*heč, xurus beläye de-yir, tä ise-yr bu qez-e ver-ä.*  
 nothing rooster such say-PRS3SG TA want-PRS3SG this girl-ACC give-SUBJ3SG
- (83)  
*šäh oyul-u dā gäl-er de-yär ki...*  
 king son-POS3SG DA come-AOR3SG say-AOR3SG KI
- (84)  
*ged-äl-lär toy ed-äl-lär o oyan o buyan o, gäl-el-lär*  
 go-AOR-3PL wedding do-AOR-3PL and that.side and this.side and come-AOR-3PL  
*älä munu apar-al-lar dola bula ed-äl-lär geter-el-lär ged-äl-lär.*  
 EMPH this.ACC take-AOR-3PL dola bula do-AOR-3PL take-AOR-3PL go-AOR-3PL
- (85) (85-89)  
*orä ged-ännä šah oyul-u de-yär:*  
 there.DAT go-CONV king son-POS3SG say-AOR3SG  
*o qez-i ki män ese-r-äm bu däyil.*  
 that girl-INDEF3SG KI I want-PRS-1SG this NEG.PRS.COP3SG
- (86)  
*män bu qiz-i isä-m-ir-äm apar-iñ geri, gäter-el-lär geri,*  
 I this girl-ACC want-NEG-PRS-1SG take-IMP2PL back take-AOR-3PL back
- (87)  
*tek-äl-lär tä ger-el-lär bir äv-dir,*  
 pour-AOR-3PL TA see-AOR-3PL one house-PRS.COP3SG

(88)

*bil-me-r-äm muniñ alt-ï-nnä bir pişuft var-ïmiş*  
 know-NEG-PRS-1SG this.GEN under-POS3SG-LOC one crypt existing-PF3SG

*qiz-ï qad-mişimiş orä.*  
 girl-ACC put.into-PPF3SG there

(89)

*çax-ard-il-lär qiz-ï gäter-el-lär apar-il-lär ver-el-lär şah oyul-u-nä*  
 exit-CAUS-AOR-3PL girl-ACC bring-AOR-3PL take-AOR-3PL give-AOR-3PL king son-ACC-DAT

(90) (90-93)

*onin nä qiz-ï-ni gäter-el-lär ver-el-lär geri,*  
 she.GEN DA girl-POS3SG-ACC bring-AOR-3PL give-AOR-3PL back

(91)

*arvad-ï dä bil-me-r-äm el-ler-el-lär o yan-nir-il-lär,*  
 woman-ACC DA know-NEG-PRS-1SG kill-CAUS-AOR-3PL or burn-CAUS-AOR-3PL  
*käf-dän apar-il-lär, älä bu bowa-si arvad-ï-ni.*  
 palm.of.the.hand-ABL take-AOR-3PL EMPH this father-POS3SG woman-POS3SG-ACC

(92)

*xob doss-umuz o os-sun, duşmân-imiz dä älä bu arvad os-sun.*  
 well friend-POS1PL that become-IMP3SG enemy-POS1PL DA EMPH this woman become-IMP3SG

(93)

*tämam ol-lu.*  
 complete become-PST3SG

## 14.2. Life stories

### 14.2.1. Life story 1<sup>59</sup>

(1-4) Yaz gerirdiñ ki bu äşayer köç issinä. Arvad häme yol gedir häme kerman älinnä ägirir. Tä genä bir yerä qonir o genä towleyllärdi ta amada edillärdi ki gedälär sährädä. Sähräddä dä gedillärdi genä toxumayı başleyllärdi.

(5-9) Towsan yeytäridi, hava azzadidi. Bir çador qarayına ya älä kölgeyä bir qaliçä ya bir gilim ya bir jăjim dar edillärdi toxillärdi. Bir çador vurillärdi deyillärdi bu çador sediräkädır, üş diräk vurillärdi. Beyük çadoridi ki onikki ärşin häddeäqal uzunuydu. Daha muniñ dowruna gärmän verillärdi yo jolowna qapılıx atillärdi.

(10-14) Bähzi kimsä dä qäşänlig içi gur o gompol dizädirdi bayleyrdi bu payäyä, deyillärdi payäbänd. Mäsälän çäntä toqqıllardı o bälädan toqqıllardı asillardı bu payalardan qäşänlig içi. Häyä, towsanı xeyli jalibidi, çämänä qonillardı kop qärä-çador, aq-çador. Mäsälän bu gäççi yaz qerxä bilmerdi. Towsan hätmän gedasiydi gäççi sähräddä qerxälär.

(15-19) vä orda ki qerxillärdi munu kop edäsilärdi bir saf yerä. Bir uzun tärkäynän, geräk tär dä ola, ükküş näfär munu tärkäynän vurirdi serkäleyrdi yo dässä edillärdi. Yo, ägirillärdi ki gärmän o çador dizädälär. Daha bu uç ay towsan härnä toxumalı varlarıydi toxillärdi. Ta genä oba gälä gärmesirä yo qeşlaya.

(20) Tä genä qeşlayda daha qeşidi, daha birisi dä bir kummuja gäbbä eserdi toqquya ya bir jăjim eserdi toqquya säxtliginän toqqirdi.

#### 14.2.1.1. Life story 1: translation

(1-4) In the Spring you would see these nomads in migration. The women walked the *kermân* in hands spinning it. Until they settled down somewhere and again, they would spin [the *kermân*] and prepare themselves to go to the Summer zone. At the Summer zone, they would begin weaving again.

<sup>59</sup> This text is the transcript of a life story told by a Qashqai man and broadcast on the Radio Yâsuj (circa 2007) as part of a program entitled *Aghur El* "The Glorious Tribal Confederation (litt. the weighty tribal confederation)".

(5-9) The Summer was better; the weather was free [or fine]. Next to a tent or in the shade, they would set up a loom and weave a small rug or a Kilim or a Jâjim. They would pitch a tent and because it had three poles, they would call it a tent with three poles. It was a large tent that was at least twelve meters long. In addition, they would set *gärmäns* (walls) around and a door in front of this [tent].

(10-14) And some people would make colorful pom-poms, and to decorate the tent, they would hang them from the poles and call them pole-bound. They would weave, for example, Chanteh or Baladân and hang them on these poles to decorate them. Yes, the Summer was very interesting: groups of black and white tents were pitched in the meadow. For example, one could not cut the hairs of goats in the Spring. In the Summer, they had to go to the Summer zone to cut the hairs of goats.

(15-19) And once they had cut [the hairs of goats], they would pile them up in a flat place. And with a long stick, it must be freshly cut, several persons would beat [the hairs], shake and pile them. And they would spin them to make tents and tent walls. And during those three months of the Summer, they would weave whatever they should weave of woven things; until the tribe return to the Winter zone.

(20) And again in the Winter zone, it was winter and if someone wanted to make a small piece of Gabbeh or Jâjim, they would weave them with difficulty.

#### 14.2.1.2. Life story 1: glossed text

(1) (1-4)

Yaz ger-irdi-η ki bu āšayer köč issin-ä.  
spring see-IMPF-2SG KI this nomads migration upon-DAT

(2)

arvad häme yol ged-ir häme kerman äl-in-nä ägir-ir.  
woman both road go-PRS3SG and kerman hand-POS3SG-DAT spin-PRS3SG

(3)

tä genä bir yer-ä qon-ir o genä towle-yllärdi  
ta again one place-DAT land-PRS3SG that again spin-IMPF3PL  
ta amada ed-illärdi ki ged-ä-lär sārhad-ä.  
ta ready do-IMPF3PL KI go-SUBJ-3PL sarhad-DAT

(4)

sārhad-dä dä ged-illärdi genä toxumay-ï bašle-yllärdi.  
sarhad-LOC DA go-IMPF3PL again weaving-ACC start-IMPF3PL

(5) (5-9)

Towsan yey-tär-idi; hava azzad-idi.  
summer good-COMP-PST.COP3SG weather free-PST.COP3SG

(6)

bir çador qaray-in-a ya älä kölgey-ä bir qaliçä  
a tent side-POS3SG-DAT or EMPH shade-DAT a carpet  
ya bir gilim ya bir jâjim dar ed-illärdi toxil-lardi.  
or a kilim or a jajim set-IMPF3PL weave-IMPF3PL

(7)

Bir çador vur-illardi de-yillardi bu çador se-diräk-ä-dir,  
a tent pitch-IMPF3SG say-IMPF3SG this tent three-pole-DER-PRS.COP3SG  
üş diräk vur-illardi.  
three pole set-IMPF3PL

(8)

Beyük çador-idi ki onikki äršin häddeäqal uzun-uydu.  
big tent-IMPF3SG KI twelve meter at.least lenght-IMPF3SG

(9)

Daha munîj dower-un-a gärmän ver-illardi yo  
DAHA this.GEN around-POS3SG-DAT wall give-IMPF3PL and  
jolown-a qapilix at-illardi.  
before-DAT door throw-IMPF3SG

(10) (10-14)

Bähzi kimsä dä qäšänlig içi guro gompol dizäd-irdi  
some person DA beauty for pom.pom make-IMPF3SG  
bayle-yrdi bu payä-yä; de-yillardi payäbänd.  
tie-IMPF3SG this pole-DAT say-IMPF3PL pole.bound

(11)

Mäsälän çäntä toqqi-llardi o bälädan toqqi-llardi

for.example Chanta weave-IMPF3PL and Baladân weave-IMPF3SG  
*as-illardi bu paya-lar-dan qäšanlig içi.*  
 hang-IMPF3SG this pole-PL-ABL beauty for

(12) *Häyä, towsan-i xeyli jalib-idi; çämân-ä qon-illardi*  
 yes summer-POS3SG very nice-COP3SG grass-DAT settle-IMPF3PL  
*kop qärä çador, aq çador.*  
 group black.tent white.tent

(13) *Mäsälän bu gäççi-yi yaz qerx-ä bil-me-rdi.*  
 for.example this goat-ACC spring shear-ABIL-NEG-3SG

(14) *Towsan hätmän ged-asi-ydi gäççi-yi sähräd-dä qerx-ä-lär.*  
 summer must go-NECS.PST3SG goat-ACC yeylaq-LOC shear-SUBJ-3PL

(15) (15-19) *Vä orda ki qerx-illardi munu kop ed-äsilardi bir saf yer-ä.*  
 and there.LOC KI shear-IMPF3PL this.ACC pile do-NECS.PST3SG a flat place-DAT

(16) *Bir uzun tärkä-ynän, geräk tär dä ol-a, ükküş näfär*  
 a long stick-INST must wet DA become-SUBJ3SG a.couple.of person  
*mu-nu tärkäy-nän vur-irdi serkäle-yrdi yo dässä ed-illardi.*  
 this-ACC stick-INST strike-IMPF3SG shake-IMPF3SG and heap do-IMPF3SG

(17) *Yo, ägir-illardi ki gärmän o çador dizäd-ä-lär.*  
 and spin-IMPF3PL KI wall and tent make-SUBJ-3PL

(18) *Daha bu uç ay towsan härnä toxu-mali var-lariydi toxi-llardi.*  
 then this three month summer whatever woven.items existing-3PL weave-IMPF3PL

(19) *ta genä oba gäl-ä gärmesir-ä yo qeşlay-a.*  
 TA again household come-SUBJ3SG warm.region-DAT and qışlaq-DAT

(20) *tä genä qeşlay-da daha qeş-idi,*  
 ta again qışlaq-LOC DAHA winter-PST.COP3SG  
*daha birisi dä bir kummuja gäbbä ese-rdi toqqu-ya*  
 DAHA one.of.them DA a little Gabbeh want-IMPF3G weave-SUBJ3SG  
*ya bir jājim ese-rdi toqqu-ya sāxtlig-inän toqqi-rdi.*  
 or a jajim want-IMPF3SG weave-SUBJ3SG difficulty-INST weave-IMPF3SG

#### 14.2.2. Life story 2

*An extract of an interview with Roqayyeh Bahrâmi, ~70 years-old, from the Moxtarxanlu subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, on the 20th of April 2008, in Shiraz. The questions of interviewer are omitted.*

(1-4) Qädim män ki olmuşam, tarix ki getirmämişlär. Muällem o mulla dä däyilmişam, yalan deyäm? Härnä şinasnamäm görsäddi älä odur. Gärmisirimiz Çahkazemäydi, onnä xan dowrexunäsiydid. O daha baş olännän sorä, sähräd-gärmisir ezimizä duşdu, azad ollig.

(5-9) Sährädimiz Sümürümüdü, gärmisirimiz dä bir daydi. O dayin adi Beyräyi Däligdi, orädä bizim gärmisirimizdir. Bääle, daydir, buyan daydir oyan nä daydir, ortası açıydir. Təxtädän oyanadır, Seyfabad tərəfinnä. Biz beläkinidig: jäbr o setäm bizdäydi, kişilər rahätidi, äv tutäg äv aparag uşaydä älimizdä mal älimizdä, qärägün bädbäx, beläkinidig.

(10-14) Qäšanjä, Qilič dä bir kişiydi, çox burna kişiydi. Qiliğin bowasinin adı dä Ümüdäli dir. Qiliği Ümüdäli deyillardi. Adamidi, xan adamiydi. Gorginpurlärin adamiydi. Häyä bääle, pişkaridi.

(15-19) Bu vaxti ki dahva duşar, bir torbä variymiş, munu dollurur fişänän. Gedär bir uja beyig dayin başına. Häyä, görüllär tä, häy axirzaman qopän, o dayin källäsinnän tufän älä belä fir fir gälir. Valla burdä elimä gedär, dahvada elli. Deyillardi älä o dayda tufäninän dahvayı xatimä verän älä o bir tək näfär olur.

(20-24) Qiliçe Ümütäli ayrı tähridi. Heç, dahva da xatıma girär<sup>60</sup>; xälx gälli dahva da yattı. Daha burdä näyiş gerdilär? Bu Kazeranî çapdılar. Daha sähräquleyidi, älä bu Gurginpurlär dedi bu çiyin ayzini verin birbirä ki heşkä burdä olmeyä, täräddud mowquf!

(25-29) Bir adam na oturdular o dār qapısınā ki daha heşkā gālmeyā. Uç arvadidig yer salirdig, rāxtexab atirdig. Geddilär bir ay gunu munnān tā onā gätirdilär, yiğiştirdilär adama bir badiyā tela getirdilär. Bāäle, Kazeranî burru çapmişlardı; härnä variydi yoxıydi gālmışidi. O görānlär täärif eddi, şamele biz ki olmadı.

(30-34) Kişilär birbirä täärif edirdi ; o gedānlär gerānlär. Mäsälän kakaydı uçu da ayrı ayrı nāfārā bir 225a stela getirmişidi. Qiliç oyarzā burrannāymiş ki xusrowxan özü öz diliynān demişdi : mänä demäyın xan, älä onā deyin xan! Onnä gerānlärä şamıl olirdi. Bize bādbāxlär ki bādbāxidig, nā bilirdig.

(35-39) Qiliş müsaxanlinin beyig beyigiydi. Qilişdən ayrı daha kişi yoxudu. Qiliş çox burrannā beyig adamıdı ; älä o xanlārdānnā beyigtāridi. Varı dahvada älä o birtāk, varı işdā, äyā işin içinnā Qiliş olmäşaydı iş xārabıdı. Belāyinimiş.

(40-44) Inni bir oyul varı mānnān bātār āhnāmā bādbāxtir. Qiliş axiri da... inçer jahal oyul tazzā girdāgdān çixān kişiydi. Daha mirşikalligdā ezinnān burrānnātār yoxudu. Āz bās tā ki ezinā etişirdi, şayād bu dunyāçā yaş variydi bilmeyān deyirdi şayād yeddi yaşar uşaydı ; biyilān ? Qiliş dā arvad variydi, oyul o qız variydi.

(45-49) Gāllig älä bu mähāllimizā Zānjeranā. Gālli geddi oyul qızinā dāyenni, ikki gejä uç gejä dā ordā ollu. Qiliş dā ezezinā duşmuş ölmüş. Qiliş öllü, älä nayafel yattıgı yerdä öllü. Bu dā Qiliş dastanı.

#### 14.2.2.1. *Life Story 2: translation*

(1-4) In the past, when I was born, they did not record the date... I was not a teacher or a mullah, can I lie? Whatever that my birth certificate shows is right. Our winter zone was Chahkazemi, then, we were the servitors of the khan. And when this finished, the winter and summer zones were left for us, and we were freed.

(5-9) Our summer zone was Semirom, and our winter zone is a mountain. The name of that mountain is Beyrāyi Dālig<sup>61</sup>; it is our winter zone. Yes, a mountain, this side is a mountain, that side, too, between them is open. It is after Tākhṭā, around Seyfabad. We were like this: oppressed; the men were at ease; we [had] to pitch and pack the tent with the children in our laps, and occupied with animals; so miserable we were.

(10-14) Very handsome, Qilich was a man; a very incisive man. And the name of his father was Umud Ali. They called him Qilich of Umud-Ali. He was a human, a man of the Khan; a man of The Gorginpurs. Yes, he was a servant.

(15-19) When the battle began, he had a knapsack, he filled it with cartridges. He went on the top of a high and big mountain. So, they noticed that, as if there was an apocalyptic scene, the bullets were coming from the top of that mountain. Gee, he was killed here, he died in the battle. They said the one who, in that mountain with a rifle, put an end to the battle was that very sole person.

(20-24) Qilich of Umud-Ali was different. Well, the battle ended; the people came back, and the fight ended. What else did they do here? They plundered Kazerun. It was dawn, the Gorginpours said: close the door of this alcove in order for nobody to be here; come and go forbidden!

(25-29) And a servant was put at the door to guard in order that nobody comes inside. We were three women making beds. They went and got a very large white canvas sack [full of booty], they collected golds, from which each one took a pot. Yes, they had looted Kazerun completely; everything had been taken. Those who had seen [the scene] reported; we did not witness it.

(30-34) The men were telling [it] each other, those who had gone and seen [the battle]. There were, for example, three brothers, each one had taken a pan of gold. Qilich had been to such extent incisive that Khosrow Khan,

<sup>60</sup> *xatıma girär* 'it came to an end' is copied on the Persian locutional verb *xateme gereftan* 'to take an end'.

<sup>61</sup> A Qashqai place name which means 'That of a perforated kidney'



by his own words, said: do not call me khan! Call *him* khan! Then, only those who had seen [the scene] were aware of it. We the unfortunate, we were miserable; how could we know?

(35-39) Qilich was the biggest of the Mussaxanlı [subtribe]. There was no man but Qilich. Qilich was a very incisive man, a great one; he was even greater than those khans. In all battles, he alone, in all tasks, if Qilich were not involved in a task, it would be spoiled. So was he.

(40-44) Now, he has a son [who] is more miserable and mean than I am. And the fate of Qilich... as if he was a young man just coming out of a nuptial tent. And nobody was more incisive than him in hunting. So much that he used to take care of himself, he might have the age of this world, the ignorant might say he was a seven years old child; do you understand? And Qilich had a wife, sons and daughters.

(45-49) We came to our land in Zanjeran. He went to visit his son and daughter and stayed with them two or three nights. And Qilich died on its own. Qilich died, he died all of a sudden where he was sleeping. And so was the story of Qilich.

#### 14.2.2.2. Life story 2: glossed text

(1) (1-4)

Qādim mən ki ol-muš-əm, tarix ki getir-mä-miş-lär,  
old.time I KI become-PF-1SG history KI take-NEG-PF-3PL

(2)

muällem o mulla də dəyil-miş-am, yalan de-yä-m?  
teacher and Mollah DA not.be-PF-1SG lie say-SUBJ-1SG

(3)

Härnä şinasnamä-m görsäd-di älä o-dur.  
Whatever birth.certificate-POS1SG show-PST3SG EMPH that-PRS.COP

(4)

Gärmisir-imiz Čahkazemä-ydi, omnä xan dowrexunä-si-ydi-g.  
winter.zone-POS1PL Chahkazema-PST.COP3SG then khan people-POS3SG-PST.COP-1PL  
O daha baş ol-än-nän sorä, sährhäd-gärmisir ezimiz-ä  
that DAHA head become-PART-ABL after migration ourselves-DAT  
duş-du, azad ol-lı-g.  
fall-PST3SG free become-PST1PL

(5) (5-9)

Sährhäd-imiz Sümürüm-üdü, gärmisir-imiz də bir day-di.  
Summer.zone-POS1PL Semirom-PST.COP3SG winter.zone-POS1PL DA a mountain-PRS.COP

(6)

O day-iñ ad-i Beyrây-i Dälig-di,  
that mountain-GEN name-POS3SG kidney-POS3SG perforated-PRS.COP  
orä-dä biz-im gärmisir-imiz-dir.  
There-LOC we-GEN winter.zone-POS-PRS.COP

(7)

Bääle, day-dır, buyan day-dır oyan nä  
yes mountain-PRS.COP3SG this.side mountain-PRS.COP that.side DA  
day-dır, orta-sı açığ-dır, o qışlay-imiz-dir.  
Mountain-PRS.COP between-POS3SG open-PRS.COP that winter.zone-POS1PL-PRS.COP

(8)

Täxtä-dän oyan-ä-dir, Seyfabad tərəf-in-nä.  
Taxta-ABL that.side-DAT-PRS.COP Seyfabad side-POS3SG-LOC

(9)

Biz beläkin-idi-g: jəbr o setəm biz-dä-ydi, kişi-lär rahät-idi,  
we like.this-PST.COP1PL oppression we-LOC-PST.COP3SG man-PL tranquil-PST.COP3SG  
äv tut-a-g äv apar-a-g uşay də äl-imiz-dä mal  
house pitch-SUBJ1PL house take-SUBJ1PL child DA hand-POS1PL-LOC herd  
äl-imiz-dä, qărăgün bədbäx, beläkin-idi-g.  
hand-POS1PL-LOC black.day miserable like.this-PST.COP-1PL

(10) (10-14)

Qäşän-jä, Qilic də bir kişi-ydi, çox burna kişi-ydi.  
Beautiful-EQU Qilich DA a man-PST.COP3SG very young man-PST.COP

(11)

Qilij-iñ bowasın-iñ ad-i də Ümüdäli-dir,

Qilich-GEN father-POS3SG-GEN name-POS3SG DA Umudali-PRS.COP3SG

(12)

Qilij-e Ümüdäli de-yillärdi. Adam-idi.  
 Qilich-EZ Umudali say-IMP3PL human-PST.COP3SG  
 xan adam-i-ydi.  
 khan human-POS-PST.COP

(13)

Gorginpur-lär-in adam-i-ydi, häyä bääle, pişkar-idi.  
 Gorginpur-PL-GEN human-POS-PST.COP3SG yes yes servant-PST.COP3SG

(14) (15-19)

Bu vaxti ki dahva duş-ar, bir torbä var-i-ymiş,  
 this when KI battle fall-AOR3SG a knapsack existing-POS-PF.COP3SG  
 munu dol-lur-ur fişän-nän.  
 this.ACC fill-CAUS-AOR3SG bullet-ABL

(15)

Ged-är bir uja beyig day-in baş-in-a.  
 go-AOR3SG a high big mountain-GEN head-POS3SG-DAT

(16)

Häyä, gör-ül-lär tä, häy axirzaman qop-ä-η,  
 yes see-AOR-3PL ta ITJ apocalypse depart-SUBJ-2SG  
 o day-in källä-sin-nän tüfän älä belä fir fir gäl-ir.  
 that mountain-GEN head-POS3SG-ABL gun EMPH such ITJ ITJ come-PRS3SG

(17)

Valla burdä elim-ä ged-är; dahva-da el-li.  
 swear.to.God here.LOC death-DAT go-AOR3SG battle-LOC die-PST3SG

(18)

De-yillärdi älä o day-da tüfän-inän dahva-yi xatimä ver-än  
 say-IMP3PL EMPH that mountain-LOC gun-INST battle-ACC end give-PART  
 älä o bir tək nəfər ol-ur.  
 EMPH that a alone person become-AOR3SG

(19) (20-24)

Qilij-e Ümütäli ayri tähr-idi.  
 Qilich-EZ Umutali other kind-IMP3SG

(20)

Heç, dahva da xatima gir-är; xälx gäl-li dahva da yat-ti.  
 nothing battle DA end take-AOR3SG people come-PST3SG battle DA sleep-PST3SG

(21)

Daha burdä nä-yiş ger-dilär?  
 DAHA here.LOC what-work see-PST3PL

(22)

Bu Kazeran-i çap-dilar.  
 this Kazrun-ACC plunder-PST3PL

(23)

Daha səhräquley-idi, älä bu Gurginpur-lär de-di bu çiy-in ayz-in-i  
 DAHA dawn-PST.COP3SG EMPH this Gurginpur-PL say-PST this alcove-GEN mouth-POS-ACC  
 ver-in birbir-ä ki heşkä burdä ol-me-yä, täräddud mowquf!  
 give-IMP2PL each.other-DAT KI nobody here.LOC become-NEG-DAT come.and.go forbidden

(24) (25-29)

Bir adam na otur-d-dular o där qapı-sin-ä ki daha  
 a person DA sit-CAUS-PST3PL that door before-POS-DAT KI DAHA  
 heşkä gäl-me-yä  
 nobody come-NEG-DAT

(25)

Uç arvad-idi-g yer sal-irdi-g, rəxtəxab at-irdi-g.  
 three woman-PST.COP-1PL earth hang-IMP3PL bedding throw-IMP3PL

(26)

Ged-dilər bir ay gunu munnän tä onä gätir-dilər,  
 go-PST3PL a white canvas.sack this.ABL TA that.DAT bring-PST3PL  
 yiy-iş-tir-dilər adam-a bir badiyə tela getir-dilər.  
 collect-REF-CAUS-PST3PL person-DAT a pot gold take-PST3PL

- (27)  
*Bääle, Kazeran-ı burru çap-mışlardı;*  
 yes Kazeran-ACC totally plunder-PPFF3PL  
*härnä var-ı-ydı yox-ı-ydı gäl-mışıdı.*  
 whatever existing-POS-PST.COP3SG inexistent-PST.COP3SG come-PPFF3SG
- (28)  
*O gör-än-lär täärif ed-di, şamel-e biz ki ol-ma-dı.*  
 that see-PART-PL recount do-PST3SG including-EZ we KI become-NEG-PST3SG
- (29) (30-34)  
*Kişi-lär birbir-ä täärif ed-irdi; o ged-än-lär ger-än-lär.*  
 man-PL each.other-DAT recount do-IMP3SG that go-PART-PL see-PART-PL
- (30)  
*Mäsälän kaka-ydı uç-u da ayri ayri*  
 for.example brother-PST.COP three-ACC DA apart apart  
*näfar-ä bir tas tela getir-mışıdı.*  
 person-DAT one bowl gold take-PST.PF3SG
- (31)  
*Qiliç oyarzä burrannä-ymiş ki xusrowxan özü öz dil-ıynän*  
 Qilich that.much incisive-PST.PF3SG KI Khosrowkhan himself self tongue-INST  
*de-mışıdı: män-ä de-mä-yin xan, älä onä de-yin xan!*  
 say-PST.PF3SG I-DAT say-NEG-IMP2PL khan EMPH he-DAT say-IMP2PL khan
- (32)  
*Onnä geränlärä şamil olirdi.*  
 then see-PART-PL-DAT including become-IMP3SG
- (33)  
*Biz-e bädbäx-lär ki bädbäx-idig, nä bil-irdi-g?*  
 we-EZ miserable-PL KI miserable-PST.COP1PL what know-IMP1PL
- (34) (35-39)  
*Qiliş müsaxanlı-nin beyig beyig-ıydi.*  
 Qilich Musakhanli-GEN big big-PST.COP3SG
- (35)  
*Qiliş-dän ayri daha kişi yox-ıydu.*  
 Qilich-ABL apart DAHA man inexistent-PST.COP3SG
- (36)  
*Qiliş çox burrännä beyig adam-ıdı;*  
 Qilich very incisive big human-PST.COP3SG  
*älä o xan-lär-dän nä beyig-tär-ıydi.*  
 EMPH that khan-PL-ABL DA big-COMP-PST.COP3SG
- (37)  
*Vari dahva-da älä o birtäk, vari iş-dä,*  
 all battle-LOC EMPH that sole all work-LOC  
*äyä iş-in için-nä Qiliş ol-mä-ssä-ydi iş xärab-ıdı.*  
 if work-GEN inside.POS-LOC Qilich be-NEG-COND-PST.COP3SG work broken-PST.COP3SG
- (38)  
*Belä-yin-ımiş.*  
 ANPH-KI-PF.COP3SG
- (39) (40-44)  
*Inni bir oyul var-ı män-nän bätär ähnämä bädbäx-tir.*  
 now a son existing-POS3SG I-ABL worse mean miserable-PRS.COP3SG
- (40)  
*ıner jahal oyul tazzä girdäg-dän çix-än kişi-ydi.*  
 as.if young boy fresh bridal.tent-ABL exit-PART man-PST.COP3SG
- (41)  
*Daha mirşikallig-dä ezin-nän burrännä-tär yox-ıydu.*  
 DAHA hunting-LOC himself.POS3SG-ABL incisive-COMP inexistent-PST.COP3SG
- (42)  
*Äz bäs täki ezin-ä etiş-irdi, şayäd bu dunya-çä yaş var-ı-ydı*  
 so.much DAKI himself-DAT arrive-IMP3SG perhaps this world-EQU age existing-POS3SG-PST.COP  
*bil-me-yän de-yirdi şayäd yeddi yaşar uşay-dı; biy-il-än?*  
 know-NEG-PART say-IMP3SG perhaps seven aged child-PRS.COP3SG know-PRS-2SG

- (43)  
*Qilij* *dä* *arvad* *var-ï-ydi,* *oyul* *o* *qiz* *var-ï-ydi.*  
 Qilich DA wife existing-POS-PST.COP3SG son and daughter existing-POS-PST.COP3SG
- (44) (45-49)  
*Gäl-lig* *älä* *bu* *mähäll-imiz-ä* *Zänjêran-ä.*  
 come-PST1PL EMPH this place-POS1PL-DAT Zanjêrân-DAT
- (45)  
*Gäl-li* *ged-di* *oyulqiz-in-ä* *däyen-ni,*  
 come-PST3SG go-PST3SG children-POS3SG-DAT visit-PST3SG  
*ikki* *gejä* *uç* *gejä* *dä* *ordä* *ol-lu.*  
 two night three night DA there.LOC become-PST3SG
- (46)  
*Qiliç* *dä* *ezezin-ä* *duşmuş* *ölmüş.*  
 Qilich DA REF.PRON3SG-DAT fall-PF3SG die-PF3SG
- (47)  
*Qiliç* *öl-lü,* *älä* *nayafel* *yat-tig-i* *yer-dä* *öl-lü.*  
 Qilich die-PST3SG EMPH suddenly sleep-AN-ACC place-LOC die-PST3SG
- (48)  
*Bu* *dä* *Qilij* *dastani.*  
 this DA Qilich story-ACC

### 14.3. Funny stories

#### 14.3.1. Molla Nasreddin 1

(1-4) Deyir bir gini Molla Näsreddin bir uşayin älinnän tutdu apardı bir sälmanî dukanîna. Sälmanîya dedi: män äjälä varim, ävväl mänim başimî qirx onnä dä bu uşayinkini. Sälmanî onin başini qirxdî. Molla berkinî qoydu başinâ yo dedi: tä sän bu uşayin başini vurän denmişäm.

(5-9) Sälmanî uşayin başini dä qirxdî väli molladän xäbär olmädi. Uşaya dedi: neyâ baban gälmir? Uşaq jävab verdi: o babam däyilli. Sälmanî dedi: päs kimidi? Dedi: küçcä kişisiydi, mänä dedi gäl belänä gedäg mofti eslah edäg.

##### 14.3.1.1. Molla Nasreddin 1: translation

(1-4) They say one day Nasreddin took a boy with himself to the barber's. He said to the barber: I am in a hurry, shave my head first, then shave that of this child, too. The barber cut his hair. Nasreddin put on his hat and said: I am back before you have shaved the head of this child.

(5-9) The barber shaved the head of the child but no news from Nasreddin. He said to the child: Why does your Dad not come [back]? The child replied: he was not my Dad. The barber said: who was he then?. [The child] said: he was a man in the street. He told me: come with me, we are going together to have our hair cut for free.

##### 14.3.1.2. Glossed text

- (1) (1-4)  
*De-yir* *bir* *gin-i* *Molla* *Näsreddin* *bir* *uşay-in* *äl-i-n-nän* *tut-du*  
 say-PRS3SG one day=INDEF Molla Nasreddin a child-GEN hand-POS3SG-INST catch-PST3SG  
*apar-di* *bir* *sälmanî* *dukan-i-na.*  
 take-PST3SG a barber shop-POS3-DAT
- (2)  
*Sälmanî-ya* *de-di:* *män* *äjälä* *var-ïm,* *ävväl* *män-im* *bäşim-i*  
 barber-DAT say-PST3SG I hurry have-POS1SG first I-GEN head-POS1SG-ACC  
*qirx* *onna* *da* *bu* *uşay-inki-ni.*  
 cut.IMP2 hen DA this child-that.of
- (3)  
*Sälmanî* *onin* *baş-i-ni* *qirx-di.*  
 barber he.GEN head-POS3SG-ACC cut-PST3SG
- (4)  
*Molla* *berk-i-n-i* *qoy-du* *baş-in-a* *yo* *de-di*  
 Mollah hat-POS3SG-ACC put-PST3SG head-POS3SG-DAT and say-PST3SG  
*tä* *sän* *bu* *uşay-in* *baş-i-ni* *vur-a-η* *män* *den-miş-äm.*

TA	you	this	child-GEN	head-POS3SG-ACC	cut-SUBJ-2SG	I	return-PF-1SG			
(5)	(5-9)									
<i>Sälmanî</i>	<i>uşay-îñ</i>	<i>baş-î-nî</i>		<i>da</i>	<i>qırx-dî,</i>	<i>vâli</i>	<i>molla-dân</i>	<i>xâbâr</i>	<i>ol-ma-dî.</i>	
barber	child-GEN	head-POS3SG-ACC		DA	cut-PST3SG	but	mollah-ABL	news	be-NEG-PST3SG	
(6)										
<i>Uşay-a</i>	<i>de-di:</i>	<i>neyä</i>	<i>baba-ñ</i>		<i>gäl-m-ir?</i>					
child-DAT	say-PST3SG	why	dad-POS2SG		come-NEG-PRS3SG					
(7)										
<i>Uşay</i>	<i>jawab</i>	<i>verdi:</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>baba-m</i>	<i>däyil-li.</i>					
child	answer	give-PST3SG	that	DAD-POS3SG	is.not-PST3SG					
(8)										
<i>Sälmanî</i>	<i>de-di:</i>	<i>päs</i>	<i>kim-idi?</i>							
barber	say-PST3SG	then	who-PST.COP							
(9)										
<i>Dedi:</i>	<i>küçcä</i>	<i>kişi-si-ydi;</i>	<i>mänä</i>	<i>de-di</i>	<i>gäl</i>	<i>belänä</i>	<i>ged-ä-g</i>			
say-PST3SG	alley	man-POS3SG-PST.COP	I-DAT	say-PST3SG	come.IMP2SG	together	go-SUBJ-1PL			
<i>mofti</i>	<i>eslah</i>	<i>ed-ä-g.</i>								
free	correction	do-SUBJ-1SG								

#### 14.3.2. Molla Nasreddin 2

(1-4) Bir gini molla nəsreddin qonşusunnän xäbär allî: dukturlär näyin bilir ki birisi elmiş ? Qonşu deyär: bu ki sadädi : vaxti adamîñ äloqîçi yäx olir yanî elmiş. Saba sähär, Molla Näsreddin eşşäyinän gedär yazzîya odun iya. Birdän yayış tutär.

(5-9) Mollanîñ älläri yäxlär. Qeçlärinä äl çäkär, onnär dä yäxlämiş. Deyär: heyfl män elmişäm bedune bu ki biläm. Və gezlärini bayleyär o uzanîr yerä. Ikki oyuru ki ordän gäçilläridi eşşäyi tutdulär oyurleyälär.

(10) Molla uxarî baxar o çiyirir: şans gätirdiñiz ki män eliyäm, vögärnä älä bu ayañinan qäläminizi qerrärdim.

##### 14.3.2.1. Molla Nasreddin 2: translation

(1-4) One day, Nasreddin asks his neighbour: how can doctors know if someone is dead? The neighbour said: it is simple: when the hands and feet are cold, the person is dead. The next day, Nasreddin went out with his donkey to collect wood. It started to rain suddenly.

(5-9) Nasreddin's hands turned cold. He touched his feet; they were cool, too. He said: It is a pity, I'm dead without realizing it. And he stretched out on the ground, closing his eyes. Two thieves who were passing by caught the donkey in order to steal it away.

(10) Nasreddin looked up and shouted: you are lucky I am dead; otherwise, I'd have broken your legs with this stick.

##### 14.3.2.2. Glossed text

(1)	(1-4)									
<i>Bir</i>	<i>gîn=i</i>	<i>molla nəsreddin</i>	<i>qonşu-sun nän</i>	<i>xäbär</i>	<i>al-li:</i>	<i>duktur-lär</i>				
one	day=INDEF	Nasreddin	neighbour-POS3SG-ABL	news	take-PST3SG	doctor-PL				
<i>näyin</i>	<i>bil-ir</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>birisi</i>	<i>el-miş?</i>						
how	know-PRS3SG	KI	someone	die-PF3SG						
(2)										
<i>Qonşu</i>	<i>de-yär:</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>sadä-di:</i>	<i>vaxti</i>	<i>adam-îñ</i>	<i>äl-o-qîç-i</i>			
neighbour	say-AOR3SG	this	KI	simple-PST3SG	when	person-GEN	hand-and-foot-POS3SG			
<i>yäx</i>	<i>ol-ir</i>	<i>yanî</i>	<i>el-miş.</i>							
cold	become-PRS3SG	meaning	die-PF3SG							
(3)										
<i>Saba</i>	<i>sähär</i>	<i>Molla Näsreddin</i>	<i>eşşäy-inän</i>	<i>ged-är</i>	<i>yazzî-ya</i>					
tomorrow	morning	Nasreddin	donkey-INST	go-AOR3SG	outside-DAT					
<i>odun</i>	<i>iğ-a.</i>									
wood	collect-SUBJ3SG									

- (4)  
Birdän      yayış      tut-är.  
suddenly      rain      catch-AOR3SG
- (5) (5-9)  
Molla-niň      äl-lär-i      yäxlär.  
Mollah-GEN      hand-PL-ACC      turn.cold-AOR3SG
- (6)  
Qeč-lär-in-ä      äl      čäk-är,      onnär      dä      yäxlä-miš.  
foot-PL-POS3SG-DAT      hand      touch-AOR3SG      they      DA      turn.cold-PF3SG
- (7)  
Dey-är:      heyf!      män      el-miš-äm      bedun-e      bu      ki      bil-ä-m.  
say-AOR3SG      pity      I      die-PF-1SG      without-EZ      this      KI      know-SUBJ-1SG
- (8)  
Vä      gez-lär-i-ni      baýle-yär      o      uzan-ir      yer-ä.  
and      eye-PL-POS3SG-ACC      close-AOR3SG      that      lie.down-AOR3SG      earth-DAT
- (9)  
Ikki      oyuru      ki      ordän      gäč-il-läridi      eššäy-i      tut-dulär      oyurle-yä-lär.  
two      thief      KI      there.ABL      cross-PRS3PL-PST.COP      donkey-ACC      catch-PST3PL      steal-SUBJ-3PL
- (10)  
Molla      uxari      bax-ar      o      čiyir-ir:      šans      gätir-di-ñiz      ki  
Mollah      up      look-AOR3SG      and      shout-AOR3SG      chance      bring-PST-2PL      KI  
män      eli-yäm,      vägärnä      älä      bu      ayañ-inan      qäläm-iñiz-i      qerr-är-di-m.  
I      dead-PRS.COP1SG      unless      EMPH      this      stick-INST      leg-POS2PL-ACC      break-PST.AOR-1SG

## 14.4. Interviews

### 14.4.1. Interview 1

*The extract of an interview with Asheq Amir-Hossein, 60 years-old, one of the Qashqai Asheqs (maybe the last alive), from the Amaleh tribe, on the 18th of April 2008, in the village of Katasbes in the south outskirts of Shiraz. The questions of interviewer are omitted.*

(1-4) Ärz edäm, män Ašiy Amir-Hossein, šäst sal, šäste pän sal beläyinlər sen varim. Tävällude hezar o sisäd o nuzdäyäm. Ašiq Hämzä oyuluyäm. Zämane ilärtär, aşıqları, xanlar mäsälän beyigtärlär, hukumätläri ki farsdä varimiš, munnäri mätzleslärinnä saxladirmišlər, bexatere älä čalmag čayirmag.

(5-9) Onnä radiyo širaz ya isgah misgah yoxumuš, häтта zäft tä yoxumuš ki biri nevar dollura, zäft edä. Munnar bästäymiš mäsälän älä bu xanläre, kassıbları ki mähruf olmušlər ašiq. Ašiyiñ äsli dä, messe bu ki Daravxan gätirmiš, o Tavriz, Turkiyä'dän sarı gätirmišlər. Munlar neččä kakaymišlər; daha mähruf olmuš ašiq. Ašiq qaşayniñ bir tiräsi olmuš, yäni eziyçi olmuš bir tirä, ämälä tayfasinnän.

(10-14) Ämälä tayfasinnän var väli demillär ämälä, deyllär ašiq, mähruftärdi, yeytär xälx tanir beläsini. Ašiqdä bay o mulk o yeri zadi yoxumuš, fäqät şuylläri älä bu kaseblig čalmägdän edarä olirmiš. Vä ärz edäm qulluyunä, daha xanlar ki gedmiš o bir sär o sahıbi bulunmämiš ki munnärä räsädälig ola, härkä dayılmış bir yanä. Bir neččä qadim ašiyi varimiš, munnärdän Ašiq Säyyat o Ašiq Hämzä, Ašiq Ähmäd, Ašiq Isma'il, mährufumušlər, inni munnär beynnän gedmiš. Ašiq Hämzä inqilabdän iläri varidi, älä inqilab äl verännä ömrünü vermiš sizä.

(15-19) Ašiy Ismayl lä bir üşderd illi bänney xoda rähmät eddi. Ašiq Ähmäd dä baz älä belä, ašiq Hämzä'dän sorä elmiš. Inni aşıqları dä čalillär, väli o dasetanları, o äsil qaşayniñ täsnifläri yirleyä bilmillär. Ägä yirleyälär dä mäsän männän ešidmišlər. Mäsälän bu Furud läyin, gäyilli bizim ävimizä arvadini gätiyirdi, Färhadı gätiyirdi, munnär ašiq Hämzädän xəbär ayıllılar.

(20-24) Inni bir parä nevar dollurmušlər be name Sänäm o Qärib. Mäni genä esämišlər gedmišäm beläläri içi demišäm yazmišlər ya zäft edmišlər. Qäşän munu mäsälän başdän äyäyä bilmämišlər šärh verälär. Onnä Ašiq Hämzä'niñ adini dä gätirmämišlər ki biz bu šeerı täränäyi Ašiq

Hämzä'dən varımızdır. Inni bu bärnamälär, səniñ qulluyıñä ki ärz edäm, beynnän gedmiş, yaddän çıxmış.

(25-29) Xanıme Bähmāni bānney xoda billir iləri il gälli dedi ki biz isiräg sizdän bir nevari bir gäpi varımız ola, çunku yaddän çıxmış, bälke xälx bilä, taniyä. Onnəri ki mowıyiyät varlariydi pāxš edäsiydilər, muärriflig edälär ki qaşqayı tāmam eşidä, taniyä bilä. Inqilabdän bəri härnä jävan äyäyä tutmuş bilmir aşıq nādi. Ägär män mäsälän bir yazzidä [saz] älimnä olä gerälär deyir aşıq nādir, aşıq yanı nā? Xub, bir beyig aya səniñläyin bir danişmān aya ki bulunä munnəri šähr verä šähr bu bizim zad o bāččimiz bilir ki aşıq varımız, qaşqay beyig tayfaymış, qaşqaydä honärmän varımız, çalan varımız.

(30-34) Män säneye čhellän širazdäyäm. Härnä bu qäriyā deyiräm bu läbası çaxad deyir män çaxardmiräm, ägä çaxardäm messe bu ki loxtäm, äslän hešnä dowrumnä yoxdur. Älä bu läbasınän gäzäsi. Bizim nāsl beläkin ki män eşidmişäm, älä bu Azärbayjan'nän gälmiş. Darabxan Sowlätowlä'niñ bowasiymiş, o zamannän gälmişlər.

(35-39) O zaman aşıq gälmiş İranä, yäni Darabxan gätirmiş; çun çalan yoxumuş qaşqaydä. Munnəri gätirmiş daha älä burda saxladmış, arz edäm, jirä vermiş čeräg vermiş hävalä vermiş. Munnär şoylləri buymuş ki fäyät xanlar içi čala və šikala torrajä dä gedännä bu aşıqlar ayağınän, ikki pery varıymış, tüfänlidän iləri torrağ vuyirmişlər. Bu yäryawol, torrağ uçännä munnär aman verermişlər, ayağınän vuyirmişlər. Belä çox zereñ belä hazır varıymışlar ki güllädän iləri torrağı vuyirmişlər geydän duşirmiş yerä, ikki eylin peryinän.

(40-44) Bizim qaşqayı färhänimizdä arvadımız vaxti ki iserdi oyneyä, uzun läbas geyirdi mählow o mixäk ätrinnän ensan keyf apayirdi. Onnä bu äsil lebası geyännä ensan keyf edirdi baxä beläsinä. Inni bir bu paltowlärdän gäyir onnä deşini oynadır siyah towbä towbäynän. Deşini oynadmä qaşqayı içinnä çox pes işidi. Inni mäsälän turkdu, deyirän beläsinä turki daniş, ez dilini danişmeyir.

(45-49) Män älä ävväl uşayligimnän el içinnäymişäm. Säneye čel o yek bir qärä il gälli. Qärä il gälännä artıy oba täxtäqapı ollu; artıyı tayfa känneşin ollu. Biz dä bu siyäxdä otuyurdig. Qış dä gedirdig geräyä, geräye famur, kazerannän bəri.

(50-54) Daha inqelab gälännä bizim içi dä pes tuddu. Äyalvar ollig xolasä. Män älan beşaltı qız varımdı. İkkiş oyul varım ki bekardilər. Zendeğanlig bizim içi muşkel ollu.

(55-59) Qaşqay dä ki daha o ilärki qaşqay däyil. Inni ägä biri dä keč o qon edä bir ikki çoban ävi gedir, daha artıyı älä šährneşindirlär. Çox qaşqay daha keč o qon edmir, gäläbonäyi dä daha tekir maşına gedir qeşläyä häryerdädir. Biz daha säneye čleyekdən šährä oturdig. Širazdä Därvaze Qässabxanä dä män otuyirdim.

(60-64) Vähzim xubudu. Bäd gällim Däbbaxiyä, orda daha sārāñjam bir muddät qälläneşin ollum. Hešnä yoxumudu, tazzä dä ävlänmişdim daralig dä daha belämä qalmämişdi. Enqelab dä gälli, bizim çalmäg kaseblig dä vill ollu. Daha biz bidärkoğa ollig.

(65-69) Geddig šährdari içinä kareğärlig; inni birikki iz temän burdän girimä gäyil. Erşad dä, dedig bizim häqqimiz pamal ollmuş. Biz çox bärnamä dollurmuşäg, xarejä gedmiş. Belämizä zulm olmuş. O dä xanıme Bähmāni bānney xoda kemäg eddi bizä inni häştat temän veyillär.

(70-74) Qaşqay sazı ilärtär kamančäymiş. Kamančäyi dobädo çayılmışlar, qärşi be qärşi; mäsälän derd beş altı nāfär otuyirmiş qärşi be qärşi çayılmışlar, xanlar jäläsäsinnä, kälantärlär jäläsäsinnä. Ehtiyaj däylmiş ki gedä hər qapıyä čalä, härkä içi. Onnär dä xolasä jowrunu çäkirmiş, huyuyunu veyirmiş. Daha onnardän sora aşıq beläyin ärzan olur ki be xatere täñdäslig beçarälig daha qapı be qapı gedirmiş be xatere maaşe zendeğanlig.

(75-79) Qaşqaydä setar o tar da varımız. Čügür älä munnari deyllär; älbätä čügür munnan ayrıdı, vāli ez turklarımız munä deyllär čügür. Vāli bu kamančädi, äsle adi kamančädi. Bu kamančäyi

Luqman qayırmış. Loyman gäler bu kämançäyi bunyard eder, kasäsini xali edmäz, sim çäkär dərri çäkär, gerer çalmir.

(80-84) Bir uşay sähär gah gedirmiş mädräsäyä, baxar gerär ki bu uşay çox qäşän irlir. Şam bükülännä irlir väli o ahän o säsi keyfiyätı yoxıdı. Gedär yığına deyär sän bábäm sähär qäşän irlirdiñ, qäşän säsiñ gälirdi, inni jähäte nädır ki säsiñ belä keyfiyät yoxu? Deyär sähärgah naştaydım náfäsım yeg iş geyirdi. Inni xurag yemişäm, mehdäm dolmuş bir xurdä muzahım oyıl kälämiä, náfäsımä.

(85-89) [Loyman] gälär munıñ içini puk edär, xali edär. Multäfetän, Inni biz ez kämançälärimiz ki farsdädi gerisi tutuludu. Bu kämançä saxte xurrämabaddi, bizim ez kämançä, qäşyay kämançäsi dáyil. Män daha kämançä yadımdän çıxmışdı. Munu dä xaneme bähmäni dedi män viyalon sämiräm kämançä çalasıyän.

(90-94) Dedim kämançä yox, munu äla o irşaddän allılär verdilər mänä. Multäfetän, ki daha kämançä dä bizdä yoxıdı ki xalis o moxles qäşyaynıñ nävazändäsiymişäg. Inni ger nayarta daha bizim färhänimizä äsär qoymuş ki ällän gedmiş färhänimiz. Färhän dä ki ällän geddi ensan daha varı zadı ällän gedir. Ägä daha size jəvanlär ki sävad varıñız esaläti bir vaxti yada saläñız ki xälx bilä ki qäşyay kimimiş.

(95-99) Bizim musiyimiz ersidir; ers be mähnaye bu ki mäsälän bowam çayılmış män nä çayılmışäm, çun onna bizim şoylumuz älä buymiş, uşaylarımız dä ergänirmiş. Älbätä inniniñ uşayı daha çalmir, ägä čala dä tajiki çayıl, mäsälän segah, mahur. Bäd o färhän o gäpläri dä ki biz çayılmışäg inni yoxdu . Aşıy arvadı çalan dáyilmiş, fäyät kişisi çayılmış. Inni çalmag arvadı eyb dáyil; väli onnä eyb biyilmişlär, xulasa.

(100-104) Qäşyay dastanlärinnän, mäsälän, rustäm sohrab, ya xorräm ziba, bu ketablär inni daha yoxdu, ägär ola azdır. Munnär dasetane şahnamäymiş, ya mäsälän yärib sänäm, mahmud və gulnar, koroylu dasetaniymiş. Sänıñ läyin aya onnäyiñ pähləvaniymiş, bir işdän gälän adamımış, onnä tayfädä qäşyay bu adam içi şeer qäyirirmiş, munıñ şahninnän dastan deyirmiş. Bize aşıylär dastanıımız qäşyaynıñ irlämäyinnän ayırdı. Bu dastan çox varı, inni mänim växt yoxum sänıñ içi tāmām šähr veräm.

#### **14.4.1.1. Interview 1: translation**

(1-4) Let me humbly say, I, Asheq Amir-Hosseini, am sixty or some sixty-five years old. I was born in the year 1319/1950. I am the son of Asheq Hamza. Formerly, important people, for example, khans, governments that existed in Fars, they kept [patronized] the asheqs in their festivities in order for them to play music and sing.

(5-9) At that time, Radio Shiraz or stations and things alike did not exist; there was even no tape recorder in order for somebody to make tapes, or to record. These [people] had been attached to the khans, for example; these craftsmen who have been known as asheqs. As for the origin of asheqs, it was probably Dârâb Khan who brought them from Tabriz or Turkey. They were a few brothers; then, they have been recognized as asheq. The asheqs became one of Qashqai subtribes; I mean, they became a subtribe having its own place in the Amaleh tribe.

(10-14) They are from the Amaleh tribe, but they are not called Amaleh, they are called asheqs, they are rather known as such; the people recognize them better. The Asheqs had no orchard or land, or things alike; they made their living only from this business, from playing music. And I say humbly, when the khans departed, nobody else was left to patronize them; [consequently] everyone dispersed somewhere. In the past, there were a few asheqs of which Asheq Sayyat, Asheq Hamza, Asheq Ahmad, and Asheq Isma'il were well known; now, they are disappeared. Asheq Hamza lived until just before the Revolution. He passed away when the Revolution began.

(15-19) And Asheq Isma'il, it is three or four years that he, the poor servant of God, has passed away. And Asheq Ahmad; he also died after Asheq Hamza. Currently, they play Asheqs' music, but they cannot sing those stories, those original Qashqai songs. And if they know how to sing, it is because they have learned it from me, for example. For example, this Foroud, he would come to our home, accompanied with his wife, with Farhad [his brother], they would ask questions from Asheq Hamza.



(20-24) Now they have made some tapes which are called Sanam and Qarib. And they asked me again, I went and told them, they took notes or recorded [them]. But they could not explain it completely. In addition, they have not mentioned the name of Asheq Hamza to say that they had [learned] that poem, this song, from Asheq Hamza. Currently, these programs, let me tell you respectfully, have disappeared, have been forgotten.

(25-29) Ms. Bahmani, the servant of God, came last year or the year before and said: we want to have a tape or something from you, because [these things] have been forgotten, so that the people know, recognize [them]. Those who held positions should have distributed, must have presented [them], so that all Qashqai can hear and know [them]. All young grown up after the Revolution do not know what the asheq is. If they see me an instrument at hand somewhere, they may wonder: what is an asheq, what is it? If only a great man like you, a learned man, come to explain these [things], in the future our descendants will know that there were asheqs, that the Qashqai was a big tribe, that there were artists and musicians among the Qashqai.

(30-34) I live in Shiraz since the year forty [1340/1961]. However often I say to this old woman [he refers to his wife], put aside this cloth, she says: I do not put it aside, if I remove it I will feel being nude, worse yet, as if there is nothing around me. She always put on this cloth. Our generation, according to what I have heard, has come from Azerbaijan. Dârâb Khan was the father of Sowlatdowla; they came at that time.

(35-39) At that time, the asheqs came to Iran, I mean, Dârâb Khan brought them, because there were no musicians among the Qashqai. He brought them here and patronized them, let me say humbly, he gave them provisions, foods, and payment orders. Their job was only to play music for the khans, and when they went hunting game or francolin, the asheqs, two sticks at hand, hunted francolin moving before the gunmen. When pheasants and francolins began to fly, they beat them down by sticks without mercy. They were so skilful and watchful that they would outrun bullets in beating down francolins with two sticks of *eylin* (tamarisk).

(40-44) In the Qashqai, in our culture, when our women wanted to dance, they wore long clothes, and one took pleasure in the scent of malhow mikhak.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, one would enjoy looking at the women wearing these original clothes. Now, the Qashqai woman puts on these coats and shakes her breasts singing Siyah towbe towbe. Dancing one's breasts to the Qashqai was very bad. She is Turk, [but] when you ask her to speak Turkic, she does not speak her own language [she speaks Persian].

(45-49) I was in the tribe since my early childhood. The year 41 [1341/1962] was a year of famine. When the famine came, most nomad households were settled down; most tribes settled in villages. Then, we lived in Siyakh. In the winter, we went to Gera, Gera of Famur, near Kazerun.

(50-54) Then when the Revolution occurred, we got in trouble. In short, we became a large family. Now, I have five to six girls. I have a couple of sons who are jobless. The life became hard to us.

(55-59) As for the Qashqai, they are no longer what they were before. Currently, the seasonal migration is restricted to some shepherds; most Qashqai are urbanized. Not so many Qashqai still do transhumance; they transport their herds and luggage by car to the winter zone. We settled down in the town since the year forty-one. In Shiraz, I lived in [the neighbourhood of] Darvâze Qassâbkhâna.

(60-64) My situation was good. Then I moved to Dabbâkhi, where I finally became a tenant for some time. I had nothing, and I had just married and I had no more resources. And the Revolution occurred, we had to abandon our music playing, our business. Then, we became poor and miserable.

(65-69) We went to the municipality for a job of labourer; now I earn some two hundred [thousand] tumân from here. As for the office for eršad<sup>63</sup>, we said that our rights have been trampled. We did a lot of programs, and [some] were gone to abroad. We have been oppressed. And that was thanks to Ms. Bahmani, the servant of God, who helped and now they give us eighty [thousand] tumân.

(70-74) Previously, the Qashqai instrument was kamânche. They played kamânche in duo, one opposite the other one; four, five or six people, for example, sat against each other and played, in the festivities of the khans and the kâlântärs<sup>64</sup>. They did not need to do door to door and play for everybody. They [the khans and kâlântärs] would pay them their salaries. But after those [patrons], the asheqs became so worthless that they would do door to door to earn a living and to overcome the poverty.

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<sup>62</sup> *Mälbow* and *Mixäk* are two aromatic seeds. The Qashqai collect them from the trees of the same name. They dye and use them for making jewellery, especially necklaces.

<sup>63</sup> The informant speaks of *edâre-ye farhang va eršâde eslâmi* ("office for the Islamic culture and guidance"), the equivalent of the bureau of the ministry of culture.

<sup>64</sup> *kâlântâr* is the second rank, after khan, in the hierarchy of tribal titles in the Qashqai tribal confederation.

(75-79) Among the Qashqai, there were *setâr* and *târ*.<sup>65</sup> They are called *čugur*, of course *čugur* is another instrument, but we, the Qashqai Turks, call any musical instrument *čugur*. But this one is *kamânche*, whose original name is *kamânche*. Luqman [the wise] has made the *kamânche*. Luqman invented the *kamânche*; he did not empty its body; he put strings and skin, he saw that the instrument did not work.

(80-84) A child was going to the school early morning. He saw that this child was singing very nicely. At night, returning from the school, he was singing again, but his voice did not have the quality [of the morning]. He went near him and said: my child, you were singing well in the morning, your voice was nice; why doesn't your voice have the same quality now? He said: in the early morning, I had not taken my breakfast, so my breathe worked better. Now, I have eaten some food, my stomach is full and disturbs my breathe and my words.

(85-89) Luqman [taking lesson from this event] emptied the body of the *kamânche*. Do you catch it? Now, the *kamânches* we have here in Fars are filled from the back [of the body]. This *kamânche* is made in Khorramâbâd; it is not our own *kamânche*, the *kamânche* of the Qashqai. I had nearly forgotten [playing] the *kamânche*. And Ms. Bahmani said she did not like violin and that I must play *kamânche*.

(90-94) I said: there is no *kamânche*, they gave me this one, which they had obtained from the office of Eršâd. You see, we did not even have a *kamânche*, we who were the devoted musicians of the Qashqai. Now you understand to what extent our culture has been influenced; it has disappeared. And when the culture has gone, you lose everything. Unless you, the young people who are educated, maybe remember the originality so that the people know who the Qashqai were.

(95-99) Our music is inherited; by inheritance I mean, for example, my father played and I played, too. Since this was formerly our profession, our children also learned. But the children of today no longer do music; if they ever do it, it is in Tajiki [Persian], for example *segâh*, *mâhur*.<sup>66</sup> What's more, the culture and the words which we would play no longer exist. The wife of the *asheq* would not play music; it was only the man who would play. Now, playing music is not a shame to the women, but at that time, it was regarded as a shame.

(100-104) Of the Qashqai stories, for example, Rostam and Sohrab, or Khorram and Ziba; these books no longer exist, if they exist they are rare. They were the stories of the *Shahnameh*, or, for example, the stories of Gharib and Sanam, Mahmud and Gulnar and Koroghlu. A gentleman like you was the hero of those days, a clever and hardworking one; then in the tribe, the Qashqai would compose poetry in praise of him, they would tell stories about his dignity. We the *Asheqs*, our stories are different from the Qashqai songs. In this, there are many stories; at this moment, I don't have time to explain you everything totally.

#### 14.4.1.2. Interview 1: glossed text

(1) (1-4)

Ârz	<i>ed-ä-m,</i>	<i>mân</i>	<i>Ašîy</i>	<i>Amir-Hosseîn,</i>	<i>šäst</i>	<i>sal,</i>
presentation	do-SUBJ-1SG	I	asheq	Amir.Hosseîn	sixty	year
<i>šäst-e pân</i>	<i>sal</i>	<i>belä-yîn-lär</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>var-î-m.</i>		
sixty-and five	year	belä-KI-PL	age	existing-POS-1SG		

(2)

<i>Tävällod-e</i>	<i>hezar o sisäd o nuzdä-yâm</i>
birth-EZ	thousand.and.three.hundred.and.nineteen-PRS.COP1SG

(3)

<i>Ašîq Hämzä</i>	<i>oyul-u-yâm.</i>
Asheq.Hämzä	son-POS3SG-PRS.COP1SG

(4)

<i>Zäman-e</i>	<i>ilär-tär,</i>	<i>ašîq-lär-i,</i>	<i>xan-lar</i>	<i>mäsälän</i>	<i>beyig-tär-lär,</i>
time-EZ	before-COMP	asheq-PL-ACC	khan-PL	for.example	big-COMP-PL
<i>hukumät-lär-i</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>fars-dä</i>	<i>var-imiš,</i>	<i>mun-när-i</i>	<i>mäzles-lärin-nä</i>
government-PL-INDEF	KI	Fars-LOC	existing-EVIMP.COP3SG	this-PL-ACC	gathering-POS3PL-LOC
<i>saxlad-irmišlär,</i>	<i>be-xater-e</i>	<i>älä</i>	<i>čal-mag</i>	<i>čayir-mag.</i>	
keep-EVIMPF3PL	for-sake-EZ	EMPH	play-AN	call-AN	

(5) (5-9)

<i>Onnä</i>	<i>radiyo</i>	<i>širaz</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>isgah misgah</i>	<i>yox-umuš,</i>
then	radio	Shiraz	or	station.and.likes	inexisting-IMPF.COP3SG
<i>hätta</i>	<i>zäft</i>	<i>tä</i>	<i>yox-umuš</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>biri</i>

<sup>65</sup> *Setâr* and *târ* are two main musical instruments used in Iran.

<sup>66</sup> *Segâh* and *mâhur* are the name of two Iranian music tunes.

even recording DA inexistent-IMPF.COP3SG KI someone  
*nevar dol-lur-a, zäft ed-ä.*  
 tape fill-CAUS-SUBJ3SG recording do-SUBJ3SG

(6)

*mun-nar bästä-ymiş mäsälän älä bu xan-lär-ä,*  
 this-PL tied-EVIMPF.COP3SG for.example EMPH this khan-PL-DAT  
*kassib-lar-i ki mähruş ol-muşlär aşıq.*  
 merchant-PL-INDEF KI known become-PF3PL asheq

(7)

*Aşıq-ın äsl-i dä, mess-e bu ki Daravxan gätir-miş,*  
 asheq-GEN origin-POS3SG DA like-EZ this KI Darabkhan bring-PF3SG  
*o Tavrız, Türkiyə-dän sari gätir-mişlär.*  
 that Tabriz Turkey-ABL side bring-PF3SG

(8)

*Munlär neççä kaka-ymişlär; daha mähruş ol-muş aşıq.*  
 this-PL several brother-EVIMPF.COP3PL DAHA known be-PF3SG asheq

(9)

*Aşıq qaşqay-niñ bir tirä-si ol-muş, yäni*  
 asheq Qashqai-GEN a subtribe-POS3SG become-PF3SG it.means  
*ez-i-yçi ol-muş bir tirä, ämälä tayfä-sin-nän.*  
 self-POS3SG-for become-PF3SG a subtribe Amaleh tribe-POS3SG-ABL

(10) (10-14)

*Ämälä tayfa-sin-nän var väli de-m-illär ämälä,*  
 Amaleh tribe-POS3SG-ABL existing but say-NEG-PRS3PL Amaleh  
*de-yl-lär aşıq, mähruş-tär-di, yey-tär xälx tan-ir beläsin-i.*  
 say-PRS3PL Asheq known-COMP-PRS.COP3SG good-COMP people recognize-PRS3SG ANPH3SG-ACC

(11)

*Aşıq-dä bay o mülk o yer-i zad-i yox-umuş,*  
 asheq-LOC orchard and property and land-INDEF thing-INDEF inexistent-EVIMPF3SG  
*fäqät şuy-läri älä bu kaseblig çal-mäg-dän edarä ol-irmiş.*  
 only job-POS3PL EMPH this business play-an-ABL administraion be-EVIMPF3SG

(12)

*Vä ärz ed-ä-m qulluy-uñ-ä, daha xan-lär ki ged-miş o*  
 and presentation do-SUBJ-1SG service-POS2SG-DAT DAHA khan-PL KI go-PF3SG that  
*bir sār o sahib-i bul-un-mä-miş ki mun-när-ä räsädälig ol-a,*  
 a head.and.patron-INDEF find-PASS-NEG-PF3SG KI this-PL-DAT support.der be-SUBJ3SG  
*härkä dayil-miş bir yan-ä.*  
 everybody be.scattered-PF3SG a side-DAT

(13)

*Bir neççä qadim aşıq-ı var-imiş, mun-när-dän*  
 a certain.number old asheq-POS3SG existing-EVIMPF.COP3SG this-PL-ABL  
*Aşıq Sayyat o Aşıq Hämzä Aşıq Ähmäd Aşıq İsmail määruş-umuşlär,*  
 Asheq Sayyat and Asheq Hamza asheq Ahmad Asheq Ismail known-EVIMPF3PL  
*inni mun-när beyn-nän ged-miş.*  
 now this-PL milieu-ABL go-PF3SG

(14)

*Aşıq Hämzä inqilab-dän iläri var-idi, älä inqilab äl ver-ännä*  
 Asheq Hamza revolution-ABL before existing-IMPF3SG EMPH revolution hand give-CONV  
*ömr-un-u ver-miş siz-ä.*  
 life-POS3SG-ACC give-PF3SG you.pl-SUBJ3SG

(15) (15-19)

*Aşıq İsmayl lä bir üçderd il-li bänne-y xoda rähmät ed-di.*  
 asheq İsmayl DA a three.four year-PST3SG servant-EZ God mercy do-PST3SG

(16)

*Aşıq Ähmäd dä baz älä belä, aşıq Hämzä-dän sorä el-miş.*  
 Asheq Ahmad DA again EMPH so Asheq Hamza-ABL after die-PF3SG

(17)

*Inni aşıq-lär-i dä çal-illär, väli o dasetan-lar-i,*  
 now asheq-PL-ACC DA play-PRS3PL but that story-PL-ACC  
*o äsil qaşqayn-ın täsnif-lärin-i yirle-yä bil-m-illär.*  
 that original Qashqai-GEN melody-POS3PL-ACC sing-ABIL-NEG-3PL

- (18)  
 Ägä yirle-yälär dä mäsän män-nän ešid-miślär.  
 if sing-SUBJ3PL DA for.example I-ABL hear-PF3PL
- (19)  
 bu Furud läyin, gäy-illi biz-im äv-imiz-ä, arvad-in-i gätiy-irdi,  
 this Furud like come-IMPF3SG we-GEN home-POS1PL-DAT woman-POS3SG-ACC bring-IMPF3SG  
 Färhad-i gätiy-irdi, mun-när ašiq Hämzä-dän xəbär ay-illilər.  
 Farhad-ACC bring-IMPF3SG this-PL Ashiq Hamza-ABL news take-IMPF3PL
- (20) (20-24)  
 Inni birparä nevar dol-lur-muślär be nam-e Sänäm-o-Qarib  
 now a.part tape fill-CAUS-PF3PL be name-EZ Sänäm.and.Qarib
- (21)  
 Män-i genä esä-miślär ged-miślär beläläri içi de-miślär  
 I-ACC again want-PF-3PL go-PF-1SG ANPH3PL for tell-PF-1SG  
 yaz-miślär ya zäft ed-miślär.  
 write-PF-3PL or recording do-PF-3PL
- (22)  
 Qäšan mu-nu mäsälän baş-dän äyay-ä bil-mä-miślär šärh ver-ä-lär.  
 prettily this-ACC for.example head-ABL foot-DAT know-NEG-PF-3PL explanation give-SUBJ-3PL
- (23)  
 Onnä Ašiq Hämzä-nin ad-i-ni dä gätir-mä-miślär ki  
 then Ashiq Hamza-GEN name-POS3SG-ACC DA bring-NEG-PF-3PL KI  
 biz bu šeer-i täränä-yi Ašiq Hämzä-dän var-imiz-dir.  
 we this poem-ACC song-ACC Ashiq Hamza-ABL existing-POS1PL-PRS.COP
- (24)  
 Inni bu bärnamä-lär, sän-in qulluy-ın-ä ki ärz ed-ä-m,  
 now this program-PL you.SG-GEN service-POS2SG-DAT KI presentation do-SUBJ-1SG  
 beyn-nän ged-miśl, yad-dän čix-miśl.  
 milieu-ABL go-PF3SG memory-ABL exit-PF3SG
- (25) (25-29)  
 Xanim-e Bähmani bänne-y xoda billir iläri il gäl-li de-di ki  
 madam-EZ Bahmani servant-EZ God last.year before.year come-PST3SG say-PST3SG KI  
 biz is-ir-äg siz-dän bir nevar-i bir gäp-i var-imiz ol-a,  
 we want-PRS-1PL you.PL-ABL a tape-INDEF a word-INDEF existing-POS1PL be-SUBJ3SG  
 čunku yad-dän čix-miśl, bälke xälx bil-ä, tanı-yä.  
 because memory-ABL exit-PF3SG perhaps people know-SUBJ3SG recognize-SUBJ3SG
- (26)  
 On-när-i ki mowıiyät var-läri-ydi paxš ed-äsi-ydilär,  
 that-PL-INDEF KI situation existing-POS3PL-COP.IMPF3SG distribution do-PST.NECS3PL  
 muärriflig ed-ä-lär ki qaşıyı tāmam ešid-ä, tanı-yä bil-ä.  
 introduction do-SUBJ-3PL KI Qashqai all hear-SUBJ3SG recognize-SUBJ3SG know-SUBJ3SG
- (27)  
 Inqilab-dän bəri härnä jāvan äyay-ä tut-muśl  
 revolution-ABL since whatever young foot-DAT take-PF3SG  
 bil-m-ir ašiq nā-di.  
 know-NEG-PRS3SG Ashiq what-PRS.COP3SG
- (28)  
 Ägär män mäsälän bir yazzı-dä saz äl-im-nä ol-ä  
 if I for.example a out.side-LOC instrument hand-POS1SG-LOC be-SUBJ3SG  
 ger-ä-lär de-yir ašiq nā-dir, ašiq yanı nā?  
 see-SUBJ-3PL say-PRS3SG Ashiq what-PRS.COP3SG Ashiq means what
- (29)  
 Xub, bir beyig aya sän-in-läyin bir danišmān aya  
 good a big mister you-GEN-like a scientific mister  
 ki bul-un-ä mu-rnär-i šähr ver-ä sähr  
 KI find-PASS-SUBJ3SG this-PL-ACC explanation give-SUBJ3SG tomorrow  
 bu biz-im zado bāčč-imiz bil-ir ki ašiq var-imiśl,  
 this we-GEN descendants-POS1PL know-PRS3SG KI Ashiq existing-PPF.COP3SG  
 qāşıyay beyig tayfa-ymiśl, qāşıyay-dä honärmān, čal-an var-imiśl.  
 Qashqai big tribe-PPF.COP3SG Qashqai-LOC artist singer-PART existing-PPF.COP3SG

- (30) (30-34)  
Män säne-ye çehe-län şiraz-dä-yäm.  
I year-EZ froty-ABL Shiraz-LOC-PRS.COP1SG
- (31)  
Härnä bu qärri-yä de-yir-äm bu läbas-ï çaxad  
whatever this old.woman-DAT say-PRS-1SG this clothes-ACC exit.caus.IMP2SG  
de-yir çaxard-m-ir-äm, ägä çaxard-ä-m mess-e bu ki loxt-äm,  
say-PRS3SG exit.caus-NEG-PRS-1SG if exit.caus-NEG-SUBJ-1SG like-EZ this KI naked-COP.PRS1SG  
äslän hešnä dower-um-nä yox-dur.  
never nothing around-POS1SG-LOC inexisting-PRS.COP3SG
- (32)  
Älä bu läbas-inän gäz-äsi.  
EMPH this clothes-INST walk-NECS3SG
- (33)  
Biz-im näsl beläkin ki män eşid-miş-äm,  
we-GEN lineage so.that KI I hear-PF-1SG  
älä bu Azärbayjan-nän gäl-miş.  
EMPH this Azerbaijan-ABL come-PF3SG
- (34)  
Darabxan Sowlätdowlä-nin bowa-si-ymiş, o zaman-nän gäl-miş-lär.  
Darabxan Sowlatdowla-GEN father-POS3SG-PPF.COP3SG that time-ABL come-PF-3PL
- (35) (35-39)  
O zaman aşiq gäl-miş Iran-ä, yäni Darabxan gätir-miş;  
that time Asheq come-PF3SG Iran.DAT meaning Darabxan bring-PF3SG  
çün çal-an yox-umuş qäşqay-dä.  
because play-PART inexisting-PPF3SG Qashqai-LOC
- (36)  
Munnär-i gätir-miş daha älä burda saxlad-miş,  
these-ACC bring-PF3SG DAHA EMPH this.place.ABL keep-CAUS-PF3SG  
arz ed-ä-m, jirä ver-miş çeräg ver-miş hävalä ver-miş.  
presentation do-SUBJ-1SG provision give-PF3SG bread give-PF3SG payment.order give-PF3SG
- (37)  
Munnär şoyl-läri bu-ymuş ki fäyät xan-lär içi çal-a  
these job-POS3PL this-PPF3SG KI only khan-PL for play-SUBJ3SG  
vä şikal-a torrağ-ä dä ged-ännä bu aşiq-lär ayağ-inän,  
and hunting-DAT francolin-DAT DA go-CONV this Asheq-PL wood-INST  
ikki pery var-ï-ymiş, tüfänli-dän iläri torrağ vuy-irmişlär.  
two stick existing-POS-COP.PPF3SG gunman-ABL before francolin hit-PPF3PL
- (38)  
Bu yäryawol, torrağ uç-ännä munnär aman ver-m-ermişlär,  
this pheasant francolin fly-CONV these security give-NEG-PPF3PL  
ayağ-inän vuy-irmişlär.  
wood-INST hit-PPF3PL
- (39)  
Belä çox zereñ belä hazir var-imişlär ki güllä-dän iläri  
so very agile so present existing-COP.PPF3PL KI bullet-ABL before  
torrağ vuy-irmişlär gey-dän duş-irmiş yer-ä, ikki eqlin pery-i-ynän.  
francolin hit-PPF3PL sky-ABL fall-PPF3SG earth-DAT two a.tree stick-POS3SG-INST
- (40) (40-44)  
Biz-im qaşqayî färhän-imiz-dä arvad-imiz vaxti ki ise-rdi oyne-yä,  
we-GEN Qashqai culture-POS1PL-LOC woman-POS1PL when KI want-IMP3SG dance-SUBJ3SG  
uzun läbas gey-irdi mählow o mixäk ätr-in-nän  
long clothes get.dressed-IMP3SG Mahlow and Mikhak perfume-POS3SG-ABL  
ensan keyf apay-irdi.  
human pleasure take-IMP3SG
- (41)  
Onnä bu äsil lebas-ï gey-ännä  
then this original clothes-ACC get.dressed-CONV  
ensan keyf ed-irdi bax-ä beläsi-nä.  
human pleasure do-IMP3SG look-SUBJ3SG ANPH.3SG-DAT

- (42)  
*Inni bir bu paltow-lär-dän gäy-ir*  
 now one this overcoat-PL-ABL get.dressed-PRS3SG  
*onnä deş-i-ni oynäd-ir siyah towbä towbä-ynän.*  
 then breast-POS3SG-ACC play-CAUS-PRS3SG black repentance repentance-INST
- (43)  
*Deş-in-i oyna-d-mä qäşqayî için-nä çox pes iş-idi.*  
 breast-POS3SG-ACC play-CAUS-VN Qashqai inside-LOC very bad work-COP.IMP3SG
- (44)  
*Inni mäsälän turk-du, de-yir-än beläsin-ä turki daniş,*  
 now for.example Turk-PRS.COP3SG say-PRS-2SG ANPH.3SG-DAT Turkic speak.IMP2SG  
*ez dil-in-i daniş-me-yir.*  
 self language-POS3SG-ACC speak-NEG-PRS3SG
- (45) (45-49)  
*Män älä ävväl uşayliġ-ım-nän el için-nä-ymiş-äm.*  
 I EMPH first childhood-POS1SG-ABL tribe inside.POS-LOC-PPF.COP1SG
- (46)  
*Säne-ye čelo yek bir qärä il gäl-li.*  
 year-EZ forty.and.one a black year come-PST3SG
- (47)  
*Qärä il gäl-ännä artiy oba täxtäqapı ol-lu;*  
 black year come-CONV more household sedentarized be-PST3SG  
*artiy-i tayfa känneşin ol-lu.*  
 more-POS3SG tribe city.dwelled be-PST3SG
- (48)  
*Biz dä bu siyax-dä otuy-urdi-g.*  
 we DA this Siyax-LOC sit-IMPF-1PL
- (49)  
*Qış dä ged-irdi-g gerä-yä, gerä-ye famur, kazeran-nän bəri.*  
 winter DA go-IMPF-1PL Gera-DAT Gera-EZ Famur Kazerun-ABL
- (50) (50-54)  
*Daha inqelab gäl-ännä biz-im içi dä pes tud-du.*  
 more revolution come-CONV we-GEN for DA bad catch-PST3SG
- (51)  
*Äyalvar ol-lig xolasä.*  
 in.charge.of.family become-PST1PL in.brief
- (52)  
*Män äälän beşalti qız var-ım-di.*  
 I now five.to.six daughter existing-POS1SG-PRS.COP
- (53)  
*İkkiş oyul var-i-m ki bekar-dilər.*  
 two.to.three son existing-POS1SG KI jobless-PST3PL
- (54)  
*Zendeganliġ biz-im içi muşkel ol-lu.*  
 life we-GEN for difficult become-PST3SG
- (55) (55-59)  
*Qäşqay dä ki daha o ilär-ki qäşqay däyil.*  
 Qashqai.NOM DA KI anymore that before-KI Qashqai.NOM NEG.COP.PRS3SG
- (56)  
*Inni ägä biri dä keçoqon ed-ä birikki çoban äv-i*  
 now mister some.one DA seasonal.migration do-SUBJ3SG one.two shepherd house-POS3SG  
*ged-ir, daha artiy-i älä şähr-neşin-dirlär.*  
 go-PRS3SG DAHA more-POS3SG EMPH city.dwelled-PRS.COP3PL
- (57)  
*Çox qäşqay daha keçoqon ed-m-ir, gäläbonä-yi dä daha*  
 many Qashqai any.more seasonal.migration do-NEG-PRS3SG belongings-ACC DA DAHA  
*tek-ir maşin-a ged-ir qeşlay-a häryer-dä-dir.*  
 pour-PRS3SG car-DAT go-PRS3SG winter.zone-DAT wherever-LOC-PRS.COP3SG
- (58)  
*Biz daha säne-ye čel-e-yek-dän şähr-ä otur-di-g.*

we DAHA year-EZ forty-and-one-ABL city-DAT sit-PST-1PL

(59)

Şiraz-dä Därvaze Qässabxanä-dä män otuy-irdi-m.  
Shiraz-LOC Darvaza Qassabxana-LOC I sit-IMP-1SG

(60) (60-64)

Vähz-im xub-udu.  
situation-POS1SG good-IMP-3SG

(61)

Bääd gäl-li-m Däbbaxi-yä, orda daha sārānjam  
then come-PST-1SG Dabbaxi-DAT there-LOC DAHA finally  
bir muddät qälläneşin ol-lu-m.  
a time tenant become-PST-1SG

(62)

Heşnä yox-um-udu, tazza dä ävlän-mişdi-m  
nothing inexisting-POS1SG-IMP-3SG fresh DA get.married-EVIMP-1SG  
daralığ dä daha beläm-ä qal-mä-mişdi.  
wealth da DAHA ANPH.1SG-DAT remain-NEG-EVIMP-3SG

(63)

Enqelab dä gäl-li, biz-im çalmäg kaseb-lig dä vill ol-lu.  
revolution DA come-PST-3SG we-GEN music.playing business-der DA abandoned be-PST-3SG

(64)

Daha biz bidärkoşa ol-lı-g.  
DAHA we miserable become-PST-1PL

(65) (65-69)

Ged-di-g şährdari için-ä karegärlig.  
go-PST-1PL municipality inside.POS-DAT workership  
Inni birikki iz temän burdän gir-im-ä gäy-il.  
now one.two hundred tuman here.ABL hook-POS3SG-DAT come-PRS3SG

(66)

Erşad dä, de-di-g biz-im häqq-imiz pamal ol-muş.  
Ministry.of.culture DA say-PST-1PL we-GEN right-POS1PL downtrodden be-PF3SG

(67)

Biz çox bärnamä dol-lur-muş-äg, xarejä ged-miş.  
we many program fill-CAUS-PF-1PL abroad.DAT go-PF3SG

(68)

Belämiz-ä zulm ol-muş.  
ANPH1PL-DAT oppression be-PF3SG

(69)

O dä xanım-e Bähmäni bänne-y xoda kemäg ed-di,  
that da lady-EZ Bahmani serviteur-EZ God help do-PST-3SG  
biz-ä inni häştat temän vey-illär.  
we-DAT now eighty tuman give-PRS3PL

(70) (70-74)

Qäşyay saz-ı ilär-tär kämançä-ymiş.  
Qashqai instrument-POS3SG before-COMP Kamancha-EVIMP-3SG

(71)

Kämançä-yi do-bä-do çay-ilmiş-lär, qārşi be qārşi;  
Kamancha-ACC two-by-two play-EVIMP-3PL before to before  
mäsälän derd-beş-alti näfär otuy-irmiş qārşi be qārşi çay-ilmiş-lär,  
for.example four.five.six person sit-EVIMP-3SG before to before play-EVIMP-3PL  
xan-lar jäläsä-sin-nä, kälantär-lär jäläsä-sin-nä.  
khan-PL gathering-POS3SG-LOC Kalantar-PL gathering-POS3SG-LOC

(72)

Ehtiyaj däyil-miş ki ged-ä här qapı-yä çal-ä, härkä içi.  
need NEG.COP-PF3SG KI go-SUBJ3SG each door-DAT play-SUBJ3SG everyone for

(73)

Onnär dä xolasä jowr-un-u çäk-irmiş, huyuy-un-u vey-irmiş.  
they DA in.brief burden-POS3SG-ACC pull-EVIMP-3SG wage-POS3SG-ACC give-EVIMP-3SG

(74)

Daha onnar-dän sora aşiq beläyin ärzan ol-ur ki

- DAHA they-ABL after asheq so cheap be-AOR3SG KI  
*be-xater-e tənədlisig beçarəlig daha qapı be qapı ged-irmiş*  
 for-sake-EZ poverty misery DAHA door to door go-EVIMPF3SG  
*be-xater-e maaş-e zendeganlig.*  
 for-sake-EZ livelihood-EZ life
- (75) (75-79)  
*Qaşqay-də setar o tar da var-imiş.*  
 Qashqai-LOC Setar and Tar DA existing-EVIMPF.COP3SG
- (76)  
*Çügür ələ mun-nar-i de-yl-lär; əlbətə çügür mun-nan ayrı-di,*  
 Chugur EMPH this-PL-ACC say-PRS-3PL however Chugur this-ABL other-PRS.COP3SG  
*vəli ez türk-larımız mun-ə de-yllär çügür.*  
 but self Turk-POS1PL this-DAT say-PRS3PL Chugur
- (77)  
*Vəli bu kəmançə-di, əsl-e ad-i kəmançə-di.*  
 But this Kamancha-PRS.COP3SG origin-EZ name-POS3SG Kamancha-PRS.COP3SG
- (78)  
*Bu kəmançə-yi Luqman qayır-miş.*  
 this Kamancha-ACC Luqman make-PF3SG
- (79)  
*Luqman gəl-er bu kəmançə-yi bunyad ed-er,*  
 Luqman come-AOR3SG this Kamancha-ACC foundation do-AOR3SG  
*kasə-sin-i xali ed-məz, sim çək-ər dərri çək-ər,*  
 case-POS3SG-ACC empty do-NEG.AOR3SG wire stretch-AOR3SG skin stretch  
*ger-er çal-m-ir.*  
 see-AOR3SG play-NEG-PRS3SG
- (80) (80-84)  
*Bir uşay səhər gah ged-irmiş mədrəsə-yə,*  
 a child morning early go-EVIMP3SG school-DAT  
*bax-ar ger-ər ki bu uşay çox qəşən irl-ir.*  
 look-AOR3SG see-AOR3SG KI this child very beautiful sing-PRS3SG
- (81)  
*Şam bük-ül-ənnə irl-r vəli o ahən o*  
 evening return-PASS-CONV sing-AOR3SG but that melody and  
*səs-i keyfiyyət-i yox-idi.*  
 voice-POS3SG qualities-POS3SG inexistent-IMP3SG
- (82)  
*Ged-ər yigə-n-a de-yər sən bəbə-m səhər qəşən irl-rdi-η,*  
 go-AOR3SG close-POS3SG-DAT say-AOR3SG you child-POS1SG morning beautiful sing-IMP3SG  
*qəşən səs-in gəl-irdi, inni jəhət-e nə-dir ki*  
 beautiful voice-POS2SG come-IMP3SG now direction-EZ what-PRS.COP3SG KI  
*səs-in belə keyfiyyət yox-u?*  
 voice-POS2SG so qualities inexistent-POS3SG
- (83)  
*De-yər səhərgah nəştə-ydi-m nəfəs-im yeg iş gey-irdi.*  
 say-AOR3SG early.morning fast-IMP3SG-1SG breath-POS1SG one work see-IMP3SG
- (84)  
*Inni xurag ye-miş-əm, mehdə-m dol-muş*  
 now food eat-PF-1SG stomach-POS1SG fill-PF3SG  
*bir xurdə muzahim oy-il kəlam-im-a, nəfəs-im-ə.*  
 a little trouble be-PRS3SG word-POS1SG-DAT breath-POS1SG-DAT
- (85) (85-89)  
*Loyman gəl-ər muniñ için-i puk ed-ər, xali ed-ər.*  
 Loqman come-AOR3SG this.GEN inside-POS-ACC hollow do-AOR3SG empty do-AOR3SG
- (86)  
*Multəfət-ən, inni biz ez kəmançə-lərimiz ki fars-də-di*  
 attentive-PRS.COP2SG now we self Kamancha-POS1PL KI Fars-LOC-PRS.COP3SG  
*geri-si tutulu-du.*  
 back-POS3SG closed-PRS.COP3SG
- (87)  
*Bu kəmançə saxt-e xurrəməbad-di, biz-im ez kəmançə,*



- this Kamancha make.RADII-EZ Khorramabad-PRS.COP3SG we-GEN self Kamancha  
*qāšyay kāmānčā-si dāyil.*  
 Qashqai Kamancha-POS3SG neg.COP3SG
- (88)  
*Mān daha kāmānčā yad-īm-dān čix-mišdi.*  
 I DAHA Kamancha memory-POS3SG-ABL exit-EVIMPF3SG
- (89)  
*Mun-u dā xanem-e bāhmāni de-di*  
 this-ACC DA madam-EZ Bahmani say-PST3SG  
*mān viyalon sā-m-ir-ām kāmānčā čal-asi-yān.*  
 I violin want-NEG-PRS-1SG Kamancha play-NECS-2SG
- (90) (90-94)  
*De-di-m kāmānčā yox, munu ālā o iršad-dān*  
 say-PST-1SG Kamancha inexistent this.ACC EMPH that guidance-ABL  
*al-lī-lār ver-di-lār mām-ā.*  
 take-PST-3PL give-PST-3PL I-DAT
- (91)  
*Multāfet-ān? ki daha kāmānčā dā biz-dā yox-īdi;*  
 attentive-PRS.COP2SG KI DAHA Kamancheh DA we-LOC inexistent-IMP.F.COP3SG  
*ki xalis o moxles qašyay-niñ nāvazāndā-si-yimīš-āg.*  
 KI pure and sincere Qashqai-GEN instrumentist-POS3SG-EVIMPF-1PL
- (92)  
*Inni ger nayarta daha biz-im fārhān-imiz-ā āsār qoy-muš*  
 now see how.much DAHA we-GEN culture-POS1PL-DAT effect put-PF3SG  
*ki āl-lān ged-miš fārhān-imiz.*  
 KI hand-ABL go-PF3SG culture-POS1PL
- (93)  
*Fārhān dā ki āllān ged-di ensan daha*  
 culture DA KI hand-ABL go-PST3SG human DAHA  
*vari zad-i āl-lān ged-ir.*  
 all thing-ACC hand-ABL go-PRS.COP3SG
- (94)  
*Āgā daha siz-e jāvan-lār ki sāvād var-iñiz*  
 if DAHA you-EZ young-PL KI literacy existing-POS2PL  
*esalāt-i bir vaxt-i yad-a sal-āñiz ki*  
 originality-ACC one time-INDEF memory-DAT hang-SUBJ2PL KI  
*xāl x bil-ā ki qašyay kim-imiš.*  
 people know-SUBJ3SG KI Qashqai who-EVIMPF3SG
- (95) (95-99)  
*Biz-im musiyi-miz ersi-dir; ers be-māhna-ye bu ki*  
 we-GEN music-POS1PL hereditary-COP.PRS3SG heritage PREP-meaning-EZ this KI  
*māsālān bowa-m čay-ilmīš mām nā čay-ilmīš-ām,*  
 for.example father-POS1SG play-EVIMPF3SG I DA play-EVIMPF-1SG  
*čun onna biz-im šoyl-umuz ālā bu-yimīš,*  
 because then we-GEN job-POS1PL EMPH this-EVIMPF3SG  
*ušay-larimīz dā ergān-irmiš.*  
 child-POS1PL DA learn-EVIMPF3SG
- (96)  
*Ālbātā inni-niñ ušay-i daha čal-m-ir,*  
 of.course now-GEN child-POS3SG DAHA play-NEG-prs3SG  
*āgā čal-a dā taḡikī čay-īl, māsālān segah, mahur.*  
 if play-SUBJ3SG DA Persian play-PRS3SG for.example Segah Mahur
- (97)  
*Bāād o fārhān o gāp-lār-i dā ki biz čay-ilmīš-āg*  
 then that culture and word-PL-INDEF DA KI we play-EVIMPF-1PL  
*inni yox-du.*  
 now inexistent-PRS.COP3SG
- (98)  
*Ašiy arvad-i čal-an dāyil-miš, fāyāt kiši-si čay-ilmīš.*  
 asheq woman-POS3SG play-PART NEG.COP-PF3SG only man-POS3SG play-EVIMPF3SG

(99)

Inni      čal-mag      arvad-ä      eyb      дәйил;      väli      onnä  
 now      play-INF      woman-DAT      shame      NEG.COP3SG      but      then  
 eyb      biy-ilmišlär,      xulasa.  
 shame      know-EVIMPF3PL      in.brief

(100) (100-105)

Qäşşay      dastan-lärin-nän,      mäsälän,      rustäm sohrab,      ya      xorram ziba,  
 Qashqai      story-POS3PL-ABL      for.example      Rostam.Sohrab      or      Khorram.Ziba  
 bu      kitab-lär      inni      daha      yox-du,      ägär      ol-a      az-đir.  
 this      book-PL      now      DAHA      inexistent-PRS.COP3SG      if      be-SUBJ3SG      few-PRS.COP3SG

(101)

Munnär      dastan-e      šahnamä-yimiš,  
 this.PL      story-EZ      Shahnameh-COP.EVIMPF3SG  
 ya      yärib sänäm,      mahmud vä gulnar,      koroylu      dasetan-i-yimiš.  
 or      Qarib.Sanam      Mahmud.and.Gulnar      Koroghlu      story-POS3SG-COP.EVIMPF3SG

(102)

Sän-in      läyin      aya      onnä-yin      pählävan-i-yimiš,  
 you-GEN      like      Mister      then-GEN      doughty-POS3SG-COP.EVIMPF3SG  
 bir      iş-dän      gäl-än      adamimiš,  
 a      work-ABL      come-PART      person-COP.EVIMPF3SG

(103)

onnä      tayfä-dä      qäşşay      bu      adam      içi      šeer      qäyir-irmiš,  
 then      tribe-LOC      Qashqai      this      person      for      poem      make-EVIMPF3SG  
 mun-in      šahn-in-nän      dastan      de-yirmiš.  
 this.GEN      dignity-POS3SG-ABL      story      tell-EVIMPF3SG

(104)

Biz-e      aşıy-lär      dastan-imiz      qäşşay-nin      irlä-mä-yin-nän      ayri-ydi.  
 we-EZ      Asheq-PL      story-POS3PL      Qashqai-GEN      sing-VN-POS3SG-ABL      other-IMP.COP3SG

(105)

Bu      dastan      çox      var-i,      inni      män-im      vaxt      yox-um  
 this      story      many      existing-POS3SG      now      I-GEN      time      existing-POS3SG  
 sän-in      içi      tāmam      šähr      ver-ä-m.  
 you.SG-GEN      for      whole      explication      give-SUBJ-2SG

#### 14.4.2. Interview 2

*The extract of an interview with Assadollāh Mardāni Rahimi, 60 years-old, a retired teacher from the Rahimli subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, on the 16th of April 2008, in the town of Golestan, in the west vicinity of Shiraz. The questions of interviewer are omitted.*

(1-4) Män adīm āsādolladır, familim mārđani rāhimidir, čun rāhimli tayfasinnānām. Älli beş yaş varīm inni. O zāmāni ki män yeddi yaşarıđim tāqribān, geddim mādrāsāyā. Onna dowlāti mādrāsā qaşşaylar içinnā az varidi.

(5-9) Bizim tayfada dowlāti mādrāsā yoxudu. O zāman ki män geddim axund yanına, maktābxanādā hām farsī dārs verillārdi hāmi qor‘an yāni ārābi, hāmi dā turki. Bāāle, turki dā dārs verillārdi. Äz jumlä mäsälän kitablāri ki o zāman varidi mehre xavār kitabiydi. Onnä älbātā mādrāsā yoxudu, maktābidi, elinān kečoqon edirdi.

(10-14) Kälase čaarom, pānjom vä šešom o zaman mādrāsāye dowlätidä oxudum. Onna daha bāhmānbāgi mādrāsāsi gālmišdi, sāneye čelosečaridi daha. Buyidi ki män uşaylıgdān älā bir miqdar turkiyā ālayā varīmimiš o zamannan. Hätta yadimna ävvälki gini ki mänim ālimā kitab verdilär, älā o axund ävinnā yatānnā, bu kitabı belā qoyirdim ayzīm dāminā munin issinnān xoşum gälirdi vä munin issiynān män yatirdim; äz bās ki belām içi issi xubudu. Vä gālmišām onnān sorā dābirestanā širaz’dā dārs oxumušām, uč il dābirestane šahpure širazdā.

(15-19) Kälase nohomudum ke geddim emtehan verdim daneşsāraye āşayeriyā, ta ollum mu‘älleme āşayeri. Bir beşaltı il mu‘ällimi ebtedaymišām. Onnān sorā genā bir dowreye rahnemayi germišām vä olmušām mu‘älleme rahnemayi. Onnān sorā älā mu‘ällemliḡ dowranı,

lisanse ädəbiyat almišām və dəbirestannä ädəbiyat dārs verdim, killä, firuzabadda širazda. Və täyribän yeddi illi baznešästeyām və ävdeyām.

(20-24) Tähqiyati ke edmišām turk dili issinä, igirmi il munnän iläri šuru edmišām. Igirmibir illir ki turk dili issindä iš geyirām, qašyay dili issindä məxsusän. Män inniyänčä beš ketabim čap olmuš. Bir derdbeš ketab də älimnä älä belä iš gerirām, täqribän varisī ädəbiyate turk bexusus ädəbiyate turke qašyay issinädi. Heč mo‘ässesä, heč šäxs, heč guruh və heč änjomäni mänä bu mowreddä kemäg edmämišdir, če äz lähaze mali če daha lähazdän.

(25-29) Män hättä ketablärimi čap eddig içi, älä bu qašyay sözlügünü ki eserdim čap edäm, payizdän mašinimi saddim ketabimi čap eddim. Inni yavaš yavaš tazzäligdä bir mašin genä almišām. Ävdä kamelän turki daniširäg, varimüz, mägär buki bir fars dilli gälä ävimizä oniqnän farsī daniširäg. Oniq huzurunä dä ezimizinän turki daniširäg. Männä bir ušay artiy yox, o dä turki danišir.

#### 14.4.2.1. Interview 2: translation

(1-4) My name is Asadollāh, my family name is Mardāni-Rahimi, because I come from the Rahimli tribe. I am fifty-five-years-old now. When I was about seven years old, I went to school. At that time, there were few governmental schools among the Qashqai.

(5-9) There was no governmental school in our tribe. The time I went to Mollah, to *maktabkhāne* in fact, they taught Persian, Quran i.e. Arabic, and Turkic together. Yes, they taught Turkic too. Among the books that existed at that time, it was the book of *Mebre Khāvar* (“Sun of the East”)<sup>67</sup>. At that time, of course, there was no school, there was maktabkhāne, which would move along with the tribe.

(10-14) At that time, I did the fourth, fifth and sixth grade at the governmental school. By then, the Bahmanbegi’s schools had arrived, around in the year of forty-four [1344/1965]. Thus, I have been a little interested in Turkic from that time. I even remember the first day that they gave me a book, in the house of Mullah, I put this book on my mouth and enjoyed its smell and fell asleep with its smell; insomuch that it smelled good to me. After that, I came to study in high school in Shiraz, three years in Shahpour High School in Shiraz.

(15-19) I was in ninth grade when I took the exam of *Dānešsarāye Ašāyeri*<sup>68</sup>; until I became a teacher for tribes. I was a teacher of primary school for five or six years. Then, I took a course in secondary school until I became a teacher of secondary school. After that, during the time of teachership, I got a licence degree in literature, and I taught literature in high schools, in Qir, Firuzabad, and Shiraz. And it is about seven years that I am retired and I am at home.

(20-24) The research on the Turkic language, I have started twenty years ago. It is twenty-one years that I work on the Turkic language, especially on Qashqai Turkic. Up to now, five books of mine have been published. I have also some five books before hand on which I am busy working; almost all are on [the subject of] Turkic literature especially the Qashqai Turkic literature. No institution, no person, no group or association helped me in this project, neither financially, nor in other ways.

(25-29) Even to publish my books, for this very *Qashqai Dictionary* that I wanted to publish, in Autumn, I sold my car and published my book. And just recently, after having gradually saved money, I purchased a car again. At home, we entirely speak Turkic, all of us; unless a Persian speaker would come to our home; with her / him we speak Persian. At her / his presence, too, we speak Turkic with ourselves. I do not have but one child; he, too, speaks Turkic.

#### 14.4.2.2. Interview 2: glossed text

- (1) (1-4)
- |         |             |                             |                    |                           |
|---------|-------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Män     | ad-īm       | äsädolla-dir,               | famil-im           | märdani rāhimi-dir,       |
| I       | name-POS1SG | Assadolla-PRS.COP3SG        | family.name-POS1SG | Mardani.Rahimi-PRS.COP3SG |
| čun     | rāhimli     | tayfa-sin-nän-äm.           |                    |                           |
| because | Rahimli     | tribe-POS3SG-ABL-PRS.COP1SG |                    |                           |
- (2)
- |         |     |        |       |
|---------|-----|--------|-------|
| Ällibeš | yaš | var-īm | inni. |
|---------|-----|--------|-------|

<sup>67</sup> About *Mebre Khāvar* ‘The sun of East’, see Sara Moradi Kashkuli 1390 H./2011.

<sup>68</sup> An institute that formerly existed for teacher training reserved for the tribal students.

- fifty-five year existing-POS1SG now
- (3)  
*O zaman-i ki män yeddi yaşar-idi-m təqribən,*  
 that time-INDEF KI I seven year.old-PST.COP-1SG approximately  
*ged-di-m mədrəsə-yə.*  
 go-PST-1SG school-DAT
- (4)  
*Onna dowləti mədrəsə qaşqay-lar için-nə az var-idi.*  
 then governmental school Qashqai-PL inside.POS-LOC few existing-PST.COP3SG
- (5) (5-9)  
*Biz-im tayfa-da dowləti mədrəsə yox-udu.*  
 we-GEN tribe-LOC governmental school inexistent-PST.COP3SG
- (6)  
*O zəman ki män ged-di-m axund yan-in-a, məktəbxanə-də*  
 that time KI I go-PST-1SG Mollah side-POS3SG-DAT Quranic.school-LOC  
*həm farsı dərs ver-illərdi həmi qor'an, yəni ərəbi,*  
 also Persian course give-IMP3PL also Quran meaning Arabic  
*həmi də turki.*  
 also DA Turkic
- (7)  
*Bəale, turki də dərs ver-illərdi.*  
 yes Turkic DA course give-IMP3SG
- (8)  
*Əz jumlə kitab-lər-i ki o zəman var-idi*  
 including book-PL-INDEF KI that time existing-PST.COP3SG  
*mehr-e xavər kitab-i-ydi.*  
 Mehr-EZ Khavar book-POS3SG-PST.COP3SG
- (9)  
*Onnə əlbətə mədrəsə yox-udu, məktəb-idi,*  
 then off course school inexistent-PST.COP3SG Quranic.school-PST.COP3SG  
*el-inən keç-o-qon ed-irdi.*  
 tribe-inst migration do-IMP3SG
- (10) (10-14)  
*Kəlas-e çaarom, pənjom və şəşom o zaman*  
 class-EZ fourth fifth and sixth that time  
*mədrəsə-ye dowləti-də oxu-du-m.*  
 school-EZ governmental-LOC read-PST-1SG
- (11)  
*Onna daha bəhmənbəgi mədrəsə-si gəl-mişdi,*  
 then DAHA Bahmangagi school-POS3SG come-PPF3SG  
*səne-ye čel-o-se-çar-idi daha.*  
 year-EZ forty-and-three-four-PST.COP3SG DAHA
- (12)  
*Bu-yidi ki män uşaylıg-dən ələ bir miqdar turki-yə*  
 this-PST3SG KI I childhood-ABL EMPH a amount Turkic-DAT  
*ələyə var-ım-imiş o zaman-nan.*  
 interest existing-POS1SG-PPF3SG that time-ABL
- (13)  
*Hätta yad-ım-na əvvəlki gin-i ki män-im əl-im-ə*  
 evn memory-POS1SG-LOC first day-INDEF KI I-GEN hand-POS1SG-DAT  
*kitab ver-di-lər, ələ o axund əv-in-nə yat-ənnə,*  
 book come-PST-3PL EMPH that Mollah home-POS3SG-LOC sleep-CONV  
*bu kitab-i belə qoy-irdi-m ayz-ım dām-in-ə*  
 this book-ACC EMPH put-IMP-1SG mouth-GEN before-POS3SG-DAT  
*munin iss-in-nən xoş-um gəl-irdi və munin iss-ıynən*  
 this.GEN odour-POS3SG-ABL good-POS1SG come-IMP3SG and this.GEN odour-INST  
*mən yat-irdi-m; əz bəs ki beləm içi iss-i xub-udu.*  
 I sleep-IMP-1SG insomuch.that ANPH.POS1SG for odour-POS3SG good-PST.COP3SG
- (14)  
*Və gəl-miş-əm onnən sorə dəbirestan-ə şiraz-də dərs oxu-muş-əm,*  
 and come-PF-1SG that.ABL after high.school-DAT Shiraz-LOC lesson read-PF-1SG  
*uç il dəbirestan-e şahpur-e şiraz-də.*

three year high.school-EZ Shahpur-EZ Shiraz-LOC

(15) (15-19)

*Kālas-e nohom-udum ki ged-di-m emtehan ver-di-m*  
 class-EZ ninth-PST.COP3SG KI go-PST-1SG exam give-PST-1SG  
*danešsāra-ye āšayeri-yā, ta ol-lu-m mu'ällem-e āšayeri.*  
 Dāneshsāra-EZ Ashayeri-DAT TA be-PST-1SG teacher-EZ tribal

(16)

*Bir bešaltī il mu'ällem-e ebteday-mišām.*  
 one five.six year teacher-EZ primary-PPF3SG

(17)

*Onnān sorā genā bir dowre-ye rahnemayi ger-miš-ām*  
 that.ABL after again a period Rahnemayi see-PF-1SG  
*vā ol-muš-ām moällem-e rahnemayi.*  
 and become-PF-1SG teacher-EZ Rahnemayi

(18)

*Onnān sorā ālā mu'ällemliḡ dowran-ī, lisans-e ādābiyat al-miš-ām*  
 that.ABL after EMPH teachership time-POS3SG bachelor-EZ literature obtain-PF-1SG  
*vā dābirestan-nā ādābiyat dārs ver-di-m, kil-lā, firuzabad-da širaz-da.*  
 and high.school-LOC literature lesson give-PST-1SG Kil-LOC Firuzabad-LOC Shiraz-LOC

(19)

*Vā tāyribān yeddi il-li baznešāste-yām vā āv-de-yām.*  
 and approximately seven year-PST3SG retired-PRS.COP1SG and home-LOC-PRS.COP1SG

(20) (20-24)

*Tāhqiḡat-i ki ed-miš-am turk dil-i issin-ā,*  
 research.PL-INDEF KI do-PF-1SG Turk language-POS3SG on.POS3SG-DAT  
*igirmi il munnān ilāri šuru ed-miš-ām.*  
 twenty year this.ABL before start do-PF-1SG

(21)

*Iḡirmibir il-lir ki turk dil-i issin-dā iṣṡ gey-ir-ām,*  
 twenty.one year-PST3SG KI Turk language-POS3SG on.POS-LOC work see-PRS-1SG  
*qašḡay dil-i issin-dā māxsusān.*  
 Qashqai language-POS3SG on.POS3SG-LOC especially

(22)

*Mān inni-yāncā beš ketab-īm čap ol-muš.*  
 I now-TER five book-POS1SG publication be-PF3SG

(23)

*Bir derdbeš ketab dā āl-im-nā ālā belā iṣṡ ger-ir-ām,*  
 a four.five book DA hand-POS1SG-LOC EMPH this.way work see-PRS-1SG  
*tāqribān varī-si ādābiyat-e turk bexusus ādābiyat-e*  
 approximately all-POS3SG literature-EZ Turk especially literature-EZ  
*turk-e qašḡay issi-nā-di.*  
 Turk-EZ Qashqai on.POS3SG-DAT-PRS.COP3SG

(24)

*Heč moāssesā, heč šāxs, heč guruh vā heč ānḡomān-i*  
 nothing institution nothing person nothing group and nothing assembly-INDEF  
*mān-ā bu mowred-dā kemāḡ ed-mā-miš-dir,*  
 I-DAT this case-ABL help do-NEG-PF-PRS.COP3SG  
*če āz lāhaz-e mali če daha lāhaz-dān.*  
 what from consideration-EZ financial what DAHA consideration-ABL

(25) (25-29)

*Mān hātta ketab-lār-im-i čap ed-dig iči,*  
 I even book-PL-POS1SG-ACC publication do-VN for  
*ālā bu qašḡay sōzlūḡ-ū-nū ki ese-rdi-m čap ed-ā-m,*  
 EMPH this Qashqai dictionary-POS3SG-ACC KI want-IMPF-1SG publication do-SUBJ-1SG  
*payiz-dān mašin-im-i sad-dī-m ketab-im-i čap ed-di-m.*  
 autumn-ABL car-POS1SG-ACC sell-PST-1SG book-POS1SG-ACC publication do-PST-1SG

(26)

*Inni yavaš yavaš tazāliḡ-dā bir mašin genā al-miš-ām.*  
 now slowly slowly freshness-LOC a car again buy-PF-1SG

(27)

*Āv-dā kamelān turki dāniš-ir-āḡ, var-īmiz, māḡār bu ki bir fars dil-li*

home-LOC <i>gāl-ä</i> come-SUBJ3SG	completely <i>äv-imiz-ä</i> home-POS1PL-DAT	Turki <i>onih-nän</i> that.GEN-INST	speak-PRS-1PL <i>onih-nän</i> that.GEN-INST	all-POS1PL <i>farsi</i> Persian	unless.this.KI <i>dänış-ä-g.</i> speak-SUBJ-1PL	a	Persian	tongue-BENEF
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(28)

<i>Onih</i> that.GEN	<i>huzur-un-nä</i> presence-POS3SG-LOC	<i>dä</i> DA	<i>ezimiz-inän</i> ourselves-with	<i>turki</i> Turki	<i>daniş-ir-äg.</i> speak-PRS-1PL
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(29)

<i>Män-nä</i> I-LOC	<i>bir</i> a	<i>uşay</i> child	<i>artiy</i> more	<i>yox,</i> inexisting	<i>o</i> he	<i>dä</i> DA	<i>turki</i> Turki	<i>daniş-ir.</i> speak-PRS3SG
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#### 14.4.3. Interview 3

*The extract of a long interview with Parvin Bahmani, 59 years-old, a Qashqai singer and folkmusic researcher from the Bähmānbäyli subtribe of the Amaleh tribe. It was done on the 15th of April 2008, in Tehran. The questions of interviewer are omitted.*

(1-4) Män vaxti ki dunyaya gälmişäm, anamnä süt yoxumuş, yanı mārız olmuş bilmiräm. Mänim içi bir taya tutmuşlär; südimi o verirmiş. Xob, ikki analiyam; ikkisiniñ nä äalan äksi ordadır; ikkisiniñ nä aksini qaba tutmuşäm. Mänim anamınan o tayam ikki tábäqädänimişlär; birisi tábäqey uxarıymış birisi tábäqey aşayı.

(5-9) Häm anamı çox iseyrmişäm həm dayamı. Bu teraǵediynän zendeganligüm şuru olmuş. Müsiqiyi härkäs belämnän xəbär alır deyiräm mən müsiqiyi qāşqay tayamnän ergänmişäm, cün onih lala dedigi hämişä qulayım içinnä. Hätta issinnän mən xoşum gäyilmiş. Xub qāşāñ säs variymiş; şayād dä mänim içi çox qāşāñimiş.

(10-14) Ävvälin moälleme musiqiyi mən onu moärriflig ediräm. Onnän sorä daha onderdbeş yaşarlıgdä el içinnän çıxmişäm gälmişäm daha şährä yo şirazä. Därs oxumuşäm o bädän nä ki moällimlig şoylunu entexab eddim. Daha onnän sorä enqelab ki ollu daha männän xoşläri gälmädi. Abadeyä dārs veyirdim.

(15-19) Älbätä bu ĵumhuri eslamı beläminän sazımädi. Uşaylari çox eseyrdim, bu şoyllan xoşum gäyilli. Sämädilär daha, mən mājbur ollum gedäm kişavärzligä. Beş il kişavärzlig eddim. Abadädän bir xırx kilometr owantär, sähräd dä, Xungeşt täräfi yo orälär.

(20-24) Mänim uşaylärim bowası şeşbäylidir. Ezdevajım namoväffayidi; yäni be xatere bu ki qāşqaylär talay allıǵı eyb bilillärdi, bu xaterä här şeklinän varidi mən zendeganligümünan qarayä gäyillim. Daha kişavärzligi dä beş il artıq qomädi mən edäm. Kişavärzlig dä vill ollu. Yazdiginän nä moxalifidi, kitab oxudiginän moxalifidi, musiyiynän...

(25-29) Musiyiynän çox moxalif däyli väli xob. Män ez işimi gerdim. Män ez zendeganligümü eddim. Tämame moşkelatinän zendeganligümü eddim. Äǵär yazdım, xırx dārājā issidmä içinnä mən yazdım o ertdi väli dubarä ayrı mowqe yazdım.

(30-34) Män dubeytilär, yanı asanaklarımızi, bir meqdar iydim dennärdim farsiyä; täqribän bir älli admış danäsiniä dä väzn o qafiye verdim. Çox oturdum geǵä sähränčäs, väli jävaz vermädilär, neçčäsini mäxsusän ikki danäsini... Birisini deyillärdi sän şahdän demişāñ. Älä bu xaterä lätmä gerdim äz nāzäre ruhi. Bärjästä honärmänläriñ nä ki zendeganligläriñi yazmışäm ki äalan çap altinnädir.

(35-39) Daryalär xub ney çalillär. Kişilär xub ney çalir, arvadlärdä xub säs var. Bir danä daryä Mahpärviz var, säsi qiyamätädi. Munnär bir bāxş äz müsiyidi. Dilläri Koroşidi, bir mäxsus dilli.

(40-44) Qurbätlär älä bizim täyin danişillärdi. Turki danişillärdi, väli xub, lähjä dä varläri. Qurbätlär şayād ayrı yerlärdän gälmişlärdi; Şayād ayrı ostanlärdän gälillärdi. Bir mäxsus zendeganlig varläriydi, birdän keçillärdi.

(45-49) Onnä, siz bilirāñiz ki Qāşaynñi uç bāxş müsiyi varidir: çāñilärdir o aşıqlärdir o daryalär o çobanlä. Daryay o çoban ney çalir. El ez elkäsinnän irayımış, munih içi Qāşay müsiyisi

həmmişə məhzunnu. Onnə çoban o darya genə ellən nə irayimiş, gedəsiyimiş yazziya dowar dävə otara; onnarınki daha məhzuntärimiş. Məjbürumuş əslən həmmişə ney çala həmmişə irleyä.

(50-54) Qəşyaynıñ müsiyiqisi çox vəsiidir. Məsälən bir qəsdi varımız adı ləkkidir, yanı ləkkilərdən alınmış. Rəqlərimiz içinnä də ləkki var. Rəqs vaxtı daha tond olir, olir ləkki. Bizdə derd now rəqs əsilə əsil var, bu beş tayfə içinnä.

(55-59) Əvvəlkisi ayır haleydir, arvadınkinä deyllər haley daha. Dovvomkisi yoryədir, eyne at qəçdiki ki əvvəl bir azçə yowaş onnən sorə tontär oyil yoryə olir. Onnən sorə ləkki, qeçi eynən narm edillər amada edillər o tondlig içi. Onnə ləkkidən sorə dernay issidir. Bu derd rəqs beş tayfə içinnä moştärəktir.

(60-64) Inni daha bu dernay issiniñ içinnä kowlivar var. Mən kowlivarı təşbih edirəm gerdbadə, duyanaya, eyne duyanay təyinni, adam beləyin baxsa. Neççə now daha rəqlər varımızdır, yeyr əz o dörd dana əsl. Mən munnəri təmam birbirinən muayyase edirəm. Çox rahat mən demirəm o yazmirəm, tə diqqət edmeyəm, bilmeyəm.

(65-69) Mən qəşaylär içinə gedirəm ədədləri də geyirəm farsı deyllər, çox mənə bər yeyir. Mən geynim iseyr bir teribun varım ola qəşaylärinən morəttəb danişəm. Mən bir zadı fəyät eserəm belənizə deyəm. Mən buyad dil issinə təəsüp varım; xub, dilimnir. Mən ədəbiyate farsı dars vermişəm, vəli turkiyi yeytär danişirəm.

#### 14.4.3.1. Interview 3: translation

(1-4) When I was born, my mother did not have milk, that is, she had been sick, probably. They hired a nurse for me; she fed me with milk. Thus, I had two mothers; the photo of both is now over there; I have framed the photo of both. My mother and my nurse belonged to two [social] classes; one has been from a superior class and the other from an inferior class.

(5-9) I loved both my mother and my nurse. My life has started with this tragedy. Concerning music, whoever asks me I say I have learnt music from my Qashqai nurse; for her voice telling lullaby is always in my ears. I was even pleased with her scent. She had a very nice and beautiful voice; maybe it was very beautiful to me.

(10-14) I introduce her as my first music teacher. Then, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, I left the tribe and came to the town, to Shiraz. I pursued an education and then I chose the profession of teachership. And later, when the Revolution<sup>69</sup> took place, they no longer liked me [they fired me for political reasons]. I was teaching in Abadeh.

(15-19) Off course, The Islamic Republic did not get on with me. I loved the children, I enjoyed this job. They did not want me anymore; I had to go to agriculture. I did agriculture five years. Around forty kilometres after Abadeh, in the Summer zone, towards Khungesht and nearby.

(20-24) The father of my children is a *Sheshbayli*.<sup>70</sup> My marriage was unsuccessful; because the Qashqai considered divorce as a blemish, for this reason, by any means, I endured the life. As for the agriculture, he did not allow me to do it more than five years. The agriculture also was abandoned. He was opposed to writing, he was opposed to reading, to music...

(25-29) He was not so opposed to music, but anyway... I did my own job. I lived my own life. I lived my life despite all difficulties. If I wrote in a fever of forty degrees and he torn it, I rewrote it another time.

(30-34) I collected a certain number of quatrains, that is our *asanaks*,<sup>71</sup> and translated them into Persian; I also recomposed some fifty or sixty of them in [Persian] metric and rhyme. I awaked so much at night until dawn, but they did not give me the permit to publish them, for some, especially for two of them... About one of them, they said: you have talked of the Shah<sup>72</sup>. For this very reason, I was emotionally hurt. I have also written the biography of eminent [Qashqai] artists, which is in press.

<sup>69</sup> The Islamic revolution of 1979 that toppled the last Pahlavi Shah.

<sup>70</sup> The Sheshbayli or Shesboluki is one of five main tribes of the Qashqai Tribal Confederation.

<sup>71</sup> For *asanak*, see the introduction on this corpus

<sup>72</sup> Mohammad Reza Shah, the last Shah of Iran.

(35-39) The camel breeders play flute well. The men play flute well, and the women have nice voices. There is a certain darya Mahparviz whose voice is wonderful. They are a part of [Qashqai] music. Their language is Koroshi; it is a special language.<sup>73</sup>

(40-44) The Gypsies spoke like us. They speak Turkic but have an accent anyway. The Gypsies had perhaps come from other places. They would maybe come from other provinces. They had a special life, they would suddenly set to move on.

(45-49) Moreover, you know that the Qashqai have three kinds of music [three groups of musicians]: the [music of] the Changi, that of the Asheq, and that of the camel herders and shepherds. Camel herder and shepherd play flute. The tribe was far from his homeland; that is why the Qashqai music is always sad. And shepherds and camel herders were still farther [from the tribe]; they had to move away to graze the cattle and camels; thus, their music was sadder. They always had to sing and play flute.

(50-54) The Qashqai music is very vast. For instance, we have a song called Laki; it means that it was borrowed from the Laki. In our dances also there is Laki. When the rhythm of dance increases, it becomes Laki. We have four kinds of very original dance in these five tribes.

(55-59). The first one is *Ayir Haley* ("the heavy Haley"); they call that of the women Haley, the dance of women. The second is *Yorya*, just as the running of horse that in the beginning is a bit slow and then speeds up and becomes trot. Then it is Laki; the legs are warmed up and prepared for that high speed [dance]. After Laki, it is *Dernay-Issi*<sup>74</sup>. These four dances are common among the five tribes.

(60-64) As a part of the *Dernay-Issi*, there is the Kowlivar<sup>75</sup>. I liken the Kowlivar to a cyclone; it is exactly like a cyclone, if one sees it this way. We also have some other kinds of dances, in addition to those four original ones. I compare all these dances with each other. I do not talk and write about them, until I study them carefully, until I know them.

(65-69) I go among the Qashqai and see that they name even the numbers in Persian, and that makes me very upset. I would like to have a forum for me to talk regularly with the Qashqai. I would like to say you only one thing. I am very zealous in [the Qashqai] language; it is my language after all. I have taught Persian literature, but I speak the Turkic better.

#### 14.4.3.2. Interview 3: glossed text

(1) (1-4)

Män	växti	ki	dunya-ya	gäl-miš-äm,	anam-nä	süt	yox-umuş,
I	when	KI	world-DAT	come-PF-1SG	mother-LOC	milk	inexisting-PF.COP3SG
yanı	märiz	ol-muş	bil-m-ir-äm.				
meaning	sick	become-PF3SG	know-NEG-PRS-1SG				

(2)

Män-im	içi	bir	taya	tut-muşlär;	süd-im-i	o	ver-irmiş.
I-GEN	for	a	nurse	take-PF3PL	milk-POS1SG-ACC	she	give-IMPF3SG

(3)

Xob,	ikki	ana-li-yam;	ikki-sin-iñ	nä	äalan	äks-i
well	two	mother-BENEF-PRS.COP1SG	two-POS3SG-GEN	DA	now	photo-POS3SG
orda-dır;	ikki-sin-iñ	nä	aks-in-i	qab-a	tut-muş-äm.	
there.LOC-PRS.COP	two-POS3SG-GEN	DA	photo-POS3SG-ACC	frame-DAT	hold-PF-1SG	

(4)

Män-im	ana-m-inän	o	taya-m	ikki	täbäqä-dän-imişlär;
I-GEN	mother-POS1SG-INST	and	nurse-POS1SG	two	class-ABL-PPF3PL
bir-i-si	täbäqe-y	uxari-ymiş	bir-i-si	täbäqe-y	aşayı.
one.POS3SG-POS3SG	class-EZ	up-COP.PPF3SG	one.POS3SG-POS3SG	class-EZ	down

(5) (5-9)

Häm	ana-m-i	çok	ise-yrimiş-äm	häm	daya-m-i.
both	mother-POS1SG-ACC	very	want-PPF-1SG	and	nurse-POS1SG-ACC

(6)

Bu	terañedi-ynän	zendeganlig-im	şuru	ol-muş.
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<sup>73</sup> For the Korosh and the Koroshi language, see the Introduction of the book.

<sup>74</sup> *Dernay-issi* literally means 'on the nails'. It is a dance performed on the tip of the feet speedily.

<sup>75</sup> Kowlivar 'Gypsy-like' composed of Kowli 'the Gypsy' and *var* which is a Persian adjectival suffix.



- this tragedy-INST life-POS1SG beginning become-PF3SG
- (7)
- Müsiqi-yi hürkäs beläm-nän xəbär al-ir de-yir-äm  
music-ACC everybody ANPH.1SG-ABL news take-PRS3SG say-PRS-1SG
- män müsiqi-yi qāşqay taya-m-nän ergän-miş-äm,  
I music-ACC Qashqai nurse-POS3SG-ABL learn-PF-1SG
- čün onıñ lala de-dig-i hämişä qulay-ım için-nä.  
because she.GEN lullaby say-AN-POS3SG always ear-POS1SG inside.POS3SG-LOC
- (8)
- Hätta issin-nän män xoş-um gäy-ilmiş.  
even smell-ABL I good-POS1SG come-EVIMPF3SG
- (9)
- Xub qāşāñ säs var-ı-yimış;  
good beautiful voice existing-POS3SG-EVIMPF3SG
- şayäd dä män-im içi çox qāşāñ-imiş.  
perhaps DA I-GEN for very beautiful-EVIMPF3SG
- (10) (10-14)
- Ävvälin moällem-e musiqi-yi män onu moärriflig ed-ir-äm.  
first teacher-EZ music-ACC I she.ACC presentation do-PRS-1SG
- (11)
- Onnän sorä daha onderdbes yaşarlig-dä el için-nän çıx-miş-äm  
that.ABL then DAHA 14-15 age-LOC tribe inside.ABL exit-PF-1SG
- gäl-miş-äm daha şähr-ä yo şiraz-ä.  
come-PF-1SG DAHA city-DAT and Shiraz-DAT
- (12)
- Därs oxu-muş-äm o bädän nä ki  
lesson read-PF-1SG and then DA KI
- moällimlig şoyl-un-u entexab ed-di-m.  
teachership job-POS3SG-ACC election do-PST-1SG
- (13)
- Daha onnän sorä enqelab ki ol-lu  
DAHA that.ABL then revolution KI become-PST3SG
- daha män-nän xoş-läri gäl-mä-di.  
DAHA I-ABL good-POS3PL come-NEG-PST
- (14)
- Abade-yä därs vey-irdi-m.  
Abadeh-DAT lesson give-IMPF-1SG
- (15) (15-19)
- Älbätä bu jumhuri eslami beläm-inän sazi-mä-di.  
of.course this republic Islamic ANPH1SG-INST agree.on-NEG-PST3SG
- (16)
- Uşay-lari çox ese-yrdi-m, bu şoyl-lan xoş-um gäy-illi.  
child-PL very want-IMPF-1SG this job-ABL good-POS1SG come-IMPF3SG
- (17)
- Sä-mä-dilər daha, män məjbur ol-lu-m ged-ä-m kişavärzlig-ä.  
want-NEG-3PL DAHA I obliged become-PST-1SG go-SUBJ-1SG agriculture-DAT
- (18)
- Beş il kişavärzlig ed-di-m.  
five year agriculture do-PST-1SG
- (19)
- Abadä-dän bir xırx kilometr owan-tär, sähräd-dä  
Abadeh-ABL one forty kilometer other.side-com summer.zone-LOC
- xungeşt tərəf-i yo orälär.  
Xungeşt side-POS3SG and there.PL
- (20) (20-24)
- Män-im uşay-lärim bowa-si şeşbayli-dir.  
I-GEN child-POS1SG father-POS3SG Shesbayli-PRS.COP3SG
- (21)
- Ezdevaj-ım namoväffäy-idi; yäni be xater-e bu ki  
marriage-POS1SG unsuccessful-PST.COP3SG meaning BE sake-EZ this KI
- qāşqay-lär talay al-lig-i eyb bil-illärdi, bu xater-ä

- Qashqai-PL divorce take-AN-ACC defect know-IMP3PL this sake-DAT  
*här šekl-inän var-idi män zendeganlig-üm-inan qaray-a gäy-illi-m.*  
 every form-INST existing-PST.COP3SG I life-POS1SG-INST side-DAT come-IMP3-1SG
- (22)  
*Daha kišavärzlig-i dä beš il artiq qo-mä-di män ed-ä-m.*  
 DAHA agriculture-ACC DA five year more let-NEG-PST3SG I do-SUBJ-1SG
- (23)  
*Kišavärzlig dä vill ol-lu.*  
 agriculture DA abandoned become-PST3SG
- (24)  
*Yaz-dig-inän nä moxalif-idi, kitab oxu-dig-inän moxalif-idi,*  
 write-AN-INST DA opposed-PST.COP3SG book read-AN-INST opposed-PST.COP3SG  
*musi-yi-ynän...*  
 music-INST
- (25) (25-29)  
*Musi-yi-ynän çox moxalif dāyl-li väli xob.*  
 music-INST very opposed NEG.COP-PST3SG but well
- (26)  
*Män ez iš-im-i ger-di-m.*  
 I self work-POS1SG-ACC see-PST-1SG
- (27)  
*Män ez zendeganlig-üm-i ed-di-m.*  
 I self life-POS1SG-ACC do-PST-1SG
- (28)  
*Tämam-e moškelat-inan zendeganlig-üm-i ed-di-m.*  
 all-EZ problem.PL-INST life-POS1SG-ACC do-PST-1SG
- (29)  
*Ägär yaz-di-m, xirx dārājä issidmä içinnä män yaz-di-m*  
 if write-PST-1SG forty degree fever inside.LOC I write-PST-1SG  
*o ert-di väli dubarä ayri mowqe yaz-di-m.*  
 he tear-PST3SG but again other time write-PST-1SG
- (30) (30-34)  
*Män dubeyti-lär, yani asanak-larimiz-i, bir meqdar*  
 I quatrain-PL meaning Asanak-POS1PL-ACC a measure  
*iğ-di-m dennär-di-m farsı-yä; täqribän*  
 collect-PST-1SG translate.CAUS-PST-1SG Persian-DAT around  
*bir älli admış danä-sin-ä dä väzn o qafiye ver-di-m.*  
 a fifty sixty piece-POS3SG-DAT DA weight and rhyme give-PST-1SG
- (31)  
*Çox otur-du-m gejä səhär-änčas, väli jävaz ver-mä-dilər,*  
 much sit-PST-1SG night morning-TER but permission give-NEG-PST3PL  
*neçčä-si-ni məxsusən ikki danä-sin-i...*  
 few-POS1SG-ACC especially two piece-POS3SG-ACC
- (32)  
*Birisi-i de-yllärdi sən şah-dən de-miş-ən.*  
 one.POS3SG.POS3SG-ACC say-IMP3PL you king-ABL say-PF-2SG
- (33)  
*Älä bu xater-ä lätmə ger-di-m äz nəzär-e ruhi.*  
 EMPH this sake-DAT damage see-PST-1SG from view-EZ spiritual
- (34)  
*Bärjästä honärmän-lär-in nəki zendeganlig-lärin-i yaz-miş-əm ki*  
 eminent artist-PL-GEN DAKI life-POS3PL-ACC write-PF-1SG KI  
*äälän çap altın-nä-dir.*  
 now print under.POS3SG-LOC-PRS.COP
- (35) (35-39)  
*Darya-lär xub ney çal-il-lär.*  
 camel.breeder-PL well flute play-PRS-3PL
- (36)  
*Kişi-lär xub ney çal-ir, arvad-lär-dä xub säs var.*  
 man-PL well flute play-PRS3SG woman-PL-LOC well voice existing

- (37)  
*Bir danä darya Mahpärviz var, säs-i qiyamät-di.*  
 a piece Dargha Mahparviz existing voice-POS3SG resurrection-PST3SG
- (38)  
*Munnär bir baxš az müsiyi-di.*  
 these a section of music-PRS.COP
- (39)  
*Dil-lär-i Koroši-di, bir məxsus dil-li.*  
 language-PL-POS3SG Koroshi-PRS.COP3SG a special language-PRS.COP3SG
- (40) (40-44)  
*Qurbät-lär älä biz-im täyin daniš-illärdi.*  
 Gypsy-PL EMPH we-GEN like speak-IMPF3PL
- (41)  
*Turki daniš-il-lärdi, väli xub, lähjä dä var-läri.*  
 Turkic speak-IMPF3PL but well dialect DA existing-POS3PL
- (42)  
*Qurbät-lär šayäd ayri yer-lär-dän gäl-mišlärdi;*  
 Gypsy-PL perhaps other place-PL-ABL come-EVIMPF3PL
- (43)  
*Šayäd ayri ostan-lär-dän gäl-illärdi.*  
 perhaps other province-PL-ABL come-IMPF3PL
- (44)  
*Bir məxsus zendeganlig var-läriydi, birdän keč-illärdi.*  
 a special life existing-IMPF3PL suddenly move-IMPF3PL
- (45) (45-49)  
*Onnä, siz bil-ir-äniz ki Qäşyay-niñ uç baxš müsiyi var-i-dir:*  
 then you.PL know-PRS-2PL KI Qashqai-GEN three section music existing-POS-PRS.COP  
*čäñi-lär-dir o aşıq-lär-dir o darya-lär o čoban-lär.*  
 Changi-PL-PRS.COP3SG and Asheq-PL-PRS.COP3SG and Dargha-PL-PRS.COP3SG and shepherd-PL
- (46)  
*Darya yo čoban ney čal-ir.*  
 Dargha and shepherd flute play-PRS3SG
- (47)  
*El ez elkä-sin-nän iray-imiš,*  
 tribe self home.country-POS3SG-ABL far-PPF.COP3SG  
*munin içi Qäşyay müsiyi-si hämmiä mähzun-nu.*  
 this.GEN for Qashqai music-POS3SG always sad-PRS.COP3SG
- (48)  
*Onnä čoban o darya genä el-län nä iray-imiš, ged-äsiyimiš*  
 then shepherd that camel.breeder again tribe-ABL DA far-PPF.COP3SG go-EVNECS.3SG  
*yazzi-ya dower dävä otar-a; onnar-iñki daha mähzun-tär-imiš.*  
 out.side-DAT herd camel tend-SUBJ3SG they-POS.PRON3PL DAHA sad-COMP-PPF.COP3SG
- (49)  
*Mäjbür-umuš äslän hämmiä ney čal-a, hämmiä irle-yä.*  
 obliged-PPF.COP3SG ever always flute play-DAT always sing-SUBJ3SG
- (50) (50-54)  
*Qäşyay-niñ müsiyiqi-si çox väsi-dir.*  
 Qashqai-GEN music-POS3SG very vaste-PRS.COP3SG
- (51)  
*Mäsälän bir qäsd-i var-imiz ad-i läkki-dir,*  
 for.example a tune-INDEF existing-POS1PL name-POS3SG Lakki-PRS.COP3SG  
*yanı läkki-lär-dän al-in-miş.*  
 meaning Lakki-PL-ABL take-PASS-PF3SG
- (52)  
*Räqs-lärimiz içinnä dä läkki var.*  
 dance-POS1PL in.POS3SG.LOC DA Lakki existing
- (53)  
*Räqs växti daha tond ol-ir, ol-ir läkki.*  
 dance when DAHA rapid become-PRS3SG become-PRS3SG Lakki
- (54)  
*Biz-dä derd now räqs-e äsil-e äsil var,*

- we-LOC four type dance-EZ original-EZ original existing  
*bu beş tayfä içinnä.*  
 this five tribe in.POS3SG-LOC
- (55) (55-59)  
*Ävvälki-si ayır haley-dir, arvad-ınkin-ä de-yllär haley daha.*  
 the.first-POS3SG heavy Haley-PRS.COP3SG woman-POS.PRON3-DAT say-PRS3PL Haley DAHA
- (56)  
*Dovvomki-si yoryä-dir, eyn-e at qäč-dik-i ki ävväl*  
 the.second-POS3SG Yorya-PRS.COP3SG eye-EZ horse run-AN-POS3SG KI first  
*biraz-čä yowaş onnän sorä ton-tär oy-il yoryä ol-ir.*  
 a.little-EQU slow that.ABL then rapid-COMP become-PRS3SG Yorya be-PRS3SG
- (57)  
*Onnän sorä läkki, qeč-i eynän närm ed-illär*  
 that.ABL then Lakki foot-ACC identically soft do-PRS3PL  
*amada ed-illär o tondlig içi.*  
 ready do-PRS3PL that rapidity for
- (58)  
*Onnä läkki-dän sorä dernay issi-dir.*  
 that.LOC Lakki-ABL then finger upon.POS3SG-PRS.COP3SG
- (59)  
*Bu derd räqs beş tayfä içinnä moštäräk-tir.*  
 this four dance five tribe in.POS3SG-LOC common-PRS.COP3SG
- (60) (60-64)  
*Inni daha bu dernay issin-ın için-nä kowlivar var.*  
 Now DAHA this finger upon.POS3SG-GEN in.POS3SG-LOC Kowlivar existing
- (61)  
*Män kowlivar-i täşbih ed-ir-äm gerdbad-ä, duyanay-a,*  
 I Kowlivar-ACC similitude do-PRS-1SG tornado-DAT tornado-DAT  
*eyn-e duyanay täyin-ni, adam beläyin bax-sa.*  
 eye-EZ tornado like-PRS.COP3SG human this.way look-COND3SG
- (62)  
*Neččä now daha räqs-lär var-ımız-dir,*  
 several type other dance-PL existing-POS1 PL-PRS.COP  
*ğeyr äz o dörd dana äsl.*  
 other than that four piece original
- (63)  
*Män munnär-i tāmam birbir-inän muğayse ed-ir-äm.*  
 I these-ACC all each.other-INST comparison do-PRS-1SG
- (64)  
*Çox rahat män de-m-ir-äm o yaz-m-iräm,*  
 very easy I say-NEG-PRS-1SG and write-NEG-PRS1SG  
*tä diqqät ed-me-yä-m, bil-me-yä-m.*  
 ta precision do-NEG-SUBJ-1SG know-NEG-SUBJ-1SG
- (65) (65-69)  
*Män qäşğay-lär için-ä ged-ir-äm ädäd-lär-i dä gey-ir-äm*  
 I Qashqai-PL in.POS3SG-DAT go-PRS-1SG number-PL-ACC DA see-PRS-1SG  
*farsi de-yllär, çox män-ä bär ye-yir.*  
 Persian say-PRS3PL much I-DAT side eat-PRS3SG
- (66)  
*Män geyn-im ise-yr bir teribun var-ım ol-a*  
 I mind-POS1SG want-PRS3SG a platform existing-POS1SG become-SUBJ3SG  
*qäşğay-lär-inän morättäb danış-äm.*  
 Qashqai-PL-INST regularly talk-SUBJ-1SG
- (67)  
*Män bir zad-i fäyät ese-r-äm belänğiz-ä de-yä-m.*  
 I a thing-ACC only want-PRS-1SG ANPH2PL-DAT say-SUBJ-1SG
- (68)  
*Män buğad dil issin-ä tääsüp var-ım;*  
 I this.much language on.POS3SG-DAT zealous existing-POS1SG  
*xub, dil-im-nir.*

(69)

Mān	ādābiyat-e	farsi	dārs	ver-miš-ām,
I	literature-EZ	Persian	lesson	give-PF-1SG
vāli	turkey-i	yey-tār	daniš-ir-ām.	
but	Turkish-ACC	good-COMP	speak-PRS-1SG	

#### 14.4.4. Interview 4

*An interview with Ahmadrezā Jahāngiri, 15 years-old, student in eighth grade, from the Jamabozorgi subtribe of the Amaleh tribe, on the 26<sup>th</sup> April 2008, in the village Khordeh-dareh, Laristan county, Fars.*

- Sān neččā yašīnā Ahmādreza?

- Punzāh.

- Punzāh, turkisi nādir?

- Onbeš.

- Turki saya bilirān?

- Hāyā.

Bir, ikki, uç, derd, beš, altı, eddi, sakkiz, doqquz, on, onbir, onikki, onuç, onderd, onbeš, onaltı, oneddi, onsakkiz, ondoqquz, igirmi.

- Daha onnān owanā saya bilmān?

- Yow, ergānmāmišām.

- Inni sān mānim içi bir zad tārīf ed.

- Nāmānā tārīf edām?

- Māsālān belām içi tārīf ed bir gin mādrāsādā nā iš geyirāniz.

- Ävväl, sähär burdān gediräg jaddā kāmīnā; servis gāyil gediräg. Sāfe sobgahdā, quran o doa oxirlār, bāād gediräg kelasā, rob saatdān sorā moāllim gāyil dārs veyir, yek saat o nimni här kālas, onnā rob saat dā zāne esterahatddir. Setta zān kollān varīmiz: saate haft o nim tā dāvazdāh o nim, daha dāvazdāh o nimnā tātīl olunir, genā gāyiläg servisinān.

- Daya da gedirān?

- Daya här āz gahi gedirām.

- Nāyçi gedirān daya?

- Bal mowqāsi yo juja mowqasi gediräg, bāāzi vāxt tā ālā belā gediräg.

- Bal mowqāsi hačannī?

- Bal mowqāsi towsannir, onna ki daha xurma gāilir.

- Hāyā šahrivār...

- Axere towsan, mehr, māsālān.

- Haralarda bal bulunir?

- Šikāftlār içinnā, dālig içinnā var. Kunarlār içinnā dā vardir.

- Čox gedāsin dayin uxarīsina bal bulān ya ālā bu pählälärdä dā var?

- Älā bu pählälärdä var. Yerini bälād olasiñ.

- Yāni bir yerdä bulliñ, yeñil dā ālā orā vurir?

- Ahmādreza, how old are you?

- [in Persian] fifteen.

- How do you say fifteen in Turkic?

- on-beš.

- Can you count in Turkic?

- Yes.

- one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty.

- You cannot count beyond twenty?

- No. I have not learned.

- Now, recount me something!

- What shall I tell?

- Tell me, for example, what you do in a day of the school.

- First, in the morning we go to the roadside and the service comes, we leave. On the morning line, they recite the Quran and do prayer, then we go to the classroom, the professor comes in a quarter of an hour, gives lessons, each session is an hour and a half, then there is a break for a quarter of an hour. In total, we have three [bells=] sessions, from half past seven to half past twelve. Then, it closes at half past twelve, we come back again by the service.

- Do you go to the mountain?

- I go to the mountain every now and then.

- Why do you go to the mountain?

- We go there during the honey time and the birdie time, sometimes we go without any goal.

- When is the time of honey?

- Time of honey is the summer, when the dates ripen.

- Yes, it is in September...

- Late summer, in October for example.

- Where is the honey found?

- In the caves, the cavities, there is honey. There is honey in the acacia trees, too.

- For the honey, do you need to climb very high on the mountain, or, can they be found in the hillside?

- There is honey even in these hillsides. You need to know its location.

- You mean that if you find [a beehive] somewhere, the next year it would be found at the same place?

- Häyä, väli äläki gedän olmer, bir dāfā birisiynān gedäsiñ bäläd olāñ yerini, čox gāzäsiñ väli, onnä gälän il ki mowqäsidi gedän älä onnär bal vuyir.

- Äälan owšum mowqäsidi.

- Owšumu čox gedäsiñ uxarī ya älä bu dārälärdä dä var?

- dārälärdä dä var.

- Čox uxarī dä gedmišāñ, mäsälän dayiñ bašina?

- Bašinä yo, väli aztär häyä.

- Xob, šikallä var?

- šikal yäxinligdä yow. O geriki daydä var.

- Burdän nä gedillär šikalä?

- Häyä, äkbär gili gedillär bääzi växtlär. ikki gin gedillär mäsälän ikki danä vuyillär, daha az olmuš.

- Inni bir xaterä bašardāñ täärif edāñ?

- Bowaminän sähärgah geddig, saäte pänjenimidi, towsanidi, geddig o toppiñ puštunä, geddig bal gāzdigä, saäte šiš daha täqribän etišdig ora, nim saätidi, naštaliq yedig, geddig o geriki gey dayiñ äyyinä täqribän, buräläri gāzdig, čän ta gere bullig, šišäftä yerini bullig väli balini čaxardmišlär. Daha saat dowre bäre yekonimidi gällig bura.

- Bal bulmadıñız...

- Yow, ezim bir dāfā geddim bir bullum.

- Nayarza bal variydi?

- Täyribän nim kilo oyilli.

- Satirāñiz ya eziñiz içi iyirāñiz?

- Ezimiz içi. Bähzi käs satir; onnär ki sizillär si temännir, onnär ki älä belä šäminän qärišiñ bistopānš temän.

- Yes, but it does not work if you go without a plan; you need to go one time with somebody to know the location. Anyway, you need to search so much; then, the next year, when it is the time, you should visit the location; the same [beehives] will have honey.

- Now, it is the time of thyme.

- For the thyme, do you need to go very high or it is found in small valleys, too?

- It exists even in these small valleys.

- Have you ever climbed very high, let's say, to the top of the mountain?

- On the top no, but nearby yes.

- Well, is there any game, too?

- Game, nearby no. It exists in that mountain.

- Does anyone go hunting here, too?

- Yes, Akbar and his go (hunting) sometimes. They go there, for example, for two days, and hunt two games. They (the games) are less numerous [than before].

- Can you tell me a memoir?

- With my father, we left at dawn, it was half past five, it was summer, we went behind that peak, we went looking for the honey, around six o'clock we arrive there, in half an hour, we had breakfast; almost reached the foot of that blue mountain, we searched these areas, we found traces of some beehives, we found six or seven places of honey but they were vacated. Then, at about 1:30 (pm) we came back here.

- You did not find honey...

- No, once I myself went and found one.

- How much honey did it contain?

- It was around half a kilo.

- You sell it or collect it for yourselves?

- For ourselves. Some people sell it. The [honey of] those who filtrate costs thirty [thousand] tumän, those which are mixed with royal jelly cost twenty-five [thousand] tumän.



## 14.5. Examples of Folkpoetry

(1)

Bu yol gedir Tābrizā	This route goes to Tabriz
Qānnatī rizā rizā	Small are its aqueducts
Tarī bir yol ver bizā	O God, grant us a way
Biz gedāk elkāmizā.	So that we return to our homeland.

<i>Bu</i>	<i>yol</i>	<i>ged-ir</i>	<i>Tābriz-ā</i>
this	road	go-PRS3SG	Tabriz-DAT
<i>Qānnat-ī</i>	<i>rizā</i>	<i>rizā</i>	
aqueduct-POS3SG	small	small	
<i>Tarī</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>yol</i>	<i>ver</i>
God	a	road	give.IMP2SG
<i>Biz</i>	<i>ged-ā-k</i>	<i>elkā-miz-ā.</i>	<i>biz-ā</i>
we	go-SUBJ-1PL	home.land-POS1PL-DAT	we-DAT

(2)

Āmim oylu ārmāni	My nephew, an Armenian
Dizdā deyir xārmāni	Threshes the harvest in the plain
Arpasini at yeyār	His barley, the horse eats it
Buydasī jan darmanī.	His wheat, it's a remedy for the spirit.

<i>Āmi-m</i>	<i>oyl-u</i>	<i>ārmāni</i>
uncle-POS1SG	son-POS3SG	Armenian
<i>Diz-dā</i>	<i>dey-ir</i>	<i>xārmān-i</i>
plain-LOC	thresh-PRS3SG	harvest-ACC
<i>Arpa-sin-ī</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>ye-yār</i>
barley-POS3SG-ACC	horse	eat-AOR3SG
<i>Buyda-sī</i>	<i>jan</i>	<i>darman-ī.</i>
wheat-POS3SG	soul	medicine-POS3SG

(3)

Geydā gedān qūša bax	Look at the bird flying in the sky
Qanatī sinmišā bax	The one whose wings are broken
Hār kimā yaz açillī	The spring has opened to everyone
Bizā gālān qīšā bax.	Look at the winter that has come to us.

<i>Gey-dā</i>	<i>ged-ān</i>	<i>qūš-a</i>	<i>bax</i>
sky-LOC	go-PART	bird-DAT	look.IMP2SG
<i>Qanat-ī</i>	<i>sin-miš-ā</i>	<i>bax</i>	
wing-POS3SG	be.broken-PART-DAT	IMP2SG	
<i>Hār</i>	<i>kim-ā</i>	<i>yaz</i>	<i>ač-il-lī</i>
every	person-DAT	spring	open-PASS-PST3SG
<i>Biz-ā</i>	<i>gāl-ān</i>	<i>qīš-ā</i>	<i>bax.</i>
we-DAT	come-PART	winter-DAT	look.IMP2SG

(4)

Daylara āgdim ākin	I farmed in the mountains
Aldılar ālimnākin	They took from me what I harvested
Heč kafār heč mosālman	Neither the pagan, nor the Muslim
Olmāsin mānim tākin.	May not be like me [may not face my destiny].

<i>Day-lar-a</i>	<i>āg-di-m</i>	<i>ākin</i>
mountain-PL-DAT	sow-PST-1SG	crop
<i>Al-dīlar</i>	<i>āl-im-nā-kin</i>	
take-PST3PL	hand-POS1SG-LOC-KI	
<i>Heč</i>	<i>kafār</i>	<i>heč</i>
nothing	unbeliever	nothing
<i>Ol-mā-sin</i>	<i>mān-im</i>	<i>tākin.</i>
become-NEG-IMP3SG	I-GEN	like

(5)

Hār illār o hār illār	Year after year, every year,
Dama kišmiš sārillār	They spread raisins on the roof
Rāṇimi yar sarardmiš	It is the beloved who has made me pale
Issidmādān gerillār.	But they take that due to fever.



*Här il-lär o här il-lär*  
 every year-PL and every year-PL  
*Dam-a kišmiš sār-il-lär*  
 roof-DAT raisin spread-PRS-3PL  
*Rāñ-im-i yar sarard-miš*  
 colour-POS1SG-ACC beloved turn.yellow-PF3SG  
*Issidmā-dän ger-il-lär.*  
 fever-ABL see-PRS-3PL

(6)

Daydan ennirdim qurdu I chased the wolf from the mountain  
 Atīm tārlādi turdu So that my horse broke into a sweat and stopped  
 Gedirdim yarī gerām I went to meet my beloved  
 Ziyarāt eddim yurdu. I visited only the empty yurt.  
*Day-dan en-nir-di-m qurd-u*  
 mountain-ABL get.off-CAUS-PST-1SG wolf-ACC  
*At-īm tārlā-di tur-du*  
 horse-POS1SG sweat-PST3SG stop-PST3SG  
*Ged-irdi-m yar-ī ger-ā-m*  
 go-IMPF-1SG beloved-ACC see-SUBJ-1SG  
*Ziyarāt ed-di-m yurd-u.*  
 pilgrimage do-PST-1SG campement-ACC

(7)

Gün geddi zārdi qalli The sun set, remained its yellow rays  
 El geddi gārdi qalli The tribe moved, remained only the dust  
 Epmādim ala gezdān I did not kiss the beautiful eyes  
 Irāgdā dārdi qalli. In my heart, has dwelled the sorrow.  
*Gün ged-di zārd-i qal-li*  
 sun go-PST3SG yellow-ACC leave-PST3SG  
*El ged-di gārd-i qal-li*  
 tribe go-PST3SG dust-ACC leave-PST3SG  
*Ep-mā-di-m ala gez-dān*  
 kiss-NEG-PST-1SG beautiful eye-ABL  
*Irāg-dā dārd-i qal-li.*  
 heart-LOC sorrow-ACC leave-PST3SG

(8)

Aya bax niĵa gedir Look at the moon how it goes  
 Ergänmiš geĵa gedir It has learnt, it makes journey at night  
 Qiz māmāñ yarasinna O girl, between your breasts,  
 Bir yol var haĵa gedir. There is a road that leads to pilgrimage.  
*Ay-a bax niĵa ged-ir*  
 moon-DAT look.IMP2SG how go-PRS3SG  
*Ergän-miš geĵa ged-ir*  
 learn-PF3SG night go-PRS3SG  
*Qiz māmā-ñ yara-sin-na*  
 girl breast-POS2SG between-POS3SG-LOC  
*Bir yol var haĵ-a ged-ir.*  
 a road existing.3SG hajj-DAT go-PRS3SG

(9)

Üĵa dayiñ üĵasi The high mountain, its peak  
 Alĉaq dayiñ kelġasi The low mountain, its shade  
 Äyär seyrāñ qiz ala If you want to marry a girl  
 Qiziñ beli inĉasi. Marry the one with a thin waist.  
*Üĵa day-iñ üĵa-si*  
 high mountain-GEN high-POS3SG  
*Alĉaq day-iñ kelġa-si*  
 low mountain-GEN shade-POS3SG  
*Äyär se-yr-āñ qiz al-a-ñ*  
 if want-PRS-2SG girl take-SUBJ-2SG  
*Qiz-iñ bel-i inĉa-si.*

girl-GEN waist-POS3SG slim-POS3SG

(10)

Čixdīm uja daylara I climbed the high mountains  
 Baxdīm üzaq yollara I looked at the long roads  
 Su səpdim jarri čäkdım I sprinkled water and swept  
 yarım gälän yollara. The roads on which my beloved would come.

Čix-dī-m uja day-lar-a  
 exit-PST-1SG high mountain-PL-DAT  
 Bax-dī-m üzaq yol-lar-a  
 look-PST-1SG long road-PL-DAT  
 Su səp-di-m jarri čäk-di-m  
 water spray-PST-1SG broom pull-PST-1SG  
 Yar-im gäl-än yol-lar-a.  
 beloved-POS1SG come-PART road-PL-DAT

(11)

Ay čarqädli qärä qiz O olive-skinned girl in white scarf!  
 Ayna teliği dara qiz Take the mirror and comb your hair  
 Bayban eylä bayiņa Take me as overseer of your garden  
 Qoy tä gäläg nara qiz. Let us come and pick some pomegranates.

Ay čarqäd-li qärä qiz  
 white scarf-BENEF black girl  
 Ayna tel-iğ-i dara qiz  
 mirror tresses-POS2SG-ACC comb.IMP2SG girl  
 Bayban eylä bay-iğ-a  
 gardener do.IMP2SG garden-POS2SG-DAT  
 Qoy tä gäl-ä-g nar-a qiz.  
 let.IMP2SG TA come-SUBJ-1PL pomegranate-DAT girl

(12)

Ay nuru duşdu čaya The moonlight fell on the river  
 Jämalin bänzär aya Your beautiful face looks alike the Moon  
 Jävan omrum čurrudu O young beloved, my life shortened  
 Günläri saya saya. Counting the days in sorrow.

Ay nur-u duş-du čay-a  
 moon light-POS3SG fall-PST3SG river-DAT  
 Jämal-iğ bänzär-ay-a  
 beauty-POS2SG look.alike-AOR3SG moon-DAT  
 Jävan omr-um čurru-du  
 young life.time-POS1SG shrink-PST3SG  
 Gün-lär-i say-a say-a.  
 day-PL-ACC count-DAT count-DAT



## 15. GLOSSARY

The glossary includes all words of Turkic origin and the great majority of words of Persian and Arabic origin existing in the corpus. It also includes many genuine Qashqai words, essentially of Turkic origin, which have been encountered in the speech of the Qashqai speakers. In four tables in the Appendices are singled out specific terms of kinship, body parts and organs, medical terms and name of animals.

### A

<b>abadī</b> ( <i>n.</i> )	oasis	<b>arvad</b> <i>n.</i>	woman, wife
<b>abī</b> ( <i>adj.</i> )	blue	<b>arvaduşay</b> <i>n.</i>	family
<b>ač-</b> <i>v.</i>	to open	<b>arxa</b> <i>adv.</i>	back, posterior
<b>ačīy</b> <i>adj.</i>	opened	<b>as-</b> <i>v.</i>	to hang
<b>ad</b> <i>n.</i>	name	<b>aš-</b> <i>v.</i>	to cross
<b>adam</b> <i>n.</i>	human, person	<b>asan</b> <i>adj. &amp; adv.</i>	easy
<b>adāmizad</b> <i>n.</i>	human being	<b>asanak</b> <i>n.</i>	quatrain, a type of folk poetry
<b>adaxlī</b> <i>n.</i>	suitor	<b>ašīy</b> , also <b>aşeq</b> <i>n.</i>	asheq
<b>addi</b> <i>adj.</i>	normal	<b>aşşayī</b> <i>n.</i>	down
<b>adī</b> <i>deter.</i>	every single	<b>aşşiq</b> <i>n.</i>	lover
<b>adlī</b> <i>n.</i>	horse rider	<b>aštī</b> <i>n.</i>	reconciliation
<b>ahāñ</b> <i>n.</i>	tune	<b>at</b> <i>n.</i>	horse
<b>aĵ</b> <i>adj.</i>	hungry	<b>at-</b> <i>v.</i>	to throw
<b>aĵiz</b> <i>adj.</i>	weak, incapable	<b>ata</b> <i>n.</i>	father
<b>al-</b> <i>v.</i>	to take, to buy	<b>atli</b> <i>n.</i>	horse rider
<b>ala</b> <i>adj.</i>	white and black	<b>attīla-</b> <i>v.</i>	to jump
<b>alabärzāñi</b> <i>n.</i>	kind of demon	<b>avaz</b> <i>n.</i>	song
<b>alayīn</b> <i>adj.</i>	apparent; in plain	<b>axar</b> <i>adv.</i>	manger
<b>alčaq</b> <i>adv.</i>	low	<b>axī</b> <i>adv.</i>	thus
<b>alī</b> <i>n.</i>	potato	<b>axīr</b> <i>adv.</i>	at last
<b>alīm</b> <i>n.</i>	sage, savant	<b>axīrkī</b> <i>adv.</i>	the last one
<b>alīn-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be taken	<b>axīrzaman</b> <i>phr.</i>	apocalypse
<b>allad-</b> <i>v.</i>	to cheat on, to fool	<b>axund</b> <i>n.</i>	mullah, clergy
<b>allah</b> <i>n.</i>	God	<b>axxey</b> <i>itj.</i>	ouch
<b>allan-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be cheated	<b>ay</b> <i>n.</i>	moon
<b>allī qārā</b> <i>adj.</i>	misfortune	<b>ay</b> <i>itj.</i>	ouch
<b>alt</b> <i>adv.</i>	under, beneath	<b>aya</b> <i>part. P.</i>	interrogation particle
<b>altī</b> <i>n.</i>	six	<b>ayaydun</b> <i>n.</i>	moonlight
<b>ama</b> <i>conj.</i>	but	<b>ayil-</b> <i>v.</i>	to bend, lean
<b>amadā</b> <i>adj.</i>	ready	<b>ayil-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be bent
<b>aman</b> <i>n.</i>	refuge, security	<b>aylä</b> <i>n.</i>	family
<b>amiyane</b> <i>adj.</i>	popular	<b>aynä</b> <i>n.</i>	mirror
<b>amuzeş</b> <i>n.</i>	education	<b>ayran</b> <i>n.</i>	buttermilk
<b>ana</b> <i>n.</i>	mother	<b>ayrī</b> <i>adj. &amp; adv.</i>	separated; isolated; other,
<b>ann</b> <i>n.</i>	oath	<b>ayrīl-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be separated, be split
<b>apar-</b> <i>v.</i>	to carry off	<b>az</b> <i>adj. &amp; adv.</i>	little, few
<b>ay</b> <i>adj.</i>	white	<b>azad</b> , also <b>azzad</b> <i>adj.</i>	free
<b>ay saqqal</b> <i>n.</i>	white beard	<b>azuyä</b> <i>n.</i>	provision, supply
<b>aysa-</b> <i>v.</i>	to limp	<b>aya</b> <i>n.</i>	Mister, Sir
<b>aysaq</b> <i>adj.</i>	limp	<b>ayaĵ</b> <i>n.</i>	wood, tree
<b>ara</b> <i>n.</i>	interval, distance	<b>ayama</b> <i>adj.</i>	deep white
<b>ara ač-</b> <i>v.</i>	to take distance	<b>ayebät</b> <i>n.</i>	destiny
<b>arala-</b> <i>v.</i>	to separate, distinguish	<b>ayebät be xeyr</b> <i>phr.</i>	happy destiny
<b>aralan-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be separated	<b>ayīr</b> <i>adj.</i>	heavy
<b>ard</b> <i>adv.</i>	back, posterior	<b>ayīrī</b> , also <b>ayīrīy</b> <i>n.</i>	pain, ache
<b>arpa</b> <i>n.</i>	barely	<b>ayla-</b> <i>v.</i>	to cry
<b>arrīd-</b> <i>v.</i>	to clean	<b>ayz</b> <i>n.</i>	mouth
<b>artīy</b> <i>adv.</i>	more	<b>añla-</b> <i>v.</i>	to understand

### Ä

<b>ädäbiyat</b> <i>n.</i>	literature	<b>ärz ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to say humbly
<b>ähl</b> <i>n.</i>	come from; inhabitant	<b>ärzan</b> <i>adj.</i>	cheap
<b>ählan &lt; äl'an</b> <i>adv.</i>	now	<b>äs-</b> <i>v.</i>	to blow

<b>ahnāmā</b> <i>adj.</i>	mean, petty	<b>āsābanī</b> <i>adj.</i>	angry
<b>ājīylān-</b> <i>v.</i>	to get angry	<b>āsār</b> <i>n.</i>	trace
<b>āk-</b> <i>v.</i>	to plant, to cultivate	<b>āsas</b> <i>n.</i>	things
<b>ākin</b> <i>n.</i>	field	<b>āsīl</b> <i>n.</i>	original
<b>āks</b> <i>n.</i>	photo	<b>āsl</b> <i>n.</i>	origin
<b>āksolāmāl</b> <i>n.</i>	reaction	<b>āsīla &lt; āslān</b> <i>adv.</i>	never
<b>āl</b> <i>n.</i>	hand	<b>āsli</b> <i>n.</i>	principal
<b>ālā</b> <i>adv.</i>	here you are!	<b>āšayer</b> <i>n.</i>	nomads
<b>ālākki</b> <i>adv.</i>	vain, useless	<b>āšrāfi</b> <i>n.</i>	kind of a precious coin
<b>ālamāt</b> <i>n.</i>	signal	<b>ātebba</b> <i>n.</i>	doctors
<b>ālayā</b> <i>n.</i>	bond; interest	<b>āt</b> <i>n.</i>	meat
<b>ālbātā</b> <i>adv.</i>	off course	<b>ātr</b> <i>n.</i>	perfume
<b>āliz</b> <i>n.</i>	hand-and-face	<b>āv</b> <i>n.</i>	house
<b>āllān ged-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be lost	<b>āvāz ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to change
<b>ālli</b> <i>n.</i>	fifty	<b>āvlān-</b> <i>v.</i>	to marry
<b>ālow</b> <i>n.</i>	flame, blaze	<b>āvli</b> <i>n.</i>	married
<b>ālowlān-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be inflamed	<b>āvval</b> <i>adv.</i>	first, at first, firstly
<b>ālqārā</b> <i>n.</i>	dishcloth	<b>āvvalki</b> <i>pron.</i>	the first one, former
<b>āmāl</b> <i>n.</i>	action	<b>āy</b> <i>n.</i>	a weaving instrument
<b>āmanāt</b> <i>n.</i>	deposit	<b>āy-</b> <i>v.</i>	to tilt, bend
<b>āmi</b> <i>n.</i>	uncle	<b>āyā</b> <i>n.</i>	owner
<b>āmjāg</b> <i>n.</i>	breast	<b>āyalvar</b> <i>adj.</i>	in charge of a large family
<b>āmlak</b> <i>n.</i>	properties	<b>āyāy, ayay</b> <i>n.</i>	foot
<b>āmr</b> <i>n.</i>	order	<b>āyer-</b> <i>v.</i>	to spin
<b>āmzir-</b> <i>v.</i>	to breast feed	<b>āyil</b> <i>v.</i>	bow, bend
<b>ānnazā</b> <i>n.</i>	measure	<b>āyri</b> <i>adj.</i>	bent, crooked, curved,
<b>āqd</b> <i>n.</i>	engagement	<b>āz</b> <i>v.</i>	from
<b>ār</b> <i>n.</i>	husband	<b>āz jumlā</b> <i>phr.</i>	including
<b>ārbab</b> <i>n.</i>	lord	<b>āzadarlig</b> <i>n.</i>	mourning, bereavement
<b>ārred-</b> <i>v.</i>	to melt	<b>āzan</b> <i>n.</i>	prayer call
<b>ārse</b> <i>n.</i>	estate	<b>āzangu</b> <i>n.</i>	muezzin
<b>āršen</b> <i>n.</i>	meter	<b>āziyāt</b> <i>n.</i>	inconvenience
<b>ādād</b> <i>n.</i>	number	<b>āziz</b> <i>adj.</i>	dear
<b>āgār, also āyār</b> <i>conj.</i>	if	<b>āyallān</b> <i>adv.</i>	at least
<b>ārz</b> <i>n.</i>	petition		

## B

<b>badam</b> <i>n.</i>	almond	<b>bellā-</b> <i>v.</i>	to swaddle (a baby)
<b>badiyā</b> <i>n.</i>	pan	<b>berk</b> <i>n.</i>	hat
<b>badman</b> <i>n.</i>	a weight of three kilograms	<b>beš</b> <i>card. num.</i>	five
<b>bahanā</b> <i>n.</i>	excuse, pretext	<b>bešaltī</b> <i>deter.</i>	five or six
<b>bahisab</b> <i>adv.</i>	bearing in mind	<b>bešon</b> <i>deter.</i>	ten or so
<b>baġi</b> <i>n.</i>	sister	<b>bexosus</b> <i>adv.</i>	in particular
<b>bak</b> <i>n.</i>	worry	<b>beyig</b> <i>adj.</i>	big
<b>bal</b> <i>n.</i>	honey	<b>beyin</b> <i>n.</i>	today
<b>bal vur-</b> <i>v.</i>	To make honey	<b>beyn</b> <i>n.</i>	brain
<b>bargah</b> <i>n.</i>	court	<b>beyrāg</b> <i>n.</i>	kidney
<b>barīkāllā</b> <i>adv. phr.</i>	bravo	<b>biārziš</b> <i>adj.</i>	worthless
<b>barsallar</b> <i>n.</i>	lord of caravan	<b>bibi</b> <i>n.</i>	honorific title of the Qashqai khans' women
<b>baš</b> <i>n.</i>	head	<b>bičaq</b> <i>n.</i>	knife
<b>baš ennir-</b> <i>v.</i>	to visit somebody	<b>bičarā</b> <i>adj.</i>	miserable
<b>bašar-</b> <i>v.</i>	can, to be able	<b>bidāmay</b> <i>adj.</i>	sad, low-spirited
<b>bašla-</b> <i>v.</i>	to start	<b>bidārkoja</b> <i>adj.</i>	wandering
<b>bašlan-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be started	<b>bidehkar</b> <i>adj.</i>	indebted
<b>bassir-</b> <i>v.</i>	to cover, to hide	<b>bihesab</b> <i>adj.</i>	wrong, unjust;
<b>bat-</b> <i>v.</i>	to sink; to penetrate; to prick (thorn); to set (sun and moon)		incomputable
<b>bavāzn</b> <i>adj.</i>	heavy	<b>bikil- &lt; būkūl-</b> <i>v.</i>	to turn back, to go back
<b>bax-</b> <i>v.</i>	to look at	<b>bil-</b> <i>v.</i>	to know
		<b>bimāāna</b> <i>adj.</i>	meaningless

<b>baz</b> <i>adv.</i>	again	<b>bir</b> <i>n.</i>	one
<b>baznešaste</b> <i>adj.</i>	retired person	<b>birbir</b> <i>pron.</i>	each other
<b>bay</b> <i>n.</i>	orchard; a cord or thread to tie something	<b>birdän</b> <i>adv.</i>	suddenly
<b>bayban</b> <i>n.</i>	orchard overseer	<b>biri</b> <i>pron.</i>	somebody, one of
<b>bayışla-</b> <i>v.</i>	to pardon, to forgive	<b>birikkiş</b> <i>deter.</i>	a couple of
<b>bayla-</b> <i>v.</i>	to close, to tie	<b>birparä</b> <i>deter.</i>	certain (quantity)
<b>bäbä</b> <i>n.</i>	baby	<b>bitin &lt; bütin</b> <i>adj.</i>	whole, total
<b>bäčä mädräsä</b> <i>n.</i>	schoolchild	<b>bixçi &lt; biçyi</b> <i>n.</i>	saw
<b>bäče</b> <i>n.</i>	first fruit	<b>biyaban</b> <i>n.</i>	desert
<b>bädbäx</b> , also <b>bäddäx</b> <i>adj.</i>	miserable	<b>biyi</b> <i>n.</i>	paternal aunt
<b>bäddäxlig</b> <i>n.</i>	misfortune	<b>biz</b> <i>pron.</i>	we
<b>bädkar</b> <i>adj.</i>	wrongdoer	<b>bizbiz ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	(for hair) to stand up
<b>bädräybät</b> <i>adj.</i>	malformed, ugly	<b>bowa</b> <i>n.</i>	straight
<b>bähd</b> , also <b>bähdän</b> <i>adv.</i>	then, later	<b>bowanänä</b> <i>n.</i>	dad, father
<b>bähze</b> , also <b>bähzi</b> <i>detr.</i>	somebody, something	<b>boy</b> <i>n.</i>	parents
<b>bäläd</b> <i>adj.</i>	expert	<b>boy boy ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	height, stature, size
<b>bäle</b> , also <b>bääle</b> , <b>bähle</b> <i>adv.</i>	yes	<b>boyn</b> , also <b>boyun</b> <i>n.</i>	to peek, to steal a look
<b>bälli</b> <i>adj.</i>	important, eminent	<b>bozorgdašt</b> <i>n.</i>	neck
<b>bälg</b> <i>n.</i>	leaf	<b>boyanay</b> <i>n.</i>	commemoration
<b>bälkäm &lt; bälki</b> <i>adv.</i>	maybe	<b>bu</b> <i>deter. &amp; pron.</i>	cyclone
<b>bän</b> <i>n.</i>	sort of tree	<b>budujä</b> <i>n.</i>	this, these
<b>bännä</b> <i>n.</i>	servant of God	<b>budurki</b> <i>phr.</i>	budget
<b>bäñzä-</b> <i>v.</i>	To resemble, to be like	<b>buñür</b> <i>adv.</i>	that is why
<b>bär ye-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be shocked	<b>bul-</b> <i>v.</i>	this way
<b>bärabär</b> <i>adv.</i>	face to face	<b>buläñu</b> <i>n.</i>	to find
<b>bärännä</b> <i>n.</i>	winner	<b>buluk</b> <i>n.</i>	loudspeaker
<b>bare &lt; bäri</b> <i>adv.</i>	near side, this side, since	<b>bulun-</b> <i>v.</i>	district
<b>bärjästä</b> <i>adj.</i>	prominent	<b>bumi</b> <i>adj.</i>	to be found
<b>bäs</b> <i>adv.</i>	enough	<b>bun</b> <i>n.</i>	indigenous, local
<b>bästä</b> <i>adj.</i>	closed, tied	<b>bunyad</b> <i>n.</i>	roof
<b>bätär</b> <i>adj.</i>	worst	<b>bura</b> <i>adv.</i>	foundation
<b>bäxš</b> <i>n.</i>	sector, part	<b>burmaq</b> <i>n.</i>	this place
<b>bäxt</b> <i>n.</i>	destiny	<b>burmaq vur-</b> <i>v.</i>	finger
<b>bäy</b> <i>n.</i>	mister	<b>burna</b> <i>adj.</i>	to sign (by finger)
<b>be</b> , also <b>beyä</b> , <b>beyäm</b> <i>qw.</i>	if it is not...	<b>burrä</b> <i>deter.</i>	young, awesome
<b>bečarä</b> <i>adj.</i>	poor; wretched	<b>burrännä</b> <i>adj.</i>	a handful
<b>bečarälig</b> <i>n.</i>	misery	<b>burru</b> <i>adv.</i>	piercing
<b>bedeh</b> <i>n.</i>	debt	<b>buttä</b> <i>n.</i>	totally
<b>bedune</b> <i>prep.</i>	without	<b>buttay</b> <i>adv.</i>	bush
<b>begejä &lt; bu gejä</b> <i>n.</i>	tonight	<b>buy</b> <i>itj.</i>	this side
<b>bekar</b> <i>adj.</i>	jobless	<b>buyan</b> <i>adv.</i>	oh
<b>bel</b> <i>n.</i>	waist; shovel	<b>buyad</b> , also <b>buyarza</b> <i>adv.</i>	this side
<b>belä</b> <i>adv.</i>	so, such, thus, this way	<b>buydä</b> <i>n.</i>	this much
<b>beläke</b> , also <b>beläye</b> , <b>beläkin</b> , <b>beläyin</b> <i>adv.</i>	such as this	<b>buñ</b> <i>n.</i>	wheat
<b>beläxärä</b> <i>adv.</i>	finally		call, cry (of a rooster)
<b>beldarlig</b> <i>n.</i>	ploughing		

## C

<b>čador</b> <i>n.</i>	tent	<b>čätin</b> <i>adj.</i>	difficult
<b>čah</b> <i>n.</i>	well	<b>čän</b> <i>n.</i>	harp
<b>čal-</b> <i>v.</i>	to play (of an instrument); to rise (of sun); to sting (of snake, etc); to speak ( <i>gäp čal</i> ); to rinse (of mouth, utensils, etc.)	<b>čänjä</b> <i>n.</i>	chin
<b>čalī</b> <i>n.</i>	kind of bush	<b>čäñi</b> <i>n.</i>	gypsy musician
<b>čalīn-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be sung	<b>čel &lt; čehel</b> <i>n.</i>	forty
<b>čalma</b> <i>n.</i>	kind of stomach disease	<b>čelow</b> <i>n.</i>	pilaf
<b>čap-</b> <i>v.</i>	to plunder; to gallop	<b>čenar</b> <i>n.</i>	plane tree
<b>čap ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to print, to publish	<b>čeräg</b> <i>n.</i>	bread
<b>čapiš-</b> <i>v.</i>	to gallop together	<b>češmä</b> <i>n.</i>	spring
<b>čapištir-</b> <i>v.</i>	to cause (horses) gallop together	<b>čin</b> <i>n.</i>	shoulder

čapod <i>n.</i>	tissu
čaptır- <i>v.</i>	to cause (horses) gallop
čaq <i>adj.</i>	fat
čaqqı <i>n.</i>	knife
čarqād <i>n.</i>	scarf
čarqādli <i>adj.</i>	veiled
čat- <i>v.</i>	to arrive, to manage to do
čaxad- < čixard- <i>v.</i>	quit
čay <i>n.</i>	river
čayı <i>n.</i>	tea
čayır- <i>v.</i>	to call
čāk- <i>v.</i>	to pull
čākil- <i>v.</i>	to be pulled, be drawn
čām <i>n.</i>	meander
čān < čānd <i>qw.</i>	how much
čārāk <i>n.</i>	span (unit of measure for weight)
čārxx <i>n.</i>	wheel
čätenlig <i>n.</i>	grove

čiq <i>n.</i>	reed screen
čiray <i>n.</i>	lamp, light
čix- <i>v.</i>	to exit
čıyan <i>n.</i>	millipede
čoban <i>n.</i>	shepherd
čow <i>n.</i>	rumor, gossip
čowuſ quſu <i>n.</i>	hoopoe
čox <i>adv.</i>	many, much, very
čoxtar <i>adj.</i>	much more
čoyānnār <i>n.</i>	beet
čügür <i>n.</i>	long-neck lute
čun <i>conj.</i>	because
čuqqur <i>n.</i>	hole
čurrā- <i>v.</i>	to piss, urinate
čurrāmā <i>n.</i>	urine
čurrāmā <i>n.</i>	urine
čurrāmā <i>n.</i>	urine

## D

daha <i>deter.</i>	other
dahva <i>n.</i>	fight, brawl
dal <i>n.</i>	back
dal <i>n.</i>	back, behind
dalan <i>n.</i>	vestibule
dam <i>n.</i>	roof
dam- <i>v.</i>	to drip
dan ed- <i>v.</i>	to line up (in a row)
dana, danā <i>n.</i>	spot
daneſ <i>n.</i>	science
daneſamuz <i>n.</i>	schoolchild
daneſgah <i>n.</i>	university
daneſsāra <i>n.</i>	teacher training institute
daniſ- <i>v.</i>	to speak, to talk
dar <i>adj.</i>	narrow, tight
dara <i>v.</i>	rich
daralig <i>n.</i>	wealth
daray <i>n.</i>	comb
darya <i>n.</i>	1. camel breeder 2. Korosh
daſ <i>n.</i>	stone
dasetan <i>n.</i>	story
davtalāb <i>adj.</i>	volunteer
daynā daynā <i>n.</i>	a Qashqai folksong
day <i>n.</i>	mount, mountain
day <i>adj.</i>	hot
dayıl- <i>v.</i>	to be dispersed, to be broken
dābirestan <i>n.</i>	high school
dādā <i>n.</i>	maid
dāfā <i>n.</i>	time
dāfdār <i>n.</i>	notebook
dāhgan <i>n.</i>	decimal
dāli <i>adj.</i>	mad
dālig <i>n. &amp; adj.</i>	hole, perforated
dāllā <i>n.</i>	iron snippets
dālliz <i>n.</i>	a sewing instrument
dām <i>adv.</i>	before
dānnā <i>n.</i>	rib
dār <i>n.</i>	door
dārā <i>n.</i>	valley
dārājā <i>n.</i>	degree
dārbarı <i>adj.</i>	courtier
dārbedār <i>adj.</i>	wandering, homeless

derāxt <i>n.</i>	tree
derd <i>n.</i>	four
derd <i>card. num.</i>	four
derdbeſ <i>n.</i>	four or five
dernay <i>n.</i>	nail
derrā <i>n.</i>	prickle, thorn
deſ <i>n.</i>	chest, breast
dey- <i>v. trans.</i>	to pestle (in a mortar); to thresh and thrash
dib <i>n.</i>	bottom
didig <i>n.</i>	small flute of shepherd
difar <i>n.</i>	wall
dil <i>n.</i>	tongue, language
dilā sal- <i>v.</i>	to mention
dilli <i>adj.</i>	eloquent
dimdig <i>n.</i>	beak
din <i>n.</i>	religion
diqqāt <i>n.</i>	accuracy
dirri	alive
diſ <i>n.</i>	tooth; dream
diſ ger- <i>v.</i>	to (have a) dream
diſi <i>adj.</i>	female
diſow < duſab <i>n.</i>	raisin syrup
div <i>n.</i>	demon, monster
diz <i>n.</i>	knee
diz <i>n.</i>	outside
diz < düz <i>adj.</i>	right, flat, arranged
dizād- <i>v.</i>	to make, arrange, construct
do <i>card. n. P.</i>	two
do'a <i>n.</i>	prayer
dobādo <i>adv. exp.</i>	two by two
dobarā, also dowarā <i>adv.</i>	again
dobeyti <i>n.</i>	quatrains
dol- <i>v.</i>	to be filled
dollur- <i>v.</i>	to fill
dolu <i>adj.</i>	full
dönā dönā <i>n.</i>	a Qashqai folksong
donya, also dünya <i>n.</i>	world
doqquz <i>n.</i>	nine
doroſt <i>adj.</i>	gross, coarse, large, crude
dos <i>n.</i>	friend
dovvomki <i>ord. n.</i>	the second
dowar <i>n.</i>	herd

<b>därd</b> <i>n.</i>	pain, ache	<b>dowlāti</b> <i>adj.</i>	governmental, public
<b>därf</b> <i>n.</i>	dishes	<b>dowr</b> <i>n.</i>	turn
<b>därja</b> <i>adv.</i>	on the spot	<b>dowran</b> <i>n.</i>	era, epoch
<b>därman</b> <i>n.</i>	remedy, medicine	<b>dowre</b> <i>n.</i>	duration, period
<b>därri</b> <i>n.</i>	skin	<b>dowre ger-</b> <i>v.</i>	to take a training course
<b>därs</b> <i>n.</i>	lesson	<b>dowre xune</b> <i>n.</i>	serving people
<b>därs ver-</b> <i>v.</i>	to give lessons	<b>doy-</b> <i>v.</i>	to satisfy
<b>därvaze</b> <i>n.</i>	gateway	<b>doyanay</b> <i>n.</i>	cyclone
<b>däšt</b> <i>n.</i>	plain	<b>dubanay</b> <i>n.</i>	cyclone
<b>dästur</b> <i>n.</i>	grammar	<b>dubba dubba</b> <i>adv.</i>	walking like certain animals
<b>dävā</b> <i>n.</i>	camel	<b>duday</b> <i>n.</i>	lip
<b>dävazdāh</b> <i>n.</i>	twelve	<b>dukan</b> <i>n.</i>	shop
<b>dävriš (därviš)</b> <i>n.</i>	dervish	<b>duktur</b> <i>n.</i>	doctor
<b>däy-</b> <i>v.</i>	to bang into, to collide with	<b>dulay</b> <i>n.</i>	spiral smoke
<b>daya</b> <i>n.</i>	childminder	<b>dunbalā</b> <i>n.</i>	rest, continuation
<b>dayad-</b> <i>v.</i>	to lean	<b>dur-</b> <i>v.</i>	to stand up, to stop
<b>däyen-</b> <i>v.</i>	to visit	<b>durus</b> <i>adj.</i>	right, well
<b>däyerman</b> <i>n.</i>	mill	<b>duš-</b> <i>v.</i>	to fall
<b>däyeš-</b> <i>v.</i>	to change	<b>dušma</b> <i>n.</i>	epilepsy
<b>däyil</b> <i>cop.</i>	not be	<b>dušmān</b> <i>n.</i>	enemy
<b>däyiq</b> <i>adj.</i>	precise	<b>düşüg</b> <i>adj.</i>	fallen
<b>de-</b> <i>v.</i>	to say, to tell	<b>duveyli</b> <i>adj.</i>	bifurcated
<b>den-</b> <i>v.</i>	to return, to head back	<b>duz</b> <i>n.</i>	salt
<b>dennär- (dönnär-)</b> <i>v.</i>	to divert, to translate	<b>düzäd-</b> <i>v.</i>	to construct; to repair

## E

<b>ebtedā'ī</b> <i>adj.</i>	primary (school)	<b>ensan</b> <i>n.</i>	Man
<b>ed- (et-)</b> <i>v.</i>	to do	<b>entexab</b> <i>n.</i>	choice
<b>edarā</b> <i>n.</i>	office	<b>ep- &lt;öp-</b> <i>v.</i>	to kiss
<b>ehdam</b> <i>n.</i>	execution, death penalty	<b>eqlin</b> <i>n.</i>	kind of tropical tree
<b>ehlan</b> <i>n.</i>	announcement	<b>eradā</b> <i>n.</i>	will
<b>ehtiyaj</b> <i>n.</i>	need	<b>ergäd-</b> <i>v.</i>	to teach
<b>ejazā</b> <i>n.</i>	permission	<b>ergän-</b> <i>v.</i>	to learn
<b>el</b> <i>n.</i>	tribal confederation	<b>erkäk</b> <i>adj.</i>	male
<b>el- &lt;öl-</b> <i>v.</i>	to die	<b>erkän</b> <i>n.</i>	rope
<b>elahī</b> <i>adj.</i>	divine	<b>ers</b> <i>n.</i>	heritage
<b>el-be-dār</b> <i>n.</i>	exiled	<b>ersi</b> <i>adj.</i>	hereditary, congenital
<b>eli</b> <i>adj.</i>	dead	<b>eršad</b> <i>n.</i>	guidance
<b>elim</b> <i>n.</i>	death	<b>ersi</b> <i>adj.</i>	hereditary
<b>elimā ged-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be killed (in a battle)	<b>ertibat</b> <i>n.</i>	relation, link
<b>eliyat</b> <i>n.</i>	nomads	<b>esä- &lt;isä-</b> <i>v.</i>	to want
<b>elkä</b> <i>n.</i>	country	<b>esalāt</b> <i>n.</i>	originality
<b>ellir- &lt; eller-</b> <i>v.</i>	to kill	<b>ešid-</b> <i>v.</i>	to hear
<b>eltemas</b> <i>n.</i>	appeal	<b>eššäg</b> <i>n.</i>	donkey
<b>eltiam</b> <i>n.</i>	recovery	<b>estelahat</b> <i>n.</i>	terminology
<b>elxanī</b> <i>n.</i>	head of tribal confederation	<b>esterahāt</b> <i>n.</i>	rest
<b>emkanat</b> <i>n.</i>	facilities	<b>etiš-</b> <i>v.</i>	to arrive
<b>emtehan</b> <i>n.</i>	examination	<b>extiyar</b> <i>n.</i>	authorization
<b>emza al-</b> <i>v.</i>	to take signature	<b>eyb</b> <i>n.</i>	defect
<b>emza ver-</b> <i>v.</i>	to give a signature	<b>eyb eylā-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be spoiled
<b>en-</b> <i>v.</i>	to get off	<b>eynān, eyne</b> <i>adv.</i>	exactly like
<b>en</b> <i>n.</i>	width	<b>ez &lt;öz</b> <i>n.</i>	self
<b>enli</b> <i>adj.</i>	wide	<b>ezdevaj</b> <i>n.</i>	wedding, marriage
<b>ennir-</b> <i>v.</i>	to lower, to get down, to bring down	<b>ezezinā</b> <i>adv.</i>	on oneself
<b>ens &lt; ins</b> <i>n.</i>	human being		

## F

<b>faydā</b> <i>n.</i>	interest, use	<b>färvärdin</b> <i>n.</i>	first month of Iranian calendar
<b>fāqād (fāqāt)</b> <i>adv.</i>	only	<b>felan</b> <i>adv.</i>	such
<b>fārahām</b> <i>n.</i>	provided	<b>felanī</b> <i>pron.</i>	Mr. or Ms so-and-so
<b>fārar</b> <i>n.</i>	escape; flee	<b>fičč</b> <i>adj.</i>	open
<b>fārhāng</b> <i>n.</i>	culture	<b>filani</b> <i>n.</i>	Mr. or Ms so-and-so
<b>fārš</b> <i>n.</i>	carpet	<b>fišān</b> <i>n.</i>	cartridge
<b>fārš &lt; färj</b> <i>n.</i>	vulva	<b>fowrī</b> <i>adv.</i>	immediately



## G

<b>gah</b> <i>adv.</i>	soon	<b>gey</b> <i>adj.</i>	green
<b>gäč-</b> <i>v.</i>	to pass, to cross	<b>gey</b> <i>adj.</i>	blue, sky
<b>gäčči</b> <i>n.</i>	goat	<b>gey-</b> <i>v.</i>	to dress
<b>gäčird-</b> <i>v.</i>	to cause to pass	<b>geyär-</b> <i>v.</i>	to grow, turn green
<b>gädig</b> <i>n.</i>	strait	<b>geyn</b> <i>n.</i>	spirit, heart
<b>gäl-</b> <i>v.</i>	to come	<b>geyn ise-</b> <i>v.</i>	to desire, to wish
<b>gälä</b> <i>n.</i>	herd	<b>gez</b> <i>n.</i>	eye
<b>gäläbonä</b> <i>n.</i>	herd and luggage	<b>giĭ</b> <i>n.</i>	force
<b>gälin</b> <i>n.</i>	bride	<b>gil-</b> <i>v.</i>	to laugh
<b>gäman</b> <i>n.</i>	supposition	<b>gili</b> <i>n.</i>	tickle
<b>gäman ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to suppose	<b>giligčä</b> <i>n.</i>	yarn ball
<b>gänje qarun</b> <i>n.</i>	treasury of Croesus	<b>gin</b> <i>n.</i>	sun, day
<b>gäp</b> <i>n.</i>	word	<b>ginnä</b> <i>adv.</i>	always
<b>gäp čal-</b> <i>v.</i>	to talk	<b>ginniz</b> <i>n.</i>	day
<b>gärčagli</b> <i>adv.</i>	honestly	<b>gir</b> <i>n.</i>	obstacle
<b>gärd</b> <i>n.</i>	dust	<b>gir-</b> <i>v.</i>	to enter
<b>gärdän</b> <i>n.</i>	neck	<b>girdäg</b> <i>n.</i>	bridal tent (room)
<b>gärmisir</b> <i>n.</i>	winter zone	<b>giriftar</b> <i>adj.</i>	occupied, busy
<b>gäter-</b> <i>v.</i>	to bring	<b>girr ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be stuck
<b>gäz-</b> <i>v.</i>	to look after; to take a walk	<b>gomkerdä</b> <i>adj.</i>	lost (thing or person)
<b>gäz</b> <i>n.</i>	an old metric unit of length	<b>gor</b> <i>n.</i>	grave
<b>gäz ed-</b>	to measure by means of a meter	<b>gör-</b> <i>v.</i>	to see
<b>gäzär</b> <i>n.</i>	carrot	<b>görsäd-</b> <i>v.</i>	to show
<b>gebäg</b> <i>n.</i>	navel	<b>gowban</b> <i>n.</i>	cowman
<b>ged-</b> <i>v.</i>	to go	<b>gowhär</b> <i>n.</i>	gem, jewels
<b>gejä</b> <i>n.</i>	night	<b>gözčü</b> <i>n.</i>	watchdog, sentinel,
<b>genä</b> <i>adv.</i>	again	<b>gözlä-</b> <i>v.</i>	to keep watch over
<b>ger-</b> <i>v.</i>	to see	<b>güjlü</b> <i>adj.</i>	powerful
<b>gerä</b> <i>n.</i>	honeycomb	<b>gulaŷ</b> <i>n.</i>	ear
<b>geräg</b> <i>adv.</i>	must	<b>gum</b> <i>adj.</i>	profound
<b>gerayli</b> <i>n.</i>	a Qashqai folk tune	<b>gum</b> <i>adj.</i>	lost
<b>gerdbad</b> <i>n.</i>	tornado	<b>guni</b> <i>n.</i>	jute bag
<b>gerdu</b> <i>n.</i>	walnut	<b>gurr tut-</b> <i>v.</i>	to inflame, to set ablaze
<b>geri</b> <i>adv.</i>	backwards	<b>guruh</b> <i>n.</i>	group
<b>gersäd-</b> <i>v.</i>	to show	<b>guruhi</b> <i>adv.</i>	in group
<b>get</b> <i>n.</i>	bottom, backside	<b>guši</b> <i>n.</i>	telephone receiver
<b>geter-</b> <i>v.</i>	to take	<b>gušt</b> <i>n.</i>	meat

## H

<b>hačän</b> <i>qw.</i>	when	<b>häväs</b> <i>n.</i>	desire, envy
<b>haĭ</b> <i>n.</i>	pilgrimage to Mecca	<b>häyä</b> <i>prt.</i>	yes
<b>hal</b> <i>n.</i>	state of health	<b>häzrät äbbasī</b> <i>phr.</i>	I swear to Hazrat Abbas
<b>halät</b> <i>n.</i>	status, situation	<b>hāzinä</b> <i>n.</i>	expense
<b>hale vaqe'</b> <i>phr.</i>	what has happened	<b>häzrät</b> <i>n.</i>	excellency
<b>hamam</b> <i>n.</i>	hammam	<b>hän</b> <i>interj.</i>	what?
<b>hamī</b> <i>n.</i>	patron, sponsor	<b>heč</b> <i>n.</i>	nothing
<b>hanī</b> <i>qw.</i>	which	<b>hečkäs</b> <i>pron.</i>	nobody
<b>hara</b> <i>qw.</i>	where	<b>hefz ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	memorize
<b>hava</b> <i>n.</i>	air	<b>hekayät</b> <i>n.</i>	to account, to story
<b>hay (häy)</b> <i>interj.</i>	interjection	<b>hemmelä-</b> <i>v.</i>	to grumble
<b>haynä</b> <i>qw.</i>	towards where	<b>herdiliŷ</b> <i>phr.</i>	a magic word or phrase
<b>hazīq</b> <i>adj.</i>	competent, skilful	<b>hereft</b> <i>adv.</i>	too much, enormous
<b>hazīr</b> <i>adj.</i>	present	<b>herfe'i</b> <i>adj.</i>	professional
<b>hādd</b> <i>n.</i>	limit, boundary	<b>heš (hešnä)</b> <i>adv.</i>	nothing
<b>häf</b> <i>n.</i>	seven	<b>hezar</b> <i>n.</i>	thousand
<b>häftä</b> <i>n.</i>	week	<b>hürk-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be startled
<b>häley</b> <i>n.</i>	a Qashqai dance	<b>hürkid-</b> <i>v.</i>	to frighten away
<b>hālez (hānez)</b> <i>adv.</i>	still	<b>hürkiš-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be startled together
<b>häll ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to solve	<b>hīsab, also hesab</b> <i>n.</i>	count
<b>häm ... häm(i)</b> <i>conj.</i>	both... and	<b>hiždäh</b> <i>n.</i>	eighteen
<b>häm dä m</b> <i>n.</i>	companion	<b>how ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to boo
<b>häm mišä</b> <i>adv.</i>	always	<b>howl</b> <i>n.</i>	fright, fear

<b>hāq</b> <i>n.</i>	right, truth
<b>hāqiyāt</b> <i>n.</i>	truth, reality
<b>hār</b> <i>deter.</i>	every
<b>hārākāt</b> <i>n.</i>	movement
<b>hārkās</b> , also <b>hārkā</b> <i>pron.</i>	everybody
<b>hārnā</b> <i>pron.</i>	whatever
<b>hāsud</b> <i>adj.</i>	jealous
<b>hātmān</b> <i>adv.</i>	certainly
<b>hätta</b> <i>adv.</i>	even
<b>hāvalā</b> <i>n.</i>	payment order

<b>howz</b> <i>n.</i>	pool
<b>hudud</b> <i>n.</i>	limits, boundaries
<b>hududān</b> <i>adv.</i>	around
<b>hugm</b> < <b>hokm</b> <i>n.</i>	order
<b>hukumāt</b> <i>n.</i>	state
<b>hunār</b> <i>n.</i>	art
<b>huš</b> <i>n.</i>	intelligence
<b>huzur</b> <i>n.</i>	presence
<b>huyuq</b> <i>n.</i>	law, salary

## I

<b>iblig</b> <i>n.</i>	thread	<b>irad</b> <i>n.</i>	defect
<b>ič-</b> <i>v.</i>	to drink	<b>irad tut-</b> <i>v.</i>	to find faults
<b>ičāri</b> <i>adv.</i>	inside	<b>irāg</b> <i>n.</i>	heart
<b>iči (ičin, ičun)</b> <i>postp.</i>	for	<b>iray</b> <i>adv.</i>	far
<b>ičibixči</b> <i>adj.</i>	nasty, naughty	<b>irlā-</b> <i>v.</i>	to sing
<b>ičmāli</b> <i>adv.</i>	drink	<b>irt-</b> <i>v.</i>	to tear
<b>ifteza</b> <i>n.</i>	scandalous	<b>irtil-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be torn
<b>igid-</b> <i>v.</i>	to grind	<b>irtiq</b> <i>adj.</i>	torn
<b>igirmi</b> <i>n.</i>	twenty	<b>is</b> <i>n.</i>	perfume,
<b>igirmi</b> <i>n.</i>	twenty	<b>iš</b> <i>n.</i>	work
<b>iglä-</b> <i>v.</i>	to load	<b>isä-</b> , also <b>issä-</b> , <b>se-</b> <i>v.</i>	to want
<b>ijad ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to create	<b>išdān gālān</b> <i>adj.</i>	skilful, deft
<b>ik</b> <i>n.</i>	load	<b>isgah</b> <i>n.</i>	station, stop
<b>ikki</b> <i>n.</i>	two	<b>išiq</b> <i>n.</i>	light
<b>ikkiš</b> <i>n.</i>	a couple of	<b>islamī</b> <i>adj.</i>	Islamic
<b>il</b> <i>n.</i>	year	<b>issi</b> <i>adj.</i>	warm
<b>ilan</b> <i>n.</i>	snake	<b>istefadā</b> <i>n.</i>	profit
<b>ilanbalištī</b> <i>n.</i>	snail	<b>ištibah</b> <i>n.</i>	fault
<b>ilānqassīyī</b> <i>n.</i>	lizard	<b>it-</b> <i>v.</i>	to sharpen; to disappear
<b>ilāri</b> <i>adv.</i>	before, forwards, in front,	<b>itälä-</b> <i>v.</i>	to push, to topple over
<b>ilārki</b> <i>n.</i>	which is before, in front	<b>itil-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be sharpened
<b>imkanat</b> <i>n.</i>	possibilities	<b>itir-</b> <i>v.</i>	to lose
<b>inčā</b> <i>adj.</i>	slim	<b>itti</b> <i>adj.</i>	sharp, cutting, pointy
<b>inni</b> <i>adv.</i>	now	<b>ixil-</b> <i>v.</i>	to collapse
<b>inšalla</b> <i>exp.</i>	God willing	<b>ixtilaf</b> <i>n.</i>	difference
<b>ip</b> <i>n.</i>	thread, cord	<b>iz-</b> < <b>üz-</b> <i>v.</i>	face
<b>iq-</b> <i>v.</i>	to collect	<b>iz</b> < <b>yüz</b> <i>n.</i>	hundred
<b>iqil-</b> <i>v.</i>	to gather	<b>izig</b> < <b>üzüg</b> <i>n.</i>	ring
<b>iqištir-</b> <i>v.</i>	to gather (together)	<b>iñā</b> <i>n.</i>	needle, pin
<b>ir</b> <i>n.</i>	tune, lyric poem	<b>iñer</b> <i>adv.</i>	one would say, it's like
<b>ir de-</b> <i>v.</i>	to compose a poem	<b>iñil</b> <i>adj.</i>	light

## J

<b>ĵani</b> <i>n.</i>	criminal	<b>ĵeb</b> <i>n.</i>	pocket
<b>ĵari</b> <i>n.</i>	current	<b>ĵens (ĵins)</b> <i>n.</i>	genie; Genre
<b>ĵahal</b> <i>n.</i>	young	<b>ĵeyran</b> <i>n.</i>	gazelle
<b>ĵahaz</b> <i>n.</i>	dowry	<b>ĵeyran ĵeyran</b> <i>n.</i>	a Qashqaitune
<b>ĵan</b> <i>n.</i>	soul, life	<b>ĵeyälä</b> <i>n.</i>	young boy
<b>ĵanavar</b> <i>n.</i>	animal (wild)	<b>ĵikkiläš-</b> <i>v.</i>	to make jik jik
<b>ĵannar</b> <i>n.</i>	insects	<b>ĵirä</b> <i>n.</i>	food ration
<b>ĵarči</b> <i>n.</i>	town crier	<b>ĵoš-</b> <i>v.</i>	to flow
<b>ĵarri</b> <i>n.</i>	broom	<b>ĵowalluz</b> <i>n.</i>	kind of needle (sewing bodkin)
<b>ĵayzä</b> <i>n.</i>	prize	<b>ĵowr</b> <i>n.</i>	oppression, injustice
<b>ĵäbr</b> <i>n.</i>	constraint	<b>ĵul</b> <i>n.</i>	covering for pack animals
<b>ĵäd (ĵäddä)</b> <i>n.</i>	ancestor	<b>ĵulow</b> <i>adv.</i>	before, in front of
<b>ĵähät</b> <i>n.</i>	direction	<b>ĵuma</b> <i>n.</i>	Friday
<b>ĵäläsä</b> <i>n.</i>	meeting	<b>ĵumlä</b> <i>n.</i>	sentence
<b>ĵäma'ät</b> <i>n.</i>	crowd	<b>ĵunub</b> <i>n.</i>	south
<b>ĵär</b> <i>n.</i>	to fight, to brawl	<b>ĵurbuza</b> <i>n.</i>	bravery
<b>ĵärime</b> <i>n.</i>	fine	<b>ĵurrä</b> <i>adj.</i>	little
<b>ĵäryän</b> <i>n.</i>	flow, course	<b>ĵuz</b> <i>n.</i>	part

<b>jävab</b> <i>n.</i>	answer	<b>juzmu</b> <i>adv.</i>	imperfect, of mean character
<b>jävan</b> <i>n.</i>	young	<b>jüja</b> <i>n.</i>	chicken
<b>jävaz al-</b> <i>v.</i>	to obtain permit		
<b>jän</b> <i>n.</i>	war		

## K

<b>kaka</b> <i>n.</i>	1. servant 2. brother	<b>kera: ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be worth
<b>kaka bajī</b> <i>n.</i>	siblings	<b>kerman</b> <i>n.</i>	a women's spindle
<b>kala</b> <i>n.</i>	goods	<b>kešiš</b> <i>n.</i>	priest
<b>karegär</b> <i>n.</i>	worker	<b>ketäk</b> <i>n.</i>	a beating
<b>karevan</b> <i>n.</i>	caravan	<b>ketäk ye-</b> <i>v.</i>	to get a beating
<b>karkon</b> <i>n.</i>	worker	<b>keyf</b> <i>n.</i>	pleasure
<b>kaseblig</b> <i>n.</i>	small business	<b>keyf apar-</b> <i>v.</i>	to please oneself
<b>kassä</b> <i>n.</i>	bowl	<b>keyfiyät</b> <i>n.</i>	characteristics
<b>kassib</b> <i>n.</i>	small merchant	<b>kil</b> <i>n.</i>	ashes
<b>kax</b> <i>n.</i>	palace	<b>kim</b> <i>qw.</i>	who
<b>käččäl</b> <i>adj.</i>	bald, hairless	<b>kimsä</b> <i>pron.</i>	someone, nobody
<b>kädxoda</b> <i>n.</i>	alderman, headman	<b>kiplä-</b> <i>v.</i>	blow
<b>käf</b> <i>n.</i>	foam, scum; palm of hand or sole of foot	<b>kiprig</b> <i>n.</i>	eyelid
<b>käfä</b> <i>n.</i>	plain	<b>kisalät</b> <i>n.</i>	malaise, discomfort
<b>käfdän apar-</b> <i>v.</i>	(fig.) to kill	<b>kišavärzlig</b> <i>n.</i>	agriculture
<b>kälä</b> <i>adj.</i>	broken (?)	<b>kiši</b> <i>n.</i>	man
<b>kälam</b> <i>n.</i>	speech	<b>kisilli</b> <i>adv.</i>	quarrelled
<b>käläm</b> <i>n.</i>	cabbage	<b>kišnä-</b> <i>v.</i>	to neigh
<b>kälantär</b> <i>n.</i>	tribal head assistant	<b>kišvär</b> <i>n.</i>	country
<b>käläš</b> <i>n.</i>	traditional shoes, <i>giveh</i> in P.	<b>kitab</b> <i>n.</i>	book
<b>käm</b> <i>n.</i>	edge, border	<b>köč-</b> <i>v.</i>	to move on; to migrate
<b>kämančä</b> <i>n.</i>	a music instrument	<b>kohnä</b> <i>adj.</i>	old, worn
<b>kämär</b> <i>n.</i>	cliff	<b>koll</b> <i>n.</i>	whole
<b>kän</b> <i>n.</i>	village	<b>kollän (kullän)</b> <i>adv.</i>	entirely
<b>kännešin</b> <i>n.</i>	town-dweller	<b>koloft moloft</b> <i>adj.</i>	fat
<b>käppä</b> <i>n.</i>	cut in half	<b>konferans</b> <i>n.</i>	conference
<b>käränä</b> <i>n.</i>	oboe	<b>kop</b> <i>n.</i>	group, many
<b>käräz</b> <i>n.</i>	time	<b>kor</b> <i>adj.</i>	blind
<b>käs</b> <i>pron.</i>	person, anyone, someone	<b>korlig</b> <i>n.</i>	blindness; flout
<b>käs-</b> <i>v.</i>	to cut	<b>korlig ver-</b> <i>v.</i>	to mistreat, to despise
<b>käsär</b> <i>v.</i>	adze	<b>kossä</b> <i>adj.</i>	sparse beard, beardless
<b>käylik</b> <i>n.</i>	partridge	<b>kottä</b> <i>adj.</i>	short
<b>känjarli</b> <i>adj.</i>	acanthus	<b>kow kow ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to crawl on all fours (of children)
<b>keč-</b> <i>v.</i>	to decamp	<b>kowli</b> <i>n.</i>	gypsy
<b>keč o qon</b> <i>n.</i>	transhumance, seasonal migration	<b>kowlivar</b> <i>adv.</i>	Gypsy-like
<b>keč o qon ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to make transhumance	<b>kowt</b> <i>n.</i>	coat
<b>kehrä</b> <i>adj.</i>	smart, clever	<b>kučig</b> <i>adj.</i>	small
<b>kehrälig</b> <i>n.</i>	ingenuity, sagacity	<b>kummuja</b> <i>adj.</i>	little
<b>kelgä</b> <i>n.</i>	shade, shadow	<b>kunnä</b> <i>n.</i>	trunk
<b>kemäg</b> <i>n.</i>	help	<b>kup</b> <i>adv.</i>	upside down
<b>kemäg ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to help	<b>kurrä</b> <i>adj.</i>	round
<b>kemmäjä</b> <i>n.</i>	thick doughy bread baked in the ashes (directly on the fire)	<b>kušk</b> <i>n.</i>	palace
<b>ken, also kin</b> <i>n.</i>	buttocks		
<b>kepäg</b> <i>n.</i>	dog		

## L

<b>labut</b> <i>adj.</i>	without resort	<b>lättäkarlig</b> <i>n.</i>	market gardening
<b>lala</b> <i>n.</i>	lullaby	<b>läyin (täyin)</b> <i>postp.</i>	like
<b>lalä</b> <i>n.</i>	bush	<b>läñ</b> <i>adj.</i>	lame
<b>laš</b> <i>n.</i>	body corpse	<b>läñ ol-</b> <i>v.</i>	to stop, to halt
<b>lat o lut</b> <i>adj.</i>	poor, pitiful	<b>leg</b> <i>n.</i>	male camel
<b>layiq</b> <i>n.</i>	worthy of	<b>lezzät</b> <i>n.</i>	pleasure
<b>lazim</b> <i>n.</i>	necessary	<b>lezzät apar-</b> <i>v.</i>	to take pleasure
<b>läbas</b> <i>n.</i>	clothes	<b>lifä</b> <i>n.</i>	a slot through which the traditional waistband passes
<b>läbe darya</b> <i>n.</i>	seaside	<b>liñ</b> <i>n.</i>	leg
<b>lägän</b> <i>n.</i>	finger-bowl	<b>loyät</b> <i>n.</i>	word

<b>lāhaz</b> <i>n.</i>	consideration	<b>luk o puk</b> <i>adj.</i>	coarse and idiot
<b>lāhjā</b> <i>n.</i>	dialect	<b>lulā</b> <i>n.</i>	pipe
<b>lātmā</b> <i>n.</i>	harm	<b>luxt</b> <i>adj.</i>	naked
<b>lātmā ger-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be hurt	<b>luxt</b> <i>adj.</i>	naked
<b>lāttā</b> <i>n.</i>	farm		

## M

<b>maaš</b> <i>n.</i>	livelihood	<b>mehdā</b> <i>n.</i>	stomach
<b>mač</b> <i>n.</i>	kiss	<b>mehr</b> <i>n.</i>	affection
<b>mahnā</b> <i>n.</i>	excuse	<b>meqdar</b> <i>n.</i>	quantity
<b>mahtāl</b> <i>n.</i>	lingering	<b>metr</b> <i>n.</i>	meter
<b>mahur</b> <i>n.</i>	an Iranian tune	<b>min-</b> <i>v.</i>	to mount up, to get on
<b>mal</b> <i>n.</i>	possession, property	<b>miršikal</b> <i>n.</i>	head of hunters
<b>mašin</b> <i>n.</i>	car	<b>mixāk</b> <i>n.</i>	an aromatic plant
<b>māālum</b> , also <b>māhlum</b> <i>n.</i>	uncovered	<b>mo'amma</b> <i>n.</i>	enigma, riddle
<b>māāmulan</b> <i>adv.</i>	usually	<b>molhāq</b> <i>n.</i>	joined
<b>māāna</b> , also <b>māhna</b> <i>n.</i>	sense, definition	<b>moqeā</b> <i>n.</i>	time
<b>māāqul</b> <i>n.</i>	reasonable	<b>morafā</b> <i>n.</i>	quarrel, dispute
<b>māāruf</b> , also <b>māhruf</b> <i>n.</i>	renown	<b>mošaver</b> <i>n.</i>	advisor
<b>māāšuq</b> <i>n.</i>	beloved	<b>mostādam ol-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be steady
<b>māāva</b> <i>n.</i>	residence	<b>motāssef</b> <i>adj.</i>	sorry
<b>māāyub</b> <i>n.</i>	defective	<b>motāssefanā</b> <i>adv.</i>	unfortunately
<b>māblāy</b> <i>n.</i>	amount	<b>motāvājeh ol-</b> <i>v.</i>	to realize
<b>mādād</b> <i>n.</i>	help	<b>motävälled</b> <i>n.</i>	born
<b>mādrāsā</b> <i>n.</i>	school	<b>moväkkel</b> <i>n.</i>	representative
<b>mādrāsā rahnema'i</b> <i>n.</i>	secondary school	<b>mowquf</b> <i>n.</i>	stopped, suspended
<b>mādyun</b> <i>n.</i>	indebted	<b>mowred</b> <i>n.</i>	case
<b>māgār</b> <i>conj.</i>	unless	<b>mowṣiyāt</b> <i>n.</i>	situation
<b>māhāl</b> <i>n.</i>	place	<b>moxalefāt</b> <i>n.</i>	objection
<b>māhlow</b> <i>n.</i>	aromatic seed	<b>moxalif</b> <i>n.</i>	opponent
<b>māhn</b> <i>n.</i>	prohibition	<b>moyam</b> , also <b>moyum</b> <i>n.</i>	status
<b>mājbur ol-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be obliged	<b>muāddel</b> <i>n.</i>	a verage
<b>mājemā</b> <i>n.</i>	plate	<b>muāllem</b> <i>n.</i>	teacher
<b>mājnun</b> <i>n.</i>	maniac of love	<b>muārreflig</b> <i>n.</i>	presentation
<b>mākr</b> <i>n.</i>	cunning	<b>muārriflig ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to introduce
<b>māktāb &lt; māktābxanā</b> <i>n.</i>	Koranic school	<b>muāssešā</b> <i>n.</i>	establishment
<b>mālmālig</b> <i>n.</i>	lizard	<b>muamelā</b> <i>n.</i>	transaction, dealing
<b>māmā</b> <i>n.</i>	breast	<b>muddāt</b> <i>n.</i>	duration
<b>māmlākāt</b> <i>n.</i>	country	<b>muhāqeq</b> <i>n.</i>	researcher
<b>māmlākātदारlig</b> <i>n.</i>	governing a country	<b>mujab ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to assure, to convince
<b>māmnun</b> <i>n.</i>	grateful	<b>mujab ol-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be convinced
<b>mān pers. pron.</b>	I	<b>mujāvvez</b> <i>n.</i>	permission
<b>mānzel</b> <i>n.</i>	home	<b>mulk</b> , also <b>molk</b> <i>n.</i>	kingdom
<b>mānzur</b> <i>n.</i>	aim, goal, purpose	<b>mulla</b> also <b>molla</b> <i>n.</i>	clergyman
<b>māram</b> <i>n.</i>	principle	<b>multāfet</b> <i>n.</i>	attentive
<b>mārāz</b> <i>n.</i>	disease	<b>mūmkin</b> <i>n.</i>	possible
<b>mārdākā</b> <i>n.</i>	dirty guy	<b>munnār &lt; bullar</b> <i>pron.</i>	these
<b>mārez</b> <i>n.</i>	sick	<b>muntaha</b> <i>conj.</i>	but
<b>mārg</b> <i>n.</i>	death	<b>mūrāttāb</b> <i>adj.</i>	tidy
<b>mārhum</b> <i>n.</i>	late	<b>murāxās</b> <i>n.</i>	free, on leave
<b>mārż</b> <i>n.</i>	border	<b>musālman</b> <i>n.</i>	Muslim
<b>māsāl</b> <i>n.</i>	proverb, example	<b>mušgel &lt; moškel</b> <i>n.</i>	difficult; problem
<b>māsālān</b> , also <b>māsān</b> <i>adv.</i>	for example; as if	<b>musiqi</b> <i>n.</i>	music
<b>māšk</b> <i>n.</i>	goatskin	<b>musiqidan</b> <i>n.</i>	musician
<b>māskān</b> <i>v.</i>	habitat	<b>mustānād</b> <i>n.</i>	documented, proved
<b>māšyul</b> <i>n.</i>	occupied, busy	<b>muštārāk</b> <i>adj.</i>	common, shared
<b>mātāl de-</b> <i>v.</i>	to tell a tale	<b>muštāri</b> <i>n.</i>	customer
<b>mātin</b> <i>adj.</i>	steady	<b>mustāyim</b> <i>adj.</i>	right
<b>māxsusān</b> <i>adv.</i>	especially	<b>muxles</b> <i>n.</i>	sincere
<b>māzānnā</b> <i>adv.</i>	it seems that	<b>muzahīm</b> <i>n.</i>	intruder, troublemaker
<b>māyam</b> <i>n.</i>	a musical term	<b>muyayese</b> <i>n.</i>	comparison

# N

<b>nahar</b> <i>n.</i>	lunch	<b>nänni</b> <i>n.</i>	cradle
<b>nahlaĵ</b> <i>adj.</i>	miserable	<b>näqš</b> <i>n.</i>	defect
<b>nakara</b> < <b>näkarä</b> <i>qw.</i>	of which profession	<b>närm</b> <i>adj.</i>	soft
<b>nal-</b> <i>v.</i>	to groan	<b>närmeš</b> <i>n.</i>	exercise
<b>nalix-</b> <i>v.</i>	to groan	<b>näsihät</b> <i>n.</i>	advice
<b>namaz</b> <i>n.</i>	prayer	<b>näsl</b> <i>n.</i>	generation
<b>namonaseb</b> <i>adj.</i>	inapt, improper	<b>nävadä</b> <i>n.</i>	descendant
<b>naomîd</b> <i>adj.</i>	hopeless	<b>nävârd</b> < <b>näbârd</b> <i>n.</i>	battle
<b>naqara</b> <i>n.</i>	kettledrum	<b>nävazännä</b> <i>n.</i>	musician
<b>naqis</b> <i>adj.</i>	defective, imperfect	<b>näxšä</b> <i>n.</i>	map
<b>nar</b> <i>n.</i>	pomegranate	<b>näyçi</b> <i>qw.</i>	why
<b>narahät</b> <i>adj.</i>	upset, sad	<b>näye</b> , also <b>näyen</b> <i>qw.</i>	how
<b>narahätlig</b> <i>n.</i>	sadness	<b>näzâr</b> <i>n.</i>	opinion
<b>naränĵ</b> <i>n.</i>	sour orange	<b>ne</b> <i>qw.</i>	why
<b>namoväffäq</b> <i>adj.</i>	failed	<b>neččä</b> <i>qw.</i>	how many
<b>našta</b> <i>adj.</i>	on fast	<b>nesbät</b> <i>n.</i>	relation
<b>naštaliĵ</b> <i>n.</i>	breakfast	<b>nesfe šäb</b> <i>n.</i>	midnight
<b>nayad</b> , also <b>nayarza</b> <i>qw.</i>	how much	<b>nevar</b> <i>n.</i>	tape
<b>nayafel</b> <i>adv.</i>	suddenly	<b>ney</b> <i>n.</i>	flute
<b>nä</b> <i>qw.</i>	what	<b>neyçi</b> <i>n.</i>	flutist
<b>näfar</b> <i>n.</i>	person; a tribe in Fars	<b>neye häfbän</b> <i>n.</i>	kind of flute
<b>näfas</b> <i>n.</i>	breath	<b>nij ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	what to do
<b>nämänä</b> <i>qw.</i>	what	<b>nijä</b> <i>qw.</i>	how
<b>nämli</b> <i>adj.</i>	moist	<b>nim</b> <i>n.</i>	half
<b>nänä</b> <i>n.</i>	mother	<b>numrä</b> <i>n.</i>	number
<b>nänäbowa</b> <i>n.</i>	parents		

# O

<b>o</b> <i>pron.</i>	he/she	<b>ossur-</b> also <b>ostur-</b> <i>v.</i>	to fart
<b>o</b> , also <b>yo</b> <i>part.</i>	and	<b>ossuray</b> <i>n.</i>	flatus
<b>o biri</b> <i>pron.</i>	the other one	<b>ot</b> <i>n.</i>	grass; fire
<b>oba</b> <i>n.</i>	home, house	<b>otar-</b> <i>v.</i>	to graze
<b>odun</b> <i>n.</i>	firewood	<b>otay</b> , also <b>ottay</b> <i>adv.</i>	that side
<b>oĵay</b> <i>n.</i>	fire	<b>otla-</b> <i>v.</i>	to burn
<b>ol-</b> <i>v.</i>	to become	<b>ottuzaltî</b> <i>card. num.</i>	thirty-six
<b>olun-</b> <i>v.</i>	to give birth	<b>otur-</b> <i>v.</i>	to sit (down)
<b>omdä</b> <i>n.</i>	main, principal	<b>oturd-</b> <i>v.</i>	to plant up, make seat
<b>ömr</b> <i>n.</i>	life duration	<b>owan</b> < <b>oyan</b> <i>adv.</i>	that side
<b>on</b> <i>n.</i>	ten	<b>owd</b> <i>n.</i>	recrudescence
<b>onbeš</b> <i>card. num.</i>	fifteen	<b>owlad</b> <i>n.</i>	offspring
<b>onbir</b> <i>card. num.</i>	eleven	<b>owlad-</b> <i>v.</i>	to howl
<b>onderd</b> <i>card. num.</i>	fourteen	<b>owlan-</b> <i>v.</i>	be shattered
<b>ondoqquz</b> <i>card. num.</i>	nineteen	<b>owqat</b> <i>n.</i>	times, state
<b>oneddi</b> <i>card. num.</i>	seventeen	<b>owšä</b> <i>n.</i>	home, house
<b>onikki</b> <i>card. num.</i>	twelve	<b>owsar</b> <i>n.</i>	bridle
<b>onlar</b> , also <b>onnär</b> <i>pron.</i>	they	<b>owšum</b> <i>n.</i>	thyme
<b>onna</b> <i>adv.</i>	then	<b>owyarlîg</b> <i>n.</i>	irrigation
<b>onnaltî</b> <i>card. num.</i>	six-teen	<b>owza ähval</b> <i>n.</i>	situation
<b>onnuč</b> <i>card. num.</i>	thirteen	<b>oxšä-</b> <i>v.</i>	fondle, caress
<b>onsäkkiz</b> <i>card. num.</i>	eighteen	<b>oxu-</b> <i>v.</i>	read, study
<b>oĵarza</b> , also <b>oĵad</b> <i>adv.</i>	as, as much	<b>oy itĵ.</b>	oh
<b>oĵul</b> , also <b>oĵlan</b> <i>n.</i>	son, boy	<b>oyan-</b> <i>v.</i>	to wake up
<b>oĵun-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be turned	<b>oyannîr-</b> <i>v.</i>	awaken
<b>oĵunnur-</b> <i>v.</i>	to turn	<b>oyäy</b> <i>adj.</i>	awaken
<b>oĵurla-</b> <i>v.</i>	to steal	<b>oygä</b> <i>n.</i>	tent-home, house
<b>oĵuru</b> <i>n.</i>	thief	<b>oyiz</b> <i>adv.</i>	other side (face)
<b>ora</b> , also <b>orada</b> , <b>orda</b> <i>adv.</i>	there	<b>oyna-</b> <i>v.</i>	to play, to dance
<b>ornay</b> , also <b>yornay</b> <i>adj.</i>	tired	<b>oynad-</b> <i>v.</i>	to make someone dance (play)
<b>orta</b> <i>adv.</i>	middle	<b>oynadma</b> <i>n.</i>	play; dance
<b>ortadan ged-</b> <i>v.</i>	to disappear	<b>oyun</b> <i>n.</i>	dance; play
<b>oryan</b> <i>adj.</i>	naked	<b>öz</b> <i>n.</i>	self

# P

<b>pabārja</b> <i>adj.</i>	firm, established	<b>päsin</b> <i>n.</i>	afternoon
<b>pabārja ol-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be firm	<b>päxš ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to distribute
<b>padišah</b> <i>n.</i>	king	<b>pellä</b> <i>n.</i>	stairs
<b>paltow</b> <i>n.</i>	overcoat	<b>pery</b> <i>n.</i>	stick
<b>pamal</b> <i>adj.</i>	overridden, oppressed, annihilated	<b>pes</b> <i>adj.</i>	bad
<b>para</b> <i>n.</i>	part	<b>pesäranä</b> <i>adj.</i>	of boys
<b>patil</b> <i>n.</i>	cauldron	<b>peykinnä ol-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be on the lookout (for somebody)
<b>payiz</b> <i>n.</i>	fall	<b>peylä-</b> <i>v.</i>	to trace
<b>pählä</b> <i>n.</i>	hillside	<b>piši</b> <i>n.</i>	cat
<b>pählävan</b> <i>n.</i>	champion	<b>piškar</b> <i>n.</i>	servant
<b>pähle</b> <i>n.</i>	side	<b>pišräft</b> <i>n.</i>	progress
<b>pähn</b> <i>adj.</i>	wide	<b>pištow</b> <i>n.</i>	revolver
<b>päjuhešgär</b> <i>n.</i>	researcher	<b>pišuft</b> <i>n.</i>	crypt
<b>pälä</b> <i>n.</i>	mosquito	<b>piy</b> <i>n.</i>	grease
<b>pämmä</b> <i>n.</i>	cotton	<b>piyadä</b> <i>adj.</i>	pedestrian, on foot
<b>pänah</b> <i>n.</i>	shelter	<b>piyli</b> <i>adj.</i>	fat, greasy
<b>pänjom</b> <i>ord. num. P.</i>	fifth	<b>puk</b> <i>adj.</i>	hollow
<b>pänšämbe</b> <i>n.</i>	Thursday	<b>pul</b> <i>n.</i>	money
<b>pärännä</b> <i>n.</i>	bird	<b>pušan</b> <i>n.</i>	bedding set
<b>päs</b> <i>adv.</i>	then	<b>pušt</b> <i>n.</i>	back, behind

# Q

<b>qab</b> <i>n.</i>	photo frame	<b>qer-</b> <i>v.</i>	to break
<b>qaba</b> <i>n.</i>	garment	<b>qeran</b> <i>adj.</i>	an Iranian currency (obs.)
<b>qablamä</b> <i>n.</i>	pan	<b>qermeze, also qirmizi</b> <i>adj.</i>	red
<b>qač, also qaš</b> <i>n.</i>	slice	<b>qešlaq, also qišlaq</b> <i>n.</i>	winter zone
<b>qačaq</b> <i>n.</i>	contraband	<b>qesmäť</b> <i>n.</i>	part, destiny
<b>qad- (qat-)</b> <i>v.</i>	to insert, to put in	<b>qessä</b> <i>n.</i>	story, novel
<b>qafelä</b> <i>n.</i>	convoy	<b>qesser</b> <i>adj.</i>	barren
<b>qafil</b> <i>adj.</i>	careless, negligent	<b>qesser čix-</b> <i>v.</i>	to have a narrow escape (a close call)
<b>qafiyä</b> <i>n.</i>	rhyme	<b>qeyb</b>	invisible
<b>qal-</b> <i>v.</i>	to remain; to stay	<b>qeyb ol-</b>	to disappear
<b>qan</b> <i>n.</i>	blood	<b>qeyr</b>	other one; negation mark
<b>qanat</b> <i>n.</i>	wing	<b>qez, also qiz</b> <i>n.</i>	girl, daughter
<b>qap-</b> <i>v.</i>	to catch	<b>qezel, also qizil</b> <i>adj.</i>	red, golden
<b>qapı</b> <i>n.</i>	porch, door	<b>qif</b> <i>n.</i>	funnel
<b>qar</b> <i>n.</i>	snow	<b>qiš, also qeš</b> <i>n.</i>	winter
<b>qarim</b> <i>n.</i>	moat	<b>qit'a</b> <i>n.</i>	piece
<b>qarn</b> <i>n.</i>	stomach	<b>qiy-</b> <i>v.</i>	to show generosity
<b>qarpiz</b> <i>n.</i>	watermelon	<b>qiyamät</b> <i>n.</i>	resurrection
<b>qaš</b> <i>n.</i>	animal pen; slice; eyebrow	<b>qiyiy</b> <i>n.</i>	dung (of sheep, goat, and camel)
<b>qaššiq</b> <i>n.</i>	spoon	<b>qiziralı &lt; qizil arrı</b> <i>n.</i>	wasp
<b>qaym</b> <i>n.</i>	hidden	<b>qo-, also qoy-</b> <i>v.</i>	put, place, allow, let, stop
<b>qaym ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to hide; to bury	<b>qojä</b> <i>adj.</i>	oldman
<b>qaz-</b> <i>v.</i>	to tear off, to root out	<b>qol</b> <i>n.</i>	arm
<b>qazı</b> <i>adj.</i>	judge	<b>qolf &lt; qofl</b> <i>n.</i>	lock
<b>qazmä</b> <i>n.</i>	pickaxe	<b>qolf ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to lock
<b>qäbl</b> <i>adv.</i>	before	<b>qomaš</b> <i>n.</i>	kind of fabric
<b>qäbul ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to accept, to agree	<b>qon-</b> <i>v.</i>	to perch, to land
<b>qäč-, also qäč-</b> <i>v.</i>	to run, to flee	<b>qonay</b> <i>n.</i>	guest, visitor
<b>qäčird-</b> <i>v.</i>	to make run, to make escape	<b>qonaylıy</b> <i>n.</i>	reception
<b>qädäyän</b> <i>n.</i>	forbidden	<b>qonšu</b> <i>n.</i>	neighbour
<b>qädim</b> <i>adv.</i>	in the past	<b>qop-</b> <i>v.</i>	to depart (of a herd)
<b>qädimoläyyam</b> <i>phr.</i>	old days	<b>qoran</b> <i>n.</i>	Quran
<b>qählä</b> <i>n.</i>	castle	<b>qorbät</b> <i>n.</i>	gypsy; foreign country
<b>qälb</b> <i>n.</i>	heart	<b>qoruy</b> <i>n.</i>	set aside
<b>qällän</b> <i>adv.</i>	a little	<b>qorx-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be afraid of, fear
<b>qällänešin</b> <i>adj.</i>	tenant	<b>qorxmäli</b> <i>adj.</i>	frightening
<b>qämeš</b> <i>n.</i>	reed	<b>qorxu</b> <i>n.</i>	fear, panic

<b>qännat</b> <i>n.</i>	aqueduct	<b>qow-</b> <i>v.</i>	to chase after
<b>qārā</b> <i>n.</i>	black	<b>qowl</b> <i>n.</i>	promise
<b>qārā ayač</b> <i>n.</i>	witch-hazel; a river which crosses Fars province on its way to Persian Gulf	<b>qowun</b> <i>n.</i>	melon
<b>qārābejik</b> <i>n.</i>	beetle	<b>qowzan-</b> <i>v.</i>	to get up, rise
<b>qārar</b> <i>n.</i>	promise	<b>qoyun</b> <i>n.</i>	sheep
<b>qāray (qīray)</b> <i>n.</i>	side, corner	<b>qoz</b> <i>n.</i>	walnut
<b>qārayā gāl-</b> <i>v.</i>	to come to an accommodation, to tolerate	<b>qudrāt</b> <i>n.</i>	power
<b>qārāñi</b> <i>n.</i>	darkness	<b>qujāy</b> <i>n.</i>	hug
<b>qārb</b> <i>n.</i>	west	<b>qulay</b> <i>n.</i>	ear
<b>qāriši</b> <i>adj.</i>	mixed	<b>qulay as-</b> <i>v.</i>	to listen
<b>qārqa wol</b> <i>n.</i>	pheasant	<b>quldur</b> <i>adj.</i>	bully
<b>qārri</b> <i>adj.</i>	old woman	<b>qulluy</b> <i>n.</i>	1. service 2. favour
<b>qārši</b> <i>adv.</i>	in front (of), opposite	<b>qulun</b> <i>n.</i>	foal
<b>qāšāñ</b> <i>adj.</i>	beautiful, pretty	<b>qulunj</b> <i>n.</i> & <i>adv.</i>	back, shoulder
<b>qāšāñjā</b> <i>adj.</i>	prettily	<b>qum</b> <i>n.</i>	sand
<b>qāšāñlig</b> <i>n.</i>	beauty	<b>qumlig</b> <i>n.</i>	sandy place
<b>qasr</b> , also <b>qārs</b> <i>n.</i>	palace	<b>qumqummāg</b> <i>n.</i>	chameleon
<b>qäss &lt; qäsd</b> <i>n.</i>	goal	<b>qurban</b> <i>n.</i>	sacrificed, the holy month of Hajj pilgrimage
<b>qātar</b> <i>n.</i>	row, train	<b>qurd</b> <i>n.</i>	worm; wolf
<b>qätteq</b> <i>n.</i>	yoghurt	<b>qurru</b> <i>adj.</i>	arid, dry
<b>qāyir-</b> , also <b>qayir-</b> <i>v.</i>	to construct, to build	<b>qurru-</b> <i>v.</i>	to dry up, to wither
<b>qāylan &lt; qālyan</b> <i>n.</i>	hookah	<b>quš</b> <i>n.</i>	bird
<b>qāymay</b> <i>n.</i>	cream, clotted cream	<b>qus-</b> <i>v.</i>	to vomit
<b>qāynä-</b> <i>v.</i>	to boil	<b>quyruq</b> <i>n.</i>	tail
<b>qāza</b> <i>n.</i>	food	<b>quyu</b> <i>n.</i>	well
<b>qāzāl</b> <i>n.</i>	sonnet	<b>quyuli qu</b> <i>itj.</i>	cock-a-doodle-doo
<b>qeč</b> , also <b>qič</b> <i>n.</i>	foot		

## R

<b>rahat</b> <i>adj.</i>	comfortable, easy	<b>räxtexab</b> <i>n.</i>	bed
<b>rahnemalig</b> <i>n.</i>	guidance	<b>räy</b> <i>n.</i>	rock
<b>rass &lt; rast</b> <i>adj.</i>	right, correct, vertical	<b>rāñ</b> <i>n.</i>	dye
<b>rād</b> <i>n.</i>	trace	<b>reis</b> <i>n.</i>	boss
<b>rād ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to pass	<b>rišā</b> <i>n.</i>	root
<b>rād ol-</b> <i>v.</i>	to cross	<b>ritm</b> <i>n.</i>	rhythm
<b>rādif</b> <i>n.</i>	row	<b>riyazi (riyaziyat)</b> <i>n.</i>	mathematics
<b>rāhmāt</b> <i>n.</i>	mercifulness	<b>riz (rizā)</b> <i>adj.</i>	small, little
<b>rāqām</b> <i>n.</i>	number	<b>rob</b> <i>n.</i>	a quarter
<b>rāqs</b> <i>n.</i>	dance	<b>row ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to move
<b>rāsidālig ed-</b> <i>n.</i>	to take care	<b>rowšānzāmīr</b> <i>adj.</i>	illuminate, broad-minded
<b>rāsm</b> <i>n.</i>	tradition	<b>rub</b> <i>n.</i>	sauce
<b>rāsmi</b> <i>adj.</i>	official	<b>ruhi</b> <i>adj.</i>	spiritual, mental
<b>rāvayāt</b> <i>n.</i>	narration, testimony	<b>ruzā</b> <i>n.</i>	fast
<b>rāvayāt ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to tell	<b>ruzegar</b> <i>n.</i>	time, situation
<b>räxt</b> <i>n.</i>	clothes	<b>ruzu &lt; ruzi</b> <i>n.</i>	daily revenue

## S

<b>saat</b> <i>n.</i>	hour, watch	<b>säxtlig</b> <i>n.</i>	hardness
<b>saba</b> <i>n.</i>	tomorrow	<b>säyyat</b> <i>n.</i>	hunter
<b>sač</b> <i>n.</i>	braid	<b>segah</b> <i>n.</i>	an Iranian tune
<b>sahib</b> <i>n.</i>	owner	<b>segid &lt; sögüt</b> <i>n.</i>	willow
<b>saļ</b> <i>n.</i>	thin convex iron plate which the Qashqai use to bake bread	<b>sek-</b> <i>v.</i>	to skin, flay (of an animal)
<b>säkkiz</b> <i>card. num.</i>	eight	<b>selkälä-</b> <i>v.</i>	to shake off
<b>sal-</b> <i>v.</i>	to hang, make (for bed), put on (for jewellery)	<b>senn</b> <i>n.</i>	age
<b>salam</b> <i>n.</i>	hello	<b>seper-</b> <i>v.</i>	to sweep
<b>salīm</b> <i>adj.</i>	healthy	<b>seyer</b> <i>n.</i>	cow
<b>saman</b> <i>n.</i>	chopped straw, pug	<b>serrin-</b> <i>v.</i>	to slide

<b>saq</b> <i>adj.</i>	right, healthy	<b>serten-</b> , also <b>sertin-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be rubbed
<b>sarard-</b> <i>v.</i>	to turn yellow	<b>setām</b> <i>n.</i>	oppression; injustice
<b>sarī</b> <i>adj. postp.</i>	yellow, towards	<b>setar</b> <i>n.</i>	an Iranian musical instrument
<b>sarīdarman</b> <i>n.</i>	turmeric	<b>seviš-</b> <i>v.</i>	move on belly, move on hands and knees, move slowly
<b>sat-</b> <i>v.</i>	to sell	<b>sex-</b> <i>v.</i>	to press
<b>saxla-</b> , also <b>saxlad-</b> <i>v.</i>	to keep	<b>seyiš</b> <i>n.</i>	curse, insult, swear-word
<b>say-</b> <i>v.</i>	to count	<b>seyiš ver-</b> <i>v.</i>	to curse, to insult
<b>saz</b> <i>n.</i>	music instrument	<b>seylangah</b> < <b>sāyr o negah</b> <i>n.</i>	contemplation
<b>saz o nayāra</b> <i>n.</i>	trumpet-and-kettledrum	<b>sez</b> < <b>söz</b> <i>n.</i>	word, speech
<b>sazī-</b> <i>v.</i>	to agree on	<b>sibil</b> <i>n.</i>	moustache
<b>sāč-</b> <i>v.</i>	to select	<b>sič-</b> <i>v.</i>	to defecate
<b>sāf</b> <i>n.</i>	row, rank	<b>sid</b> < <b>süt</b> <i>n.</i>	milk
<b>sāfa</b> <i>n.</i>	purity	<b>siḡay</b> <i>n.</i>	heat
<b>sāfār</b> <i>n.</i>	time	<b>sik</b> <i>n.</i>	penis
<b>sāhār</b> <i>n.</i>	tomorrow	<b>sim</b> <i>n.</i>	wire
<b>sāhārgah</b> <i>n.</i>	dawn	<b>sin-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be broken
<b>sāhfā qoy-</b> <i>v.</i>	to slander, to defame	<b>siniq</b> <i>adj.</i>	broken
<b>sāhrāquley</b> <i>adv.</i>	at dawn	<b>sinnir-</b> <i>v.</i>	to break
<b>sālis</b> <i>adj.</i>	clear	<b>sir-</b> <i>v.</i>	to drive
<b>sān</b> <i>pron.</i>	you	<b>siri</b> < <b>sürü</b> <i>n.</i>	herd, flock
<b>sānā</b> <i>n.</i>	year	<b>siz</b> <i>pron.</i>	you (pl.)
<b>sāp-</b> <i>v.</i>	to sprinkle, to sow	<b>siz-</b> <i>v.</i>	to filter
<b>sāqqāl</b> <i>n.</i>	beard	<b>sizmā</b> <i>n.</i>	filter
<b>sāqqāt ol-</b> <i>v.</i>	to perish (of animals)	<b>soal</b> <i>n.</i>	question
<b>sār-</b> <i>v.</i>	to spread, hang (something) out	<b>sobgah</b> <i>n.</i>	dawn; morning call
<b>sārāndārpa</b> <i>phr.</i>	from head to foot	<b>sora</b> <i>postp.</i>	after; later; subsequently
<b>sārānjam</b> <i>n., adv.</i>	end; finally	<b>sowar-</b> <i>v.</i>	to water (animals and plants)
<b>sārgozāšt</b> <i>n.</i>	biography	<b>sowuy</b> <i>n.</i>	cold
<b>sārhād</b> <i>n.</i>	summer zone, border	<b>soy</b> <i>n.</i>	lineage
<b>sārhād-gārmāsir</b> <i>n.</i>	seasonal migration	<b>soy sir-</b> <i>v.</i>	to trace back one's familial origin
<b>sārjowqā</b> <i>n.</i>	private first-class	<b>soyan</b> <i>n.</i>	onion
<b>sāy</b> <i>n.</i>	effort	<b>sözlüg</b> <i>n.</i>	dictionary
<b>sārzāneš</b> <i>n.</i>	reproach	<b>su</b> <i>n.</i>	water
<b>sās</b> <i>n.</i>	sound, voice	<b>surna</b> <i>n.</i>	hornpipe
<b>sāslān-</b> <i>v.</i>	to call	<b>suyuz</b> <i>adj.</i>	thirsty
<b>sāvad</b> <i>n.</i>	literacy		

## Š

<b>šāāf</b> <i>n.</i>	joy, rapture	<b>šāxs</b> <i>n.</i>	person
<b>šaer</b> <i>n.</i>	poet	<b>šāxsi</b> <i>adj.</i>	personal
<b>šaad (šayād)</b> <i>adv.</i>	perhaps	<b>šayād</b> , also <b>šaad</b> <i>adv.</i>	maybe, perhaps
<b>šādid</b> <i>adj.</i>	forcible, intense	<b>šayestā</b> <i>adj.</i>	who deserves
<b>šāfāq</b> <i>n.</i>	twilight	<b>šeer</b> < <b>še'r</b> <i>n.</i>	poetry, poem
<b>šah</b> <i>n.</i>	king	<b>šeer yaz-</b> <i>v.</i>	to write poem
<b>šāhn</b> <i>n.</i>	dignity	<b>šekl</b> <i>n.</i>	form
<b>šahnamā</b> <i>n.</i>	Shahnameh	<b>šer</b> <i>n.</i>	lion
<b>šahnum</b> <i>n.</i>	angel	<b>šerkāt</b> <i>n.</i>	company
<b>šāhr</b> <i>n.</i>	town	<b>šeyda</b> <i>adj.</i>	charming
<b>šāhr</b> <i>n.</i>	city	<b>šeypur</b> <i>n.</i>	horn, trumpet
<b>šāhrāk</b> <i>n.</i>	residential complex	<b>šeytan</b> <i>n.</i>	Satan
<b>šāhrdari</b> <i>n.</i>	municipality	<b>šeyx</b> <i>n.</i>	mullah
<b>šāhri</b> <i>adj.</i>	urban; town-dweller	<b>šifti</b> <i>adj.</i>	alternative
<b>šāhrivār</b> <i>n.</i>	the sixth month of Iranian calendar	<b>šikāft</b> , also <b>šekāft</b> <i>n.</i>	cave
<b>šāhrnešin</b> <i>n.</i>	city-dweller	<b>šikal</b> <i>n.</i>	game
<b>šahxātayi</b> <i>n.</i>	a type of folk poetry	<b>šināsnamā</b> <i>n.</i>	identification card
<b>šam</b> <i>n.</i>	evening, night; Levant	<b>širā</b> <i>n.</i>	sap, molasses
<b>šāmal</b> <i>n.</i>	north	<b>šiš</b> <i>adj.</i>	swollen



šamīl <i>n.</i>	containing	šivā <i>n.</i>	method, habitude
šāq <i>adj.</i>	erect, tough, stout	šivān <i>n.</i>	whimper
šāqqā <i>n.</i>	split	šivānjā <i>n.</i>	mourning
šāqqā ed- <i>v.</i>	to split	šoolā <i>n.</i>	flame, flare
šāqqulad- <i>v.</i>	to make a big noise	šor <i>adj.</i>	salty
šārab <i>n.</i>	wine	šowq <i>n.</i>	zeal, fervency
šārḥ <i>n.</i>	explanation	šowr (šowr o kowr) ed- <i>v.</i>	to deliberate
šārq <i>n.</i>	East	šoyl <i>n.</i>	profession, job
šārt <i>n.</i>	condition; bet	šükür <i>n.</i>	gratitude
šārtbānlig <i>n.</i>	betting	šulluy <i>n.</i>	noise, disturbance
šašbānn <i>n.</i>	urinary retention	šumarā <i>n.</i>	number
šāst <i>n.</i>	thumb	šuru <i>n.</i>	beginning
šaxa <i>n.</i>	branch	šuru ed- <i>v.</i>	to start

## T

taĵikī <i>adj.</i>	Persian (non-Turkic)	tāšākkor ed- <i>v.</i>	to thank
talā <i>n.</i>	branch	tāšbih <i>n.</i>	simile
tamaša ed- <i>v.</i>	to watch	tāšbih ed- <i>v.</i>	to resemble
tamdar <i>n.</i>	carpet loom	tāsnif <i>n.</i>	melody
tā, also ta <i>part.</i>	in order to	tāšt <i>n.</i>	basin
tāābid <i>n.</i>	exile	tāvājĵoh <i>n.</i>	attention
tāābir ol- <i>v.</i>	to come true (of a dream)	tāvāllod <i>n.</i>	birth
tāāhod <i>n.</i>	commitment	tāxāssos <i>n.</i>	speciality
tāārif <i>n.</i>	compliment	tāxtā <i>n.</i>	plank
tāāssub <i>n.</i>	zeal	tāyen, also tāyin <i>postp.</i>	like
tāātil <i>n.</i>	holiday	tāyid ed- <i>v.</i>	to prove
tābāqā <i>n.</i>	floor, level	tāyāyā < tāqiyā <i>n.</i>	reservation
tābārzin <i>n.</i>	halberd of dervish	tāyāzzoli <i>adj.</i>	lyric
tābi'āt <i>n.</i>	nature	tāṇdāslig <i>n.</i>	poverty
tābii <i>adj.</i>	natural	tefāṇ < tüfāṇ <i>n.</i>	gun
tāfavot <i>n.</i>	difference	tek- < tök- <i>v.</i>	to pour, to scatter, to serve
tāfriḥ <i>n.</i>	fun	tekil- <i>v.</i>	to be poured
tāfsil <i>n.</i>	details	tekišdir- <i>v.</i>	to make a search
tāglef <i>n.</i>	the right thing to do, duty	tel <i>n.</i>	hair
tāḥ <i>n.</i>	bottom, end	tela <i>n.</i>	gold
tāhlil <i>n.</i>	analysis	tez <i>adv.</i>	soon, rapid
tāhna < tānha <i>adj.</i>	alone	tifir- (tüfür-) <i>v.</i>	to spit
tāhqiq <i>n.</i>	research	tik- < tük- <i>v.</i>	to sow
tāhqiq ed- <i>v.</i>	to make research	tik < tük <i>n.</i>	hair
tāhr <i>n.</i>	mode, manner	tikān- < tükān <i>v.</i>	to be finished
tāhsilat <i>n.</i>	studies	tikil- < tükül- <i>v.</i>	to be sown
tāhsilkārde <i>adj.</i>	educated	tikkā <i>n.</i>	piece
tāhvīl <i>n.</i>	rendition, delivery	tilki < tülkü <i>n.</i>	fox
tāĵziā <i>n.</i>	analysis; breakdown	tirā <i>n.</i>	subtribe
tāk <i>adj.</i>	alone, sole, unique	tit < tüt <i>n.</i>	smoke
tākin <i>postp.</i>	like as	titirā- <i>v.</i>	to chill
tākĵā <i>adj.</i>	sole	titirdmä <i>n.</i>	shiver
tākkā <i>n.</i>	support	tiy <i>n.</i>	blade, razor; thorn; crest (of a mountain)
tālaq <i>n.</i>	divorce	tonlig <i>n.</i>	acerbity
tālḥ <i>adj.</i>	bitter	tonn <i>adj.</i>	spicy, pungent
tāmam <i>adv.</i>	finished, accomplished	top <i>n.</i>	ball; peak
tāmiz <i>adj.</i>	clean	topančā <i>n.</i>	pistol
tāmmāl <i>adj.</i>	lazy	torbā <i>n.</i>	knapsack
tānāf <i>n.</i>	tent-rope	torpay <i>n.</i>	soil, dust
tāner < tānur <i>n.</i>	oven	torraĵ <i>n.</i>	francolin
tānī- <i>v.</i>	to recognize	tošā <i>n.</i>	supplies
tappī <i>n.</i>	kind of bread	towalā- <i>v.</i>	to roll
tar <i>n.</i>	kind of lute	towlan- <i>v.</i>	to be turned
tari <i>n.</i>	God	towr <i>n.</i>	manner
tarīx <i>n.</i>	history	towsan <i>n.</i>	summer
tas <i>adj.</i>	bald	towuy <i>n.</i>	hen, chicken
tat <i>n.</i>	non-Turk, Persian	tox <i>n.</i>	stuffed, satiated

<b>tayčä</b> <i>n.</i>	niche	<b>toxmaq</b> <i>n.</i>	mallet
<b>tay</b> <i>n.</i>	peer	<b>toy</b> <i>n.</i>	wedding
<b>tayä</b> <i>n.</i>	nanny	<b>toz</b> <i>n.</i>	dust
<b>tayfä</b> <i>n.</i>	tribe	<b>tükkä</b> <i>n.</i>	drop
<b>tazzä</b> <i>adj.</i>	new	<b>tulanı</b> <i>adj.</i>	long
<b>tänzim</b> <i>n.</i>	adjustment	<b>tumman</b> <i>n.</i>	traditional pants
<b>täp</b> <i>n.</i>	knot (a term of weaving)	<b>tur</b> <i>n.</i>	net
<b>täpig</b> <i>n.</i>	kick	<b>tur-</b> , also <b>dur-</b> <i>v.</i>	to stand up; to stay
<b>täqdir</b> <i>n.</i>	destiny	<b>türki</b> <i>adj.</i>	Turkic
<b>täqribän</b> <i>adv.</i>	approximately	<b>türkiyat</b> <i>n.</i>	Turkic-speaking people
<b>täräddud</b> <i>n.</i>	traffic	<b>turub</b> <i>n.</i>	radish
<b>täräf</b> <i>n.</i>	side	<b>tuşuläd-</b> <i>v.</i>	to boo
<b>täranä</b> <i>n.</i>	song	<b>tut-</b> , also <b>tud-</b> <i>v.</i>	to catch
<b>tärlä-</b> <i>v.</i>	to sweat	<b>tutul-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be caught
<b>täsäddoq</b> <i>n.</i>	charity	<b>tutul-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be caught
<b>täşäkkor</b> <i>n.</i>	acknowledgement, thanks		

## U

<b>uç</b> , also <b>uş</b> <i>card. num.</i>	three	<b>uşay</b> <i>n.</i>	baby, child
<b>uç-</b> , also <b>uş-</b> <i>v.</i>	to fly	<b>uşaylı</b> <i>adj.</i>	pregnant
<b>udum</b> <i>n.</i>	magic or spiritual power	<b>uşaylıg</b> <i>n.</i>	childhood
<b>uffey</b> <i>itj.</i>	interjection	<b>ustan</b> <i>n.</i>	province
<b>uj</b> <i>n.</i>	end, the hollow of one's hand	<b>utaq</b> <i>n.</i>	room
<b>uja</b> <i>adj.</i>	tall, high	<b>uxarı</b> <i>adv.</i>	up, above
<b>ukalä-</b> <i>v.</i>	to rub	<b>uzan-</b> <i>v.</i>	to lie
<b>ulduz</b> , also <b>ulluz</b> <i>n.</i>	star	<b>uzay</b> <i>n.</i>	long, far away
<b>un</b> <i>n.</i>	flour	<b>uzun</b> <i>n.</i>	long
<b>unut-</b> <i>v.</i>	to forget		

## Ü

<b>ümüt</b> <i>n.</i>	hope	<b>üss &lt; üst</b> <i>adv.</i>	on, upon
<b>üräg</b> <i>n.</i>	heart		

## V

<b>vallä</b> <i>phr.</i>	swear to God	<b>väli</b> <i>conj.</i>	but
<b>välm</b> <i>adv.</i>	firmly, effectively	<b>väräg</b> , also <b>bäräk</b> <i>n.</i>	ambushe
<b>vayeän</b> <i>adv.</i>	really	<b>värzeş</b> <i>n.</i>	sport
<b>vayei</b> <i>adj.</i>	real	<b>väsi</b> <i>adj.</i>	vast, spacious
<b>var</b> <i>cop.</i>	existing	<b>växt &lt; väqt</b> <i>n.</i>	time
<b>var-</b> <i>v.</i>	to go (obs.)	<b>växti &lt; väqti</b> <i>adv.</i>	while, when
<b>varı</b> <i>deter.</i>	all	<b>väzer &lt; väzir</b> <i>n.</i>	minister
<b>varikäs</b> <i>pron.</i>	everyone	<b>väzn</b> <i>n.</i>	weight
<b>varımız</b> <i>pron.</i>	all of us	<b>ver-</b> <i>v.</i>	to give
<b>varıñız</b> <i>pron.</i>	all of you	<b>vill &lt; vel</b> <i>adj.</i>	free
<b>vava</b> <i>n.</i>	cholera	<b>vill ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to make or to set free; to let go; to abandon
<b>vayalı</b> <i>adj.</i>	envious, eager	<b>vill ol-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be abandoned; to be set free
<b>väädä</b> , also <b>vähdä</b> <i>n.</i>	promise; meeting point	<b>vıyalon</b> <i>n.</i>	violin
<b>vähz</b> <i>n.</i>	situation	<b>vur-</b> <i>v.</i>	to beat; to strike
<b>vähşi</b> <i>adj.</i>	wild		

## X

<b>xaftan</b> <i>n.</i>	waistband	<b>xärj</b> <i>n.</i>	expense
<b>xaheş ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to beg	<b>xertopert</b> <i>n.</i>	odds and ends
<b>xalı</b> <i>adj.</i>	empty	<b>xeyr</b> <i>part. &amp; n.</i>	no; benefits
<b>xalış</b> <i>adj.</i>	pure	<b>xiş</b> <i>n.</i>	plow
<b>xamuş</b> <i>adj.</i>	turned off, off, extinct	<b>xoda</b> <i>n.</i>	God
<b>xan</b> <i>n.</i>	khan, title for the head of a tribe	<b>xodalıq</b> <i>n.</i>	Godship
<b>xanändä</b> <i>n.</i>	singer	<b>xodaya</b> <i>phr.</i>	O God
<b>xanevadä</b> <i>n.</i>	family	<b>xolasä</b> <i>adv.</i>	in brief, in short
<b>xanıim</b> <i>n.</i>	Missus (title for women)	<b>xorä</b> <i>n.</i>	leprosy
<b>xanzadä</b> <i>n.</i>	son or daughter of a khan	<b>xorjin</b> <i>n.</i>	saddlebag
<b>xarejä</b> <i>n.</i>	abroad	<b>xoš</b> <i>adj.</i>	pleasant, nice
<b>xatemä</b> <i>n.</i>	end	<b>xoš ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to have fun
<b>xater</b> <i>n.</i>	memory, mind; sake	<b>xošal &lt; xoşhal</b> <i>adj.</i>	happy

<b>xaterä</b> <i>n.</i>	memories	<b>xořallıg</b> <i>n.</i>	happiness
<b>xaw</b> < <b>xab</b> <i>n.</i>	texture (of a carpet)	<b>xořmāzzā</b> <i>adj.</i>	delicious
<b>xābār</b> <i>n.</i>	news	<b>xub (xob)</b> <i>adj., adv.</i>	good, nice, fine
<b>xāfā</b> <i>adj.</i>	suffocate	<b>xub ol-</b> <i>v.</i>	to get better; to be cured
<b>xāhlāt</b> < <b>xāl'āt</b> <i>n.</i>	robe-of-honour	<b>xurag</b> <i>n.</i>	meal, food
<b>xālafkar</b> <i>adj.</i>	wrongdoer	<b>xurdā</b> <i>n.</i>	bit
<b>xālx</b> <i>n.</i>	people	<b>xurmā</b> <i>n.</i>	date
<b>xārab</b> <i>adj.</i>	broken down, destroyed	<b>xurus</b> <i>n.</i>	rooster
<b>xārab ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to break down, to destroy	<b>xususiyat</b> <i>n.</i>	characteristics
<b>xārbozā</b> <i>n.</i>	melon		

## Y

<b>ya</b> <i>conj.</i>	or	<b>yaylı</b> <i>adj.</i>	oily
<b>yad</b> <i>n.</i>	memory, mind	<b>yaylıq</b> <i>n.</i>	kerchief
<b>yada sal-</b> <i>v.</i>	to remember	<b>yaylıq tegmā</b> <i>n.</i>	kind of Qashqai dance
<b>yal</b> <i>n.</i>	hill	<b>yāxen</b> , also <b>yāxin</b> <i>adv.</i>	near, close
<b>yalā-</b> <i>v.</i>	to lick	<b>ye-</b> <i>v.</i>	eat
<b>yalan</b> <i>n.</i>	lie	<b>yeddi</b> , also <b>eddi</b> <i>card. num.</i>	seven
<b>yalaq</b> <i>n.</i>	trough	<b>yel</b> <i>n.</i>	wind
<b>yalıñqız</b> <i>adj.</i>	alone	<b>yemāli</b> <i>n.</i>	food
<b>yaman</b> <i>n.</i>	bad, misfortune, tremendous	<b>yer</b> <i>n.</i>	earth, place
<b>yan</b> <i>n.</i>	side	<b>yetir-</b> <i>v.</i>	to arrive
<b>yan-</b> <i>v.</i>	to burn, burn down	<b>yeytār</b> <i>adj.</i>	better
<b>yanı</b> , also <b>yähni</b> <i>plur.</i>	it means	<b>yeñil</b> <i>n.</i>	next year
<b>yannır-</b> <i>v.</i>	to burn	<b>yīgīn</b> <i>n.</i>	tamarisk
<b>yapış-</b> <i>v.</i>	to stick	<b>yırlā-</b> , also <b>ırlā-</b> <i>v.</i>	to sing
<b>yar</b> <i>n.</i>	friend, beloved	<b>yıt</b> , also <b>it</b> <i>n.</i>	dog
<b>yara</b> <i>n.</i>	1. wound 2. between	<b>yıxıl-</b> , also <b>ixil-</b> <i>v.</i>	to collapse
<b>yarad-</b> <i>v.</i>	to create	<b>yıy-</b> , also <b>iy-</b> <i>v.</i>	to collect
<b>yaralandır-</b> <i>v.</i>	to wound	<b>yıyıştır-</b> <i>v.</i>	to collect
<b>yarı (yarım)</b> <i>n.</i>	half	<b>yol</b> <i>n.</i>	road
<b>yaş</b> <i>n.</i> & <i>adj.</i>	1. age 2. eye tears 3. wet 4. fresh	<b>yol gezlā-</b> <i>v.</i>	to watch the road
<b>yaşıl</b> <i>adj.</i>	green	<b>yolla-</b> <i>v.</i>	to send
<b>yaşlı</b> <i>adj.</i>	aged	<b>yollaş</b> <i>n.</i>	1. companion 2. friend
<b>yat-</b> <i>v.</i>	to sleep	<b>yornay</b> <i>adj.</i>	tired
<b>yatırd-</b> <i>v.</i>	to make sleep	<b>yorul-</b> <i>v.</i>	to be tired
<b>yawaş</b> , also <b>yowaş</b> <i>adv.</i>	gently, slowly	<b>yorya</b> <i>n.</i>	a Qashqai dance
<b>yayıl-</b> <i>v.</i>	to graze	<b>yos-</b> <i>v.</i>	to scrape, pare, erase
<b>yayıy</b> <i>n.</i>	churning milk-skin	<b>yow</b> , also <b>yoxxeyr</b> <i>adv.</i>	no
<b>yaz</b> <i>n.</i>	spring	<b>yowaş</b> , also <b>yavaş</b> <i>adj./adv.</i>	slow, slowly, gently
<b>yaz-</b> <i>v.</i>	to write	<b>yox</b> <i>cop.</i>	not existing
<b>yazzı</b> <i>adv.</i>	outside	<b>yoxu</b> <i>n.</i>	sleep
<b>yay</b> <i>n.</i>	oil	<b>yoyun</b> <i>adj.</i>	thick
<b>yay-</b> <i>v.</i>	to rain	<b>yu-</b> <i>v.</i>	to wash
<b>yayı</b> <i>n.</i>	rebel, outlaw	<b>yumurta</b> , also <b>numurta</b> <i>n.</i>	egg
<b>yayış</b> <i>n.</i>	rain	<b>yurd</b> , also <b>yurt</b> <i>n.</i>	camp site
		<b>yurtmā</b> <i>n.</i>	at a gallop

## Z

<b>zad</b> <i>n.</i>	thing	<b>zāñ vur-</b> <i>v.</i>	to make a phone call
<b>zaman</b> <i>n.</i>	time	<b>zehr</b> <i>n.</i>	mention; citation; invocation
<b>zāft ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to record (on a tape)	<b>zendeganlıg</b> <i>n.</i>	life, sustenance
<b>zāhmāt</b> <i>n.</i>	pain, effort, embarrassment	<b>zeraat</b> <i>n.</i>	agriculture
<b>zālil</b> <i>adj.</i>	oppressed, miserable	<b>zereñ</b> <i>adj.</i>	skillful, shrewd, clever
<b>zānbowa</b> <i>n.</i>	stepmother	<b>zeyfā</b> <i>n.</i>	woman
<b>zāñjir</b> <i>n.</i>	chain	<b>ziad</b> <i>adj.</i>	many, much
<b>zāñxaslıg</b> <i>n.</i>	matchmaking	<b>zirā</b> <i>n.</i>	cumin
<b>zārbolmāsāl</b> <i>n.</i>	proverb	<b>ziyarāt</b> <i>n.</i>	pilgrimage
<b>zārd</b> <i>adj.</i>	yellow	<b>ziyarāt ed-</b> <i>v.</i>	to make pilgrimage; to visit
<b>zāxirā</b> <i>n.</i>	treasure; savings	<b>zowq</b> <i>n.</i>	enjoyment, taste
<b>zāñ</b> <i>n.</i>	bell; phone call; rust	<b>zubdā</b> <i>adj.</i>	elite
<b>zāñ čak-</b> <i>v.</i>	to ring (a doorbell)	<b>zulm</b> <i>n.</i>	oppression, injustice

## APPENDICES

### Tables of specific terms

Table 44. Body parts and organs in Qashqai (non-exhaustive)

Term	Meaning	Term	Meaning
<i>äl</i>	hand	<i>get</i>	posterior, anus
<i>all</i>	forehead	<i>geŋ (göŋ)</i>	eye
<i>aŋŋ</i>	mouth	<i>iräg (qalb)</i>	heart
<i>baš</i>	head	<i>iŋ (üŋ)</i>	face
<i>bel</i>	waist	<i>ŋigär</i>	liver
<i>beyräg</i>	rein	<i>kirpig</i>	eyelash
<i>boyn</i>	neck	<i>moč</i>	wrist
<i>burmaq</i>	finger	<i>qabay</i>	eyelid
<i>burn</i>	nose	<i>qarn</i>	stomach
<i>čänä</i>	chin	<i>qaš</i>	eyebrow
<i>čän</i>	shoulder	<i>qeč</i>	foot
<i>dal</i>	back	<i>qil</i>	hairs
<i>dernaq</i>	nail	<i>qol</i>	arm
<i>deš</i>	chest, breast	<i>qulay</i>	ear
<i>dil</i>	tongue	<i>tik (tüke)</i>	hair
<i>dirsäg</i>	elbow	<i>toppuq</i>	ankle
<i>diš</i>	tooth	<i>nyluq</i>	thigh
<i>diŋ</i>	knee	<i>xerreq</i>	throat
<i>duday</i>	lip		

Table 45. Kinship terms in Qashqai

Term	Meaning	Term	Meaning
<i>bowa, baba</i>	father	<i>arvad, xanim</i>	wife, woman
<i>qoŋa bowa</i>	grand-father	<i>är, kiši</i>	husband
<i>nänä, anä</i>	mother	<i>qiz, qeŋ</i>	daughter
<i>qärri nänä, beyig anä</i>	grand-mother	<i>oyul</i>	son, boy
<i>baŋi</i>	sister	<i>gälin</i>	daughter-in-law, bride
<i>kaka, qardaš</i>	brother	<i>kiräkän, dumad</i>	son-in-law
<i>dazŋä</i>	aunt (maternal)	<i>balliŋ</i>	sister-in-law
<i>biyi</i>	aunt (paternal)	<i>*dayi qizi</i>	female cousin
<i>dayi</i>	uncle (maternal)	<i>**dayi oylu</i>	male cousin
<i>äme</i>	uncle (paternal)		

\* Other female cousins are as follows: *äme qizi, biyi qizi, dazŋä qizi*

\*\* Other male cousins are as follows: *äme oylu, biyi oylu, dazŋä oylu*

Table 46. Medical terms in Qashqai (non-exhaustive)

Term	Meaning	Term	Meaning
<i>amiq</i>	eruption, bouton	<i>qäzyun</i>	épidémie
<i>qizil amiq</i>	rougeole	<i>qärä gödän</i>	hémorroïde
<i>beyŋä</i>	gastro-entérite	<i>qärä kehä</i>	coqueluche
<i>ačči dana</i>	pustule	<i>qärä qorxu</i>	angoisse
<i>qurr</i>	impotent	<i>qärä dana</i>	anthrax
<i>qälčä</i>	cicatrice	<i>qärä tovlum</i>	ecchymose
<i>qärämuq</i>	varicelle		

Table 47. Name of animals in Qashqai (non-exhaustive)

Term	Meaning	Term	Meaning
<i>arvana</i>	she-camel	<i>ĵirbi</i>	hedgehog
<i>at</i>	horse	<i>käftar</i>	hyena
<i>ayi</i>	bear	<i>kepäg (köpäk)</i>	dog
<i>dävü</i>	camel	<i>pälän</i>	panther
<i>dovšan</i>	rabbit	<i>qäter</i>	mule
<i>doŋuž</i>	boar, pig	<i>qoyun</i>	sheep
<i>eššäg</i>	donkey	<i>qurd</i>	wolf
<i>gäčči</i>	goat	<i>seyer</i>	cow
<i>gorbä</i>	cat	<i>tılki (tülkü)</i>	fox

## List of suffixes and clitics

-(A/I)l	v. derivational suffix	-DI	past tense
-(I)m	possessive marker of 1 <sup>st</sup> person sg.	-DIK	participial
-(I)mIž	possessive marker of 1 <sup>st</sup> person pl.	-DI(r)	present copula
-(I)ŋ	possessive marker of 2 <sup>nd</sup> person sg.	-DIr	causative suffix
-(I)ŋIž	possessive marker of 2 <sup>nd</sup> person pl.	-gär	n. derivational suffix (< Persian)
-(s)I(n)	possessive marker of 3 <sup>rd</sup> person sg.	-gil(i)	n. derivational suffix
-(y)A	optative	-I/U	v. derivational suffix
-(y)AydI	past optative	-Id	causative suffix
-(y)A	dative / directive case	-ik	passive suffix
-(y)A -(y)A	converb	-Il	passive suffix
-(y)Abil-	abilitative	-im	genitive case marker of 1 <sup>st</sup> person sg. & pl.
-(y)akı	definiteness, anaphoric reference	-In	passive suffix
-(y)äm	personal ending 1 <sup>st</sup> person sg.	-Iq	adj. derivational suffix
-(y)An	participial	-Ir	causative suffix
-(y)AnnA	converb	-Ird	causative suffix
(y)AnčA(ž/s / m)	terminative case	-(y)IrmIš	evidential imperfective
-(y)Ar	aorist	-iŋ	genitive case marker of 2 <sup>nd</sup> person sg. & pl.
-(y)AsI	necessitative	-Iŋ	genitive case marker of 3 <sup>rd</sup> person sg.
-(y)äŋ	personal ending 2 <sup>nd</sup> person sg.	-ĴIK	diminutive suffix
-(y)I	accusative case	-kar	n. derivational suffix (< Persian)
-(y)ir	present tense	-LA	v. derivational suffix
-(y/I)dI	past copula	-LAr	plural marker
-(y/I)mIš	evidential copula	-LArI(n)	possessive marker of 3 <sup>rd</sup> person pl.
-(y/I)nän	instrumental case	-II	benefactive adj. derivational suffix
=(y)ike	specificity (< Persian)	-IIG	n. derivational suffix
=i	indefinite marker (< Persian)	-mä	n. derivational suffix
=ič	purposive	-mA	prohibitive
-A	v. derivational suffix	-mäg	infinitive
-Ad	causative suffix	-mAž	negative of aorist
-äd	v. derivational suffix	-mE	marker of negation
-ALA	v. derivational suffix	-mIš	perfect
-An	v. derivational suffix	-mIšImIš	evidential pluperfect
-Ar	v. derivational suffix	-n	passive
-Ard	causative suffix	-Qir	v. derivational suffix
ba-	adj. derivational prefix	-sa	v. derivational suffix
bi-	adj. derivational prefix	-sa	conditional suffix
-čä	diminutive suffix (< persian)	-sIn	imperative of 3 <sup>rd</sup> person sg.
-čä	equative case	-sIž	privative adj. derivational suffix

<i>-Či</i>	n. derivational suffix	<i>=TäKin</i>	enclitic postposition (similative)
<i>-DA</i>	locative case	<i>-tär</i>	superlative adj. suffix (< Persian)
<i>-DAn</i>	ablative case	<i>-var</i>	adj. derivational suffix (< Persian)
<i>-dan</i>	n. derivational suffix (< Persian)		
<i>-dar</i>	n. derivational suffix (< Persian)		
<i>-daš</i>	n. derivational suffix		



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